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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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ECONOMY STUNTS

There is something artificial and unreal about the economy and austerity campaign that has recently been launched by the Central Government. That it is largely a reaction to what is happening in Kerala is evident from the excessive importance that is being attached to such minor things as the flying of the national flag on Ministers' cars, the simplification of the liveries of chaprasis, and the like. Was the installation of a Communist Government in Kerala necessary for the eradication of absurd forms of pomp and pageantry which ought to have been got rid of immediately after the advent of freedom? Having retained and even multiplied them all these years, why should an ostentatious show be made of their elimination as if a great revolution in administrative routine was being introduced?

It is a melancholy fact that since the advent of freedom so little has the spirit and form of the old administration changed and so often has the change been for the worse that even the old bureaucratic administration has often shone by contrast. It was a staple of national criticism that the British administration was top-heavy, wooden, and expensive. But it had at least a minimum of efficiency. Since 1947 our administrative machinery has swollen beyond control, has become recklessly extravagant in the expenditure of public moneys and has gone down in efficiency to a marked degree. The successive reports of the Public Accounts and Estimates Committees of Parliament has been a series of unwearying indictments of scandalous waste of public money in a hundred ways — from building an unwanted bridge in Orissa, to erecting an unusable factory near Delhi for making prefabricated houses. The record of the External Affairs Ministry has been particularly notorious, but in many other fields the story is the same. There are two reasons for this unending tale of waste and loss. One is the ease with which the public exchequer was being filled, thanks to inflation and the Nasik Printing Press. The ease with which revenues were being collected and the readiness with which any deficit in expenditure could be covered by printing more notes naturally induced in the minds of the men in Delhi that they could freely indulge in a spending spree. It is only now, when we have run through over a thousand crores of sterling balances and mounting public expenditure has necessitated the levy of fresh taxes on the broad mass of the population that a realisation seems to be dawning on Ministers in Delhi that there must be some relation between expenditure and revenue.

It will not be a wholly unwelcome thing if the exchange crisis and the Kerala Government between them induce in the New Delhi authorities a sense of the value of money and the constant need for economy. The Cabinet, instead of indulging in cheap stunts like cuts in salaries and ostentatious prunings of expenditure here and there, should concentrate on essentials and prevent the large scale waste of public funds that has gone on in the past. First of all, every Minister must hold himself responsible for every rupee that is spent by his department and apply his mind closely to the economics of every project before it is sanctioned. A constant awareness of the poverty of the country and the value of saving even a rupee wherever possible should make every Minister and his assistants continually vigilant about every item of expenditure. The greatest responsibility rests on those who are directly or indirectly in charge of the big projects and who have to take decisions in a big way. Alertness and a lively sense of the nation's interests are essential if they are not to let themselves in for unnecessary expenditure or dubious deals. We learnt once from a very high authority that in the conclusion of the agreement with Krupps Demag for the erection of the steel plant at Roukela our negotiators had been so remiss in their responsibilities that the country got a raw deal and the Government were committed to Rs. 20 crores more outlay than would have been necessary if our side had been vigilant. It is in taking decisions about the big deals and major projects that somehow the country has been often badly let down by its highest men. Only a new sense of responsibility and dedication to

the national welfare can rescue the Government from the morass of waste into which they have descended. Economy from the national point of view does not mean spending a few rupees less, but it means getting the fullest value for the money spent. Only when the Ministers decide to give full value for the salaries paid to them and do their work with a proper sense of public responsibility can we be sure that public money will be spent wisely and well.

Influenza Virus and Nuclear Tests

Prof. S. C. Harland of the Manchester University has written a letter to the *New Statesman and Nation* in which he points out: "My suggestion that virus mutants dangerous to man may arise through radiation receives support from a recent communication to the *Lancet* by N. W. Pirie of the Rothamsted Experimental station. He suggests that the influenza epidemic in the Far East may be a consequence of the nuclear bomb tests. 'It is among the viruses' he says, 'that increased radiation is most likely to lead to an improvement in performance'. This would confer the 'ability to circumvent the specific immunity of the population that is being attacked and this is what the new variant of influenza seems to be able to do'..... It is not the little we know that matters, but the vast amount that we do not know. Until our knowledge of mutation rates and effects on a large range of organisms is increased, experiments on radiation should be confined to the laboratory".

Prof. Harland puts in his own way with lambent irony that the benefit of the doubt should not be given to the rash military experimenter who would persist in carrying on his tests in other people's land, air and water because the exact amount of damage has not been assessed. It should be given to mankind.

A CORRECTION

'Ambit-gratitude' in our last issue at the bottom of the first column in the front page editorial should read 'ANTI-GRATITUDE'.

THIS TEXT BOOK BUSINESS

By SUDHIR

THE Education Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh, recently expressed the intention of his Government to take in its own charge the selection and prescription of text books for all secondary and elementary schools, from the next academic year. This announcement has come in as a pretty good excuse for educational publishers to dispense with the services of their employees. It appears that the Government does not know the tricks of this book trade.

Education in Andhra has become a business trust of a few book publishers on the one hand, and the prescribing authorities and the teaching staff on the other. Profit-making out of sale of books — texts as well as note books, work books, record books, etc — is the order of the day. The Government aid this trade by giving to the stock a value many times its cost price.

The Government sets the ball rolling with the approval of text books. Neither merit nor necessity is the criterion. The syllabus of portions of subjects to be taught in each class is systematically changed, even for subjects of a non-changeable nature like mathematics, history, etc. The reason for this change of syllabus is said to be the ever-declining mental calibre of the student population. This change of syllabus, writing up of text books according to this change, and approval of the same by the Government, happen to be preliminary stages in the book business. Money is the main consideration for getting books approved, however much the Government may deny it. Authors of books mentioned on the title pages are in many cases not the real writers of the books. Their names are bought for exploitation. Many of them happen to be headmasters of institutions under private management, or influential people such as retired educational officers or relatives of people in position — potential prescribers of text books.

The second stage is prescription of Government-approved books as text books. This prescription is done on the merits of the publisher, his financial status, caste, capacity for pulling strings at a higher level, specially ministerial level.

Common examination boards have been set up for schools under district board management. Prescription of text books is being done by a selection committee appointed by the district board. The members of these committees consist of headmasters of district board schools picked up at random. These worthies select books for the entire student population of schools under district board management, and they do their jobs in their own selfish interest or for favours from private publishers. Where they cannot prescribe the books of their patron publishers, they recommend and even buy for their schools, work books, note books, record books, etc., and compel the students to buy them at the prices fixed. Many of these people spend library funds for buying obsolete copies of general books (mainly sexy novels). A trade discount on these purchases is not uncommon.

Members of the prescribing committees depend on publishers for financial aid for school sports, construction and maintenance of guild homes, even messing and other expenses at guild meetings, gifts at marriage and other family functions. All this is understood as an investment by the publisher for his future business.

All this melodrama is financed by the students out of their investment on books. This is the great industry which the Government is probably zealous to own. Even after so many years, not a single book worth preserving has ever been brought out. Only crude plagiarism is bottled and labelled up each time, and the Government approves all this.

It is the duty of the Government to see that education is brought back to its pre-1930 standard. To

(Continued on Page 10)



Sotto Voce

Termites' Death-dance

Even more than most other departments of governmental activity it is Education that betrays the classic faults of total planning. Instead of being regarded as a spiritual adventure education comes to mean a processing of the human material for economic ends. And the ends themselves are so queered by the social prepossessions of the Planners that the avowed goal of economic efficiency is soon completely if tacitly repudiated. Statistical camouflage and pseudo-scientific window-dressing become the order of the day, while the prospect of universal literacy, let alone of real education, recedes into the dim distance.

* * *

The Constitution, in one of its expansive asides, laid down that by 1960 the State "shall endeavour to provide" free and compulsory education for all children until they attain the age of 14. Ten years later we find that we are not appreciably nearer the goal. More children are coming into the world than ever before, for one thing. And in our frantic attempt to lift ourselves up by our boot-straps we in India can spare much less money proportionately for education than for building Stalintopia—the dream-world of steel cities and chromium-plated efficiency where men must be lever-pulling morons.

* * *

Naturally no one asks himself whether, even if it were possible to achieve cent per cent 'free and compulsory' education, it would be worth while. To do so would mean going with an open mind into the question of what constitutes true education. And for the faithful that is no longer a matter for discussion, since Basic Education is the accepted gospel and the hierophants are conceded a Papal infallibility in expounding the mystery. Meanwhile the practical politicians are killing not the proverbial two birds but three with one stone. They are opening single-teacher schools manned by unemployed and untrained graduates who have made, or might make good as election aides.

* * *

And now the Central Government has appointed an All-India Advisory Council for Elementary Education. Of its 22 hand-picked members, 17 will be officials. The others, if experience is any guide, will be drawn from the ranks of those general utility men who furnish the staple of gilded deputations and sterile Commissions. "The Council will meet at least once a year". So three meetings of this Olympian body. in whose eye as in the eye of Brahma a whole sidereal year of us human midgets would apparently be but as a fleeting moment, are expected to bring off a miracle which ten years of post-Swaraj cerebration and striving on the part of the Azad—Zakir Hussain — Saiyidain triumvirate could not accomplish.

* * *

Money of course is deuced scarce. But if the Nasik Press can produce currency notes *ad lib* so, I suppose, can a machinery for educational inflation produce dud graduates and sub-literate lathe-turners by the million. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, addressing the Mysore University the other day, showed himself duly impressed by the urgent need for quantitative expansion. But, though he has latterly fallen head over ears in love with the Bhave brand of Sarvodaya, he does not seem to think that the eternal Adam in us can be so easily exorcised as the vendors on current educational panaceas pretend.

* * *

He declared that if India wanted to hold her own she should produce scientists and technologists in proportion to the population. We are far from having an adequate number of universities and higher technological institutions. What is worse, our egalitarian rulers in their passionate pursuit of 'social justice' obey the maxim that "the last shall be served first" with literal and ruthless fidelity. Even such meagre opportunities for scientific and technological training as there are, are reserved not for the best but for the least qualified. We are to have a termite equality unredeemed by the termites' collective will to survive.

* * *

Mr. Deshmukh pointed out that the H. bomb was in fact posing the question of survival of the species itself. And he was old-fashioned enough to think that knowledge is not enough, that wisdom with its sense of values should step in to redress the balance. The Government of India has been sending scouts far and wide to search for the Philosopher's Stone of a liberal education. All the world over classical languages are still regarded as the key-stone of the educational arch. And our own Prime Minister has declared with unwonted enthusiasm that no Indian can afford to give up Samskrit.

* * *

At this moment the premier college in this State presents an extraordinary phenomenon. The Principal is superseded in his natural responsibility of making admissions to the Honours courses. And the D.P.I., having assumed the reins in his own capable hands, seems to have laid down for himself a simple and complete rule. No applicant, however brilliant, who had taken Samskrit for his second language in the Intermediate must be allowed to enter the Holy of Holies dedicated to Science, which is presumably of Dravidian origin. Here is wisdom for you!

VIGHNESWARA.

The U.N. Secretary-General flies tirelessly in every direction . . . if he keeps up that record he will win the imperishable and insufferable title of the umpire on whom the sun never sets.

ESSENTIALS OF A TRUE WELFARE ECONOMY

By Dr. GABRIEL HAUGE

Special Asst. to the U.S. President

IT has been wisely observed that, "A saint may embrace poverty, but national poverty will not breed a race of saints."

People everywhere desire the benefits of a higher standard of living. The fundamental economic question is how, consistent with this goal, to meet unlimited human wants with limited productive resources.

The medieval approach relied upon the perpetuation of traditional occupations and consumption patterns. Authoritarian systems rely on coercion to implement centrally-made decisions. To determine what is produced, a free society relies upon individual choices expressed in free markets. The price system ties these millions of individual decisions together and nudges production toward meeting these choices, not by state coercion, but by free incentives.

A well-working free market economy is thus the true welfare economy. It brings about not only the largest total of goods, but also the largest total of satisfactions because it produces the most of what people want most. It is this mechanism that enforces economic efficiency in the use of limited productive resources.

Efficiency demands free incentives if the whip of state coercion is to be avoided. Although the hope of reward is not the exclusive motivation for economic activity, it is nonetheless an essential one. The broad socialisation of incomes through taxation and their redistribution through the public treasury as government benefits to the people can never be a proper goal of a free, dynamic society. Whatever the very conspicuous consumption of the very few may be, redistribution of income would in reality achieve little of its avowed purpose.

As Professor Kenneth Boulding (of the University of Michigan) has put the matter, "We now see that in practice the abolition of poverty can come only from development" — or growth — "not from redistribution, not from taking from the rich to give to the poor, but in making everybody richer."

Economic freedom is indispensable to this economic progress. Its spirit of Independence and self-reliance stimulates productive activity. Its freedom for individual development and self-expression provides the best possible climate for creative work. Its promise of reward induces the taking of risks essential to the rapid development and exploitation of new ideas.

Since new ideas have often appeared in the first instance as folly to officialdom and public opinion alike, the diffusion of decision-making power means that innovation requires only one bold enterpriser rather than the approval of an unwieldy and cautious bureaucracy.

Moreover, the errors of a single firm are unlikely to be overwhelming for the economy. And when the experiment of a single enterpriser is successful, the competitive penalties for backwardness speed its widespread adoption. Competition spurs that productivity which has been well described as "the mentality of progress."

No one holds, of course, that the competitive market system is perfect and automatic. Imperfections there are, and we must be alert to deal with them. To that end, government has a vital role to play.

First, to provide the proper complement of order and law and regulation in which the people may rely upon the security and propriety of transactions in the market, but not to make the government the judge of each transaction; to remove unjustifiable barriers to international trade; to encourage and foster enterprise, but not to shelter it from competition; to ease the readjustments of a dynamic economy, but not to subsidise inefficiency or backwardness; to aid adjustment to change, but not to supplant the market and thus perpetuate the problem and the claim for intervention;

Second, to seek stability in economic growth, by guarding it from both inflation and deflation; to moderate these forces through reliance upon fiscal and monetary controls, and not to suppress freedom or inhibit necessary adjustments by reliance upon direct controls; to foster understanding of the important role of private economic decision-making;

Third, to supplement the market in those areas where it alone cannot as well meet essential needs, but to do so with a deep concern for the growth that is the real source of economic welfare; to help cushion the personal adjustments to change, but to do so in a manner that keeps the economy flexible and does not straight-jacket it.

These and other meritorious measures do, indeed, use the coercive fiscal powers of government, but they do so to help individuals within the framework of a free economy and, at the same time, to create the climate most favourable to free, personal economic activity. Moreover, such programmes, if properly conceived and administered, can widen rather than narrow individual freedom.

Much more, of course, is involved in promoting the general welfare dealing only with the casualties of life. Public and private action, for example, should seek to remove the obstacles to equal opportunity for all persons. A society which values each individual must take steps to bring the first rung of the ladder of opportunity within the reach of all. Universal education and various vocational programmes are thus a social and moral necessity.

So also is the unremitting discouragement of discrimination of all kinds. And the best climate for their elimination is the expanding volume of opportunities that a growing economy affords.

To sum up, material well-being

(*Continued on page* 10)

WEAKENING THE STATES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AMBITIONS to build national greatness for India have had always to fight the fissiparous tendencies that are inherent in our continental psychology. The centrifugal pull has always been a very strong and permanent feature of our culture and national life. Even the pressure of danger from a foreign enemy did not mitigate the *malaise*, but in fact led to overt or secret alliance with him on the part of some of the units. The explanation is this, and it can be appreciated by people who have suffered under heavy maladministration. Bitter memories of unjust rule made them prefer even an entirely foreign regime which promised to render some kind of justice.

Once, when returning from the Ajanta caves I stopped at a village on the way where I was told the last remains of Emperor Aurangazeb were entombed. I entered the humble structure in which the Emperor's tomb was housed. As I saw the plain, small tomb, the Taj, Fatehpur-Sikri and the great mausoleum of Akbar flitted across the screen of my mind. In this tomb of Aurangazeb I saw more instruction than in all the glories of architecture that the other tombs and noble Moghul structures displayed. Frustration of hopes and vanities through inevitable law stared me in the face as if exhibited in solid form.

The rational Indian mind of modern times sways between desire and compromise, between the logic of unitary efficiency and a compromise with the hard realities of centrifugal forces. In some moods the one appeals and at other times one is forced to reconcile oneself to the other. Of course, different mentalities react differently to this perpetual problem. Again, apart from logic and appraisement of values, minorities in all regions tend to a preference for unitary government while communities in an impregnable local position of advantage prefer the small state and local autonomy

Leaving history aside, even today in independent India we have not yet succeeded in stabilising conditions on account of this same ancient infirmity. It may be after all that the structure of national freedom in some countries must be federal and can never be unitary, and India may be one such country. The parts are not strong enough or isolated enough to be separate national governments. Neither are they coherent enough to make a single unitary State. There is no doubt an ineffable Indian unity, but it is not sufficiently solid for political building. The feeling for self-government itself becomes a force to oppose subordination to a larger democracy, where freedom must submit to be controlled by an all-India majority.

A federal form of national unity is not an unworthy status, if we could frankly recognise the goal and work for it. The dynamic elements that were engaged in the ambitions and political evolution of India in the past were personal, dynastic or oligarchic. Their ambitions could not content themselves with a federal goal. Every historic attempt at empire was to enforce total submission. Fissiparous forces always proved too strong in the end for such imperial ambitions. Break-ups followed each temporary success with accelerated speed. With the passing of politics from dynasties to the people, greater hopes may be entertained of a rational fusion on the basis of a true and equal federation of regional units. But, unfortunately under the spell of democracy we are apt to fail to recognise the inherent difficulty of our continental culture. As a result we fail to perceive the real solution. We work for an impossible unitary political structure which no doubt would be more rational and lead to greater efficiency and strength if only it were possible. This however is not the case. Success however temptingly grand for sometime will prove to be but temporary. The centrifugal pull that is inherent in Indian national life and culture renders it necessary for us to work for a federated union of equal autonomous units.

We must accept the inevitability of real federal crystalisation as distinguished from monolithic patriotism. The Indian Constitution that we framed did not fail to take note of this. But the history of Indian politics after 1947 has shown how the temptation has continuously worked towards centralisation. Power is sought to be concentrated in the Centre and the States are slowly and steadily rendered unimportant.

There are some whose rational minds entertain the hope for an intensification of this very process until it should lead to a great efficient and strong unitary state. They may be pleased with the recent decision that the Centre alone will raise public loans for capital expenditure and that the States should be content with the small savings programmes. They may also welcome the tendency of the Centre gradually sucking up all taxation powers, practically leaving to the State governments only the work of local party management. The difference between the affa[illegible] the ruling party and the function of Government is appreciated only in academic discussion). We need not be surprised if proposals are soon made to convert land revenue into an excise duty on crops and to give over the sales tax completely to the Centre. The States are being reduced pretty rapidly to the status of grant-receiving corporations. This may appeal to some who are centrally minded, but it would be a house built on sand. It cannot last; for the time will arrive when the centrifugal forces will assert themselves and when it will be found there is not power enough in any personality at the Centre to hold the flying parts.

The wiser attitude is to recognise the permanent nature of the soil in which our political structure has to be fixed. The federal form of national unity should be recognised as inevitable for stability, and everything should be done in logical pursuance of that

(*Continued on page* 10)



THE AUSTERITY PARADE

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

The austerity wave has been vigorously competing with influenza in the velocity of its spread and intensity of its onslaught. On the fateful steamer from Singapore, Madras at any rate has been fastening the blame for the spread of flu. By the same token it was a meeting of the Congress Working Committee followed by a slightly more vociferous meeting of the A.I.C.C. that imparted momentum to the austerity drive — alas, a momentum we are vainly looking for in scores of more constructive sectors of our undeveloped economy.

If Byron woke up one crisp morning to find himself famous, we all woke up on a rather humid morning to find newspaper columns riddled by news items of austerity measures. The austerity rainbow included in its colourful sweep at one end the decision of Prime Minister Nehru to quit his residence and build himself an unobtrusive annexe in the grounds of his present residence and at the other end came the news item about Delhi officials deciding to substitute their long sherwanis by short length closed coats. In between we have the much harried Ministers who are battling for 18 hours a day against food, foreign exchange and railway wagon shortages, being importuned to cut their salaries, their tours and the length and frequency of the garlands they receive. Thrown into this medley is the news about odd legislators giving up their daily allowances.

One feels rather caught in this cyclone of Spartanism — though we seem to have gone into it with all the suddenness of a service plane getting into bad weather. All the same one feels that the least we can do in such distinctive company is to do with 11 kerchiefs where we did with 12 last year; to call off even the wife's shopping — which requires greater courage and effort of will than one's own — when she has spent Rs. 49 where she used to spend Rs. 50 in 1956-57. After all there is such a thing as contributing one's humble mite in a country bred on the classic tale of the squirrel that helped Sri Rama to build his bridge. In fact one feels positively ashamed to gulp with reckless disregard of consequences (not to the stomach this time but to the country's economy) ten ounces of morning coffee instead of reducing it to 9-3/4 ounces — and saving the cost on the odd 1/4 ounce for investment in National Savings certificates. I believe the least the selfish hoard of us can do to help the Plan forward is to substitute 30 watt electric bulbs for the 40 watts we have so callously installed and release the residue of electric energy for the Plan projects. One does really get tired of the omnipresent dialectician who keeps asking "what of the cost of new bulbs?" This dissipation of energy in tiresome questions and tedious polemics has been the bane of India and comes of not being one-pointed and dynamic. We are indeed a vision-less lot that do not realise that we — meaning Bharat and its varied contents — are on a war-footing — which in fact need not impair our reputation for being indefatigable peace mongers.

* * *

The sophisters, the economists and the calculators — about whom good old Burke had drastic things to say — keep saying all these austerity measures will amount financially to very little and occupy in the context of India's six hundred odd crore budget, the same dimensions as a full stop does on the Equator. But "gestures" are absolutely essential as evidence of the moral earnestness among holders of public office. Truly we were never so gesture-dominated as today. Democracy and gestures are as inseparable as Siamese Twins. Even the non-economic and non-calculating citizen is a trifle intrigued as to where these gestures take us. To use a modern lecture heading, "Where do we go from here?"

A Minister at State level (Kerala excluded of course) receives Rs. 1,250 as monthly salary. This is the equivalent of Rs. 250 of pre-1938 value. Even before 1938 Rs. 250 was the salary of a headmaster of a fairsized school. Why should a Minister be denied the comforts that a headmaster enjoyed before 1938? I expect the reader who has become dreadfully "common-man-conscious" will jump on my neck and say "What of those that are receiving Rs. 250 today?" Yes, they are all getting Rs. 50 of pre-1938 value and are suffering acutely from yawning home budgets. But is that a reason for taking all the trouble to elect a man to the legislature and hoisting him on the pedestal of ministerial office and instead of affording him reasonable comfort to devote time to public affairs, compel him to worry about home budget deficits, by cutting his salary by say Rs. 250? Is it not a waste of precious time in a democracy to divert time and energy that should be bestowed on public affairs and policy-making to personal affairs — with which the entire salaried class is now naturally pre-occupied? Where is the economy in this? What is this "gesture" which helps to produce anxiety neurasthenia in a Minister, while the public is asked to derive satisfaction from salary cuts that mean little to public revenues, while destroying peace of mind in holders of elective office.

The average Minister can live only with difficulty in cities on Rs. 1,250 despite a free house and free transport. Even without the burden of an "Ananda Bhavan"

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which the Prime Minister has to maintain at Allahabad, the State Ministers must be having minimum social obligations that would make mincemeat of their salaries. Ministers cannot live in villages, because Governments are functioning in capitals and even if a Minister is scantily clothed as most Ministers are, the salary he receives is not a thing to write home about. Why seek to cut it? Where is the economy in these "gestures"? What is the accumulated saving effected by means of all these "gestures". Even the villager of 1957 who sees what is going on in project areas is unlikely to be impressed by this claptrap about "gestures".

The cost of civil administration at Central and State levels has mounted to breath-taking dimensions, even in relation to increased revenues. The buildings, that house government offices in New Delhi sprawl along its baffling radial roads for miles. Whether or not two blades of grass grow where one grew before, (we have Mr. Jain's authentic and frank testimony that it is not as good as all that) it is now well-known that four files have grown in our administrative offices where one grew before. The reports of the Auditor-General and the Public Accounts Committee continue to treat us to grim tales of remorseless extravagance, both at home and abroad in our consular offices. Of course the puzzling thing about these reports is that they are usually 4 to 5 years post mortem.

* * *

The costs of our projects have grown to proportions that stagger the originators themselves. The mistakes and miscarriages of a single overseer or engineer in any one of our single-purpose or multi-purpose projects — Bhakra Nangal, Tungabhadra or Damodar Valley, is several times what we hope to save over the whole country by these austerity moves.

Why have we got so conscience-struck overnight? The Central budget has acted as an aggravator of this stroke. Can these "gestures" bring us nearer a solution to our baffling economic problems — with their countless complex phases, such as foreign exchange and food shortages, shortfalls in internal resources and foreign aid, material scarcities and such like?

"Repentence oft before I swore
But was I sober when I swore?"

declared Omar Khayyam with brasstack realism.

We hear about "prestige building" coming to a stop. I have not heard this phrase before. It is difficult to believe that Government were putting up buildings to boost their prestige. People thought these buildings were bare administrative necessities. Is it the newspapers that coined this mischievous phrase or the Government? If the former are guilty, why don't Government deny that there was any "prestige building" by Government? Why give the whole show away — by either phrase-making or failure to put it down where others make such phrases?

Of course, when we go to Delhi and see the Asoka Hotel, the UNESCO Hall or the new Commerce Ministry building and also when we hear of large indents made on Czechoslovakia and Poland for cutlery and crockery for Asoka Hotel — what time we are trying furiously to market Indian handicrafts abroad at some expense, we are stunned at the stupendous gulf between slogans shouted and deeds done. Nobody is foolish or philistine enough to deny the need for elegant staying places or assembly halls — not even the need for two legislative assembly halls as in Madras — but why seek so awkwardly to combine our innate oriental love of grandeur that is so natural a part of our mental and emotional make up, with this pitiful unrealistic talk of austerity?

Instead let us try and stop this inexcusable and incredible waste of "man hours" that is going on around us. The "go slow" working in our telegraph offices may be temporary, but how many know what is going on in our harbours and dockyards, to take only one instance? How many among us know that in one relatively unmajor harbour, the delayed discharge of cargo — to which *go slow* as well as absence of mechanical facilities have contributed — is costing the consumer ultimately an additional Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs a month in demurrages? How many consumers of imported articles know the inwardness of the high prices they pay and care to analyse the contributory causes? They may pay grudgingly but are glad to have the article and in fact feel vain about it and there it all ends.

Is it possible that we will get away from "gestures", and austerity worship and tackle the basic problem of high prices that threatens to engulf the middle and poorer classes today? The steam roller of inflation is taking heavy toll of people's meagre resources and their nerves. Shall we be able to sift our mental priorities sufficiently to realise that austerity measures leave a country that is by and large bereft of elementary needs of existence rather cold. Songs and slogans about austerity in India's present circumstances will be mistaken for bare sadism — and our leaders today cannot

NEW BOOKS

Hugh Dalton's Memoirs: The Fateful Years — 1931-45	Rs. 22.50
My Indian Mutiny Diary: By William Howard Russell	Rs. 22.50
The Scapegoat: A new novel by Daphne du Maurier	Rs. 11.25
The Fountain Overflows: A novel by Rebecca West (Book Society Choice)	Rs. 12.00
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AT THE CINEMA

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

THREE times a day for the past two weeks Madras audiences have been shown an American film called *High Society*. The leading role is played by Grace Kelly, who in real life (in case you have forgotten) is the daughter of an Irish immigrant who became a millionaire and who herself last year entered high society by marrying the prince of Monaco and putting Monte Carlo more firmly on the map than it has been at any time since the death of King Edward VII. Starred with Miss Kelly are Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra, the world's most celebrated crooners. The film is photographed in Vistavision and Technicolour, and is as gorgeous to look at as money can make it.

The scene is set in Newport, Connecticut, the summer resort of the aristocracy historically known as the Boston Brahmins—a society so exclusive that it used to be said of its leading figures that "the Lodges speak only to the Cabots, and the Cabots speak only to God." As the film opens, the hero, who is also the first husband of the heroine, is risking social ostracism by organising a jazz festival. In the house next door — if a phrase so humble can be used of such grandeur — the heroine is about to marry for the second time. Unlike her first husband, whose wealth and culture have already been indicated, the man she has chosen this time is merely rich and, what is worse, self-made. She herself is beautiful, haughty, spoiled, and furiously angry that Husband Number One should have turned up on the scene on the day before the wedding. Meanwhile her father has run off with a dancer, and the editor of *Spy* magazine threatens to expose the scandal unless a reporter (male) and a photographer (female) are allowed to attend the wedding. Mother, who suspects that she and her daughter are in some way responsible for the loss of their respective husbands, yields to this blackmail, and the journalists

During cocktails before lunch an uncle arrives, and in order to impress the reporters with the harmony of family life has to pretend to be father. Then father turns up and has to pretend to be uncle. By the time lunch is over father, who is the only member of the party still apparently quite sober, tells his wife and daughter that their own cold-heartedness has driven their husbands away from them, and that a man's affairs with other women should be of no concern to his wife. This so impresses the two women that mother and father are at once reconciled, and daughter, undressing beside the swimming pool, dreams back over her past marriage and wonders whether she does not love her first husband after all. Meanwhile, the two reporters are dancing among the wedding presents — which consist chiefly of silver candelabra and gold plate — and crooning that they do not want to be millionaires: they only want each other.

This charming tribute to the simple life is brought to an end when the heroine whisks a reporter (male) off to her uncle's mansion, explaining to him as they go the wickedness of his chosen career and the sorrows of the rich, who can no longer find buyers when they are obliged to sell their houses to pay their taxes, and so have to give them away. The house now about to be given away has a library whose shelves, at the touch of a book, lift and turn to display a well-stocked cocktail bar. With the help of a bottle of champagne the two are in no time at all falling forward into each other's arms and then, resisting temptation, regain their feet and their discretion for an instant before slipping forward again.

By night, when everyone is dancing at the heroine's "bachelor ball", she herself is so drunk that her fiancé leads her away and locks her into an empty drawing-room to recover. She escapes through the window into the arms of her first husband, and is torn away by her fiancé who has still not realised—as the audience has done a long time ago — that he is never going to marry her. Again she escapes, this time into the embraces of the reporter, and only his sense of honour ("you don't take advantage of a lady when she's a little tipsy") saves her from what Victorian novelists used to call "the worst."

Next morning, appearing in her wedding dress, she remembers only enough of the night before to be convinced that "the worst" did in fact happen, and is much ashamed at discovering (or imagining) that she is no better than her father. Her fiancé again betrays his low origins, this time by refusing to forgive what his bride has forgotten. The first husband, a perfect gentleman, has already announced his readiness to forget everything when the reporter (male) turns up to explain that his watch, which had been found on the heroine's bedroom floor, had been dropped when he carried her to her room to save her from herself. The honour of brahminical Boston having thus been saved by the gutter-press, the two reporters decide to resign from their jobs,

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marry each other and live on fresh air, while the negro orchestra jazzes up Wagner and bursts into the opening strains of "Here Comes the Bride" as the heroine bangs a pink chiffon hat on top of her hang-over and leads Husband Number One to the altar. A negro face is seen in close-up, announcing, with a grin whose satisfaction at least could be shared: "End of Story."

* * * *

In common English usage the adjective "high" is often applied to meat that has been left for too long an interval between being killed and cooked. If the authors of *High Society* had used the word in the same sense they might have produced a social satire as devastating as *Citizen Kane* or *The Great Gatsby*. Instead, they have served up this putrifying mess in a way that invites the audience to take the moral and social values of the characters for granted, that makes drunkenness enviably charming, infidility excusable, respectability nothing but smug intolerance, wealth honourable only provided that one has had no hand in producing it, and love between men and women shallow, self-centred and short-lived.

If India's foreign exchange difficulties put an end to the import of dope such as this no one outside of Hollywood will be any the poorer. Indians, who are to have even fewer opportunities than they have had in the past of seeing the rest of the world, will lose nothing by being deprived of such distorted and corrupting visions, and no decent American could want Asians — or Europeans for that matter — to accept these values as part of the American way of life.

But the worst thing of all about such films is that they tend to transform into reality the fictions they portray, and for me the most depressing moments of my visit to *High Society* occurred after I left the cinema, when the three intelligent and educated young Indians with whom I went declared the whole performance to have been wonderfully witty, penetrating and true to life. Many young Londoners would, I imagine, have

This Text Book Business

(*Continued from Page 2*)

attain this, the teaching staff should be made responsible for guiding the students in their efforts for real learning. Copyright for class text books should go. It is time the Government curbed abuse of autonomy by the university.

Essentials of a True Welfare Economy

(*Continued from page 4*)

is mainly a question of whether the economy remains dynamic and grows in a reasonably stable manner. To achieve that end, economic freedom is a prime requisite.

Its free consumption choices fulfill the personal drive for self-expression; its competition and free markets produce the greatest satisfactions from our limited resources; its free climate stimulates creative action and innovation; its free incentives encourage risk-taking, the adoption of new ideas, and experimentation with the fewest social risks.

Through these avenues, freedom assures rapid economic progress which alone allows an increasing standard of living for nearly everyone.—Excerpts from a recent lecture.

Weakening the States

(*Continued from page 5*)

recognition. The wrong road will not take one to the goal whatever be the high purpose with which we make the journey. Be it personal or dynastic ambition or be it a highly laudable national and democratic objective, the mistake in calculation must produce identical results in either case. Stability demands that in the application and further development of our Constitution we should strengthen the States and keep the federal aim in view and avoid the error of seeking to weaken the units in the hope of making a strong Centre.

If you have been in politics, and in international politics, for any length of time, you will find that you have to meet people you don't approve of sometimes

TAPESTRY OF LIFE: CRITICISM FOR IMPROVEMENT

By MANJERI S. ISVARAN

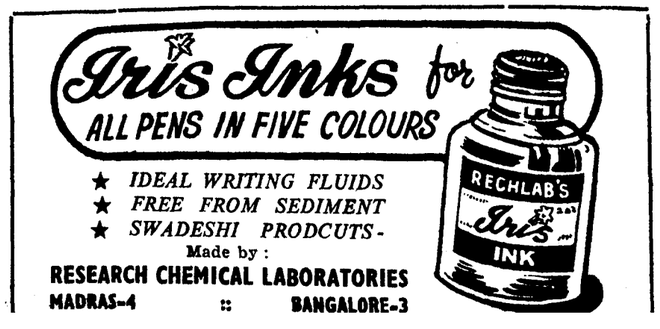
SOME years ago, I was invited by a prominent Indian magazine to be on its panel of judges in a short story competition which it was conducting. I was very generously supplied with a sheet of paper carrying directives for evaluation to deliver the final verdict. I promptly refused, as I have never liked the idea of sitting in judgment over either men or short stories. In literature as in life I stick to the golden rule: Judge not lest you be judged. For judgment is a most difficult business; treated with the acid of criticism, beaten out of pro and con, it has to emerge whole in every lineament, clothed in impartiality, frank in intent.

Criticising for improvement, however, is very fluid in conception; it sounds modest; it presents no limitations; it exacts no set standards; and it is a subject about which one may speculate with ease and arrive at quite harmless conclusions.

The English word 'Critic' has an undertone of asperity. Sanskrit has a word for it, *Vimarsaka*, and an apter one than this to suit our purpose, *Sahrdaya*, meaning 'a heart akin'. And it is this heart akin which performs the function of criticism causing no hurt whatsoever: selecting and praising the best in men and things, suggesting ways for better and better achievement, strengthened in its task by its inherent traits of politeness, restraint, civility, raised to the level of virtues by courage born of conviction, leading to expression without equivocation, innuendo, irony.

Criticism can be directed in a well-meant spirit: with the benevolent recognition that it takes all sorts to make the world. Lurid vulgarity exists side by side with rigid austerity, and extravagance with economy; an honest critic can only improve if what he sets out to improve yields to the power of his persuasive charm or convincingness; to him a silk purse is a may point out that in view of its expensive material it merited an attractive workmanship, but he would not predicate that for sheer excellence it could be made out of a sow's ear; in his criticism his own sense of values amid life's fluctuating values is of paramount importance to him, and his integrity is as sound as his taste is inborn or evolved. He has no axe to grind; no back to scratch; no log to roll; he may provoke thought, he may possess a febrile imagination, but he is never given to speaking with an air of finality: "I am Sir Oracle, and when I open my mouth let no dog bark."

Such a critic need not necessarily be one by vocation; he may belong to any of the learned professions, be high in the social scale and have large leisure at his disposal for the use of culture; or he may be earning his keep (and that of his family) in the world's humbler spheres of work, but he is a person essentially civilised. Thus he may be a statesman, a judge, a legislator; an actuary, a statistician, an economist; a lawyer, a doctor, a schoolmaster; a journalist, a clerk, an insurance salesman; an actor, a singer, an entertainer; a banker, a tradesman, a mechanic. The class of creative artists — the writer, the painter, the composer — and that highest intellectual and spiritual elite comprising the research scientist, historian, mathematician, philosopher, mystic, saint, sage, social and religious reformer, have also thrown up the most effulgent and catholic critics. The politician too has played his particular part in the region of criticism and to him who has displayed his wisdom and insight through constant reflection and ever-widening experience may be well-applied the observation of Lord Morley's: "Politics are a field where action is one long second best and the choice of it lies often between two blunders." Politics have decided the fates of nations, the growth, decline, and fall of empires; and it is nothing strange to see the unsoundness of administrative health where the party in power has failed stubbornly to realise the importance of the party in opposition to criticise freely. Every party has had its birth and development through what is known as the historical process—through its changing attitudes to the instrument of government: revolutionary doctrines inspiring armed rebellions and unbridled excesses, and inspiring too with the same intensity non-cooperation and peaceful resistance. One defect, however, in the role of the opposition is that party criticism tends to be vitiated by its own considerations, as parties are important or unimportant according as they hold or do not hold office. Here it is the elder statesman who has passed through political weather both calm and inclement, is no more an opportunist or a fanatic, and need not tergiversate nor resort to subterfuge that can make the most constructive contribution to criticism. For with his vision gained through disinterestedness he alone can speak bravely, and although the truth



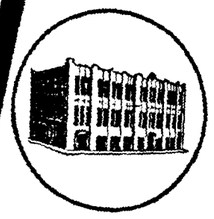
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of what he speaks may not be your truth nor mine — truth is relative, not absolute, and can be supported or discredited by argument — his *ipse dixit* alone makes for its validity.

The improvers, to use the words of Matthew Arnold, "are the true apostles of equality"; they are those "who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light."

In literature, it is a well-known story that when Shelley drew the attention of Keats to some weak lines in his Endymion, Keats thanked him saying: "I want to fill the rifts with gold." That's the true creative spirit, one wonders which is more eloquent: the briefness of expression or the nobility of sentiment. Criticism, as T. S. Eliot has said, must be fused with creation. "The critical activity finds its highest, its true fulfilment in a kind of union with creation in the labour of the artist. And criticism of imaginative writing must not exclude the less intense activity, perhaps, of reviewing. A distinction may be drawn between the two with regard to their respective functions: whereas a critic judges the work of an author by eternal reagents, the reviewer estimates its immediate worth, its *worthwhileness*, in view of the involvement of his task in time as well as space, the first galloping and the latter restricted to inches if in a daily or weekly whose accent is dominantly political, or a few column lengths in its literary section: a page or some pages — if the review ascends to the peak of criticism — in a monthly or quarterly. If the critic's is a contribution to the sibylline books, the reviewer's is a struggle in newsprint or featherweight to keep the balance steady — thus to endorse Frank Swinnerton's remark that "the critic is a philosopher: the reviewer a man with a pair of scales in his hand." And many harsh things have been said about reviewers; they are all sorts of vermin and obscene creatures; but the reading public cannot afford to dispense with them for in this age of increasing hurry, publicity, and much ephemeral literature, the good and the seasoned among them act as reporters of and guides to the new in the bookfront. Authors of course are a sensitive lot — and they cannot bear adverse criticism. They may present an outward calm, still the pain of the hurt rankles within. But he cuts a most sorry figure who gets angry with his critics, though of course he always has the right to protest against misrepresentation. Envy and animosity are created by cliques, and very often a ferocious critic happens to be a buried poet or novelist. But of all things poisonous dishonesty in criticism is most poisonous. The fair critic is ever courteous, an Admirable Crichton on the writer's side.

Canons of art criticism are quite different from those of literary: for instance, in a painting or sculpture, is the artist to reproduce the exact likeness of his sitter and yet make his portrait or statue a work of art Here again one comes across the story of how this old-as-the-hills dispute in portraiture between realism and art was decided for the artist by Michaelangelo. The great sculptor was at work on his celebrated statue of Lorenzo de Medici and a watcher-by kept up a running protest that it didn't in the least resemble Lorenzo whom he had known for years. To which Michaelangelo, bored stiff, replied: "Who will care whether it's like him or not a thousand years hence"

Coming to the realm of music, criticism of it is even more difficult than of art and letters. For as Harding says, "Music is a highly sensitive medium, capable of reflecting with the accuracy of a mirror those fleeting sensations and changing moods that sweep the mind of the artist like clouds in a summer sky." Its subtleties and nuances have to be responded to with a considerable degree of proficiency in its grammar, aided pre-eminently by memory, high seriousness tempered with sensitivity, awareness of expanding spiritual horizons, clairvoyance of nascent dazzles and fragrances, and command of a silken-fine language for communication. It is rare to find these several qualities blent in one critic; music criticism today (I restrict myself to the several types of it relating to Karnatic music), is more often glib than sincere and its offhandedness is irritating.

In the creative arts of poetry, painting, sculpture, music, the act of creation itself constitutes the highest criticism; the vision and the design are the artist's own from which it is impossible to separate his personality; and no criticism can be applied to these from any angle of 'improvement'; it has to limit itself to technical details.

It is a fact, not to be refuted, that there are varying levels and degrees of human intelligence; also that what man does proceeds from his dual nature.

"Two principles in human nature reign;
Self-love to urge, and Reason, to restrain;
Nor, this a good, nor that a bad we call,
Each works its end, to move or govern all;
And to their proper operation still,
Ascribe all Good; to their improper, Ill."

So Pope summed up man two and a quarter centuries ago. Knowledge grows with education and experience; the growing is a continual process, and for all their profession of self-sufficiency, men can always learn from each other, and above all, from intelligent self-criticism. — A. I. R. Broadcast, Madras.

Islamic Centre in Washington

President Eisenhower opened last week the Islamic Centre in Washington.

The President said he regarded his participation in the dedication as a privilege and lauded the contribution to mankind of the countries of Islam. "Inspired by a sense of brotherhood, common to our innermost beliefs, we can here together reaffirm our determination to secure the foundation of a just and lasting peace," he said in a brief address.

The United States, the President noted, "has long enjoyed a strong bond of friendship with the Islamic nations and, like all healthy relationships, that relationship must be mutually beneficial."

Mr. Eisenhower interpolated in his prepared remarks to stress that Muslims enjoy full religious liberty in the United States. America would "fight with her whole strength" for the right of Muslims to have their own religious establishments and worship as they desire in this country, the President declared.

"This concept," he affirmed, "is indeed a part of America, and without that concept we would be something else than what we are."

The Center is the scene of periodic lectures on Islamic culture, literature, philosophy and arts, Arabic language lessons, religious classes for Muslim children, and Islamic services, including marriages and funerals.

(*Continued on Page* 15)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

U. N. I. C. FINDINGS ON HUNGARY

Sir,—The findings of the U.N. Investigation Committee on the Hungarian uprising in October last are commendable and it is good that the world is told of the great error committed by so great a nation as U.S.S.R. It is also clear from these findings that the personal letters of the Soviet Prime Minister to the U.S. President and to the Prime Minister of U.K. now seem intended to cover the mistake the Soviet had committed. We must also consider whether the release of these findings by the U.N. Investigation Committee will, at this juncture, lower the world tension now prevailing, or whether it has come at an inopportune moment impeding the solution of the disarmament problem. At a time when the disarmament talks are going on in London, these findings, instead of easing the situation may aggravate it.

The Western powers may call for a conference outside the U.N. lobbies, inviting the representatives of the Soviet and some of the neutral countries to reach an all-round agreement to establish good relationship between the nations.

S. SOUNDARARAJAN.

Madras.

A PIONEER IN THE BOOK TRADE

Sir,—Public memory is short and so it is not surprising that Mr. S. R. Srinivasan should, in his article in the local papers, have omitted to refer to a pioneer in the book trade.

Mr. V. Kalyanaram Iyer commenced business as a book-seller and publisher about 1882 and carried it on in his own name for several years and later till his demise in 1907 under the style of Kalyanaram Iyer & Co. Among the publications by Mr. Kalyanaram Iyer may be mentioned an edition of the first three books of Euclid and an adaptation of Mr. A. F. Murison's "English Composition" (both by Mr. John Adam) and "Readings in Prose" and "Readings in Poetry" edited by Cecil. M. Barrow all of which were long in use in the high school classes. For use in colleges there was an adaptation of Dr. Alexander Bain's "English Grammar and Rhetoric" and "English Anthology" edited by Dr. John Bradshaw portions of which used to be prescribed for the B.A. degree examination by the Madras University. He used to publish for several years an English monthly "The Journal of Education" to which the late Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was a frequent contributor.

Mr. Kalyanaram Iyer published also the first few Kandas of a translation in Tamil of Valmiki Ramayana by the late Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar. The translation was completed by other hands and the remaining kandas making six in all were published by his son Mr. K. Mahadevan who is carrying on his father's tradition in his own name. He has recently published an abridgment of the translation which includes an abridgment of the final Uttarakanda also.

Of the booksellers and publishers of eminence of those days Messrs. Higginbothams are perhaps the only survivors at the present time.

V. VENKATARAMA IYER.

Egmore.

COFFEE

Sir,—Coffee has been a favourite drink in South India. But very few know its history and realize the poisonous effects of consuming it.

This product was not in existence in ancient or medieval India. It originated in Abyssinia in the fifteenth century and was introduced into the West Asian countries in the sixteenth century. The Sultan of Constantinople at first imposed an embargo on its entry into Turkey but later on removed it.

About the year 1690, the Dutch Governor-General of India thought it would not be marketable in India and caused the product to be sent to Java and the adjacent islands. Finally about the end of the eighteenth century or beginning of the nineteenth century, it was brought from Java and introduced into Malabar and subsequently into Coorg. In Coorg the British capitalists exploited Indian labour and made huge profits from the sale of coffee. Now the indigenous Coorgee is following the example set by the British planters. At the beginning of this century, when I was a resident in the Central College hostel, Bangalore, coffee was not consumed by the majority of the boarders. But about six aristocratic students used to prepare it on their own stoves. Now, it has spread everywhere including the villages. Medical opinion relating to coffee is as follows:

"The physiological effects have been tried and *these show that it is a very active poison.* The administration of a few grains by injection under the skin is followed by tetanus-paralysis . . . *There seems to be no doubt whatsoever that the true* reason for the great consumption of coffee as a *beverage is its stimulating and not nutritive power.*"

Sri T. T. Krishnamachari's budget has come as a blessing in disguise at the present moment. It has raised the price of coffee by half an anna per cup. Housewives are complaining that the price of coffee has increased. We will save at least 20 per cent in our domestic expenditure by giving up this chronic custom. While in the case of toddy and alcohol and drinks of that type, it is only the adult that drinks, in the case of coffee, every member of the family drinks it. I appeal to housewives and managers of families to voluntarily give up this habit which is injurious to health and save to the extent of 20 to 25 per cent of the family expenditure. The Union Government will be well advised to introduce legislation to prohibit and bring about gradual elimination of the drinking of this product in accordance with Art. 47 of the Constitution.

There is a custom in Mysore State to offer cups of coffee to visitors at all times of day; in Mercara (Coorg), they offer not only coffee but inebriating drinks also and treat guests to dinners accompanied by cups of coffee mixed with alcoholic drinks. This custom should be given up.

Bellary B. BHIMA RAO

POLITICS AND JOURNALISM

Sir,—Ever since SWARAJYA was started and even when you were running *Swatantra*, I have been a regular reader of your periodical. I have been a continuous reader of your weekly. I have also been in agreement with almost all that you have written on politics and there can be no other opinion under the prevailing circumstances.

My main idea in writing this letter is to find out from you if the policy of the paper is only to criticise all that the Government does or also to appreciate where appreciation is due. Mere criticism of all acts done would create in the opponent a sense of frustration and obstinacy which would be very hard to remove. As human beings, all commit errors and it is only a question of degree. In order to draw the best in men, is it not possible to appeal to one's finer instincts while blaming them for the commissions and omissions done by them. Probably this will produce a better result than mere condemnation wholsesale from a pedestal. I have found SWARAJYA to contain only articles that are critical of governmental actions. Even letters to the Editor belong to this category. While I am prepared to agree that they all are genuine dissatisfactions arising out of experience, I must urge that there should have been another side to the problems posed. It is not difficult to realise that the people, in a democracy, are the true mirror of the government of the day. Government is only a collective reflection of the people's moods and behaviour. So a journalist's duty becomes very difficult. It would always be better to point out the mistakes of both the government and the governed as also to appreciate the good in both when found necessary. To assume that the governed are immune from mistakes is wrong. While addressing the recent Tamil Writers' Conference, Sir S. Varadachari remarked that "literary criticism does not mean that one should find fault with deficiencies in writing. Appreciation of good points also comes within the scope of criticism." I am sure this policy equally applies to politics. You would not say that all that the Government has done is condemnable and the people have been angels.

I am not for a moment suggesting that you should not criticise. In fact your criticisms are very good and they are most essential. My point is that the people must also be taught to behave and know their responsibilities in a democracy. You may take for instance the present purposeful inefficiency of the postal staff. Criticism or praise must be directed on both the government and the people; and good things, when found, ought necessarily to be mentioned. This would be the ideal way of dealing with things. People as impartial and fearless as you alone can bring this standard to journalism.

NAGARAJA G. GURJALE.

W. Mambalam.

International Roads

A new kind of road sign has recently made its appearance in Europe. The sign is green with white lettering and indicates that the section of the road on which it appears is part of a new international network, originally planned by the United Nations Economic Committee in 1950. In 1953 a conference of European Transport Ministers began to work out details and eventually the scheme will spread over thirty thousand miles of roads and link eighteen countries in Western Europe.

Sir Donald Gainer, head of the London Office of the International Road Federation, when interviewed recently, stressed the importance of considering the transport system of a continent as one whole, and the advantages of bringing all forms of transport into the closest co-operation with one another on an international basis. The international roads, he said, would link the industrial centres of the countries. Britain had agreed to the general scheme and certain of her roads were marked as international roads belonging to the European network. The two examples he gave were E1 — standing for European Road Number One — which runs from London to Palermo in Sicily by way of Southampton, Paris, Nice and Rome, and E2, which runs from London to Brindisi, in southern Italy, by way of Dover and Folkestone, Lausanne and Milan. In each case the motorist follows the same road sign throughout the journey. Sir Donald said that about one-sixth of the thirty thousand miles covered by the scheme had been completed, mainly in Germany.

Islamic Centre in Washington

(*Continued from Page* 13)

The nations which sponsor and finance the Center are Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and Yemen.

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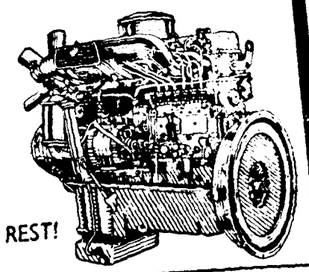
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II No. SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1957 15 Naye Paise

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SWARAJ IN ACTION

"We all ought to know that Swaraj will not at once, or I think for a long time to come, be better government or greater happiness for the people. Elections and their corruptions, injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth, and inefficiency of administration, will make a hell of life as soon as freedom is given to us. Many will look regretfully back to the old regime of comparative justice, and efficient, peaceful, more or less honest administration. The only thing gained will be that as a race we will be saved from dishonour and subordination. Hope lies only in universal education by which right conduct, fear of God, and love will be developed among the citizens from childhood. It is only if we succeed in this that Swaraj will mean happiness. Otherwise it will mean the grinding injustice and tyranny of wealth. What a beautiful world it would be if everybody were just and God-fearing, and realised the happiness of loving others! Yet there is more practical hope for the ultimate consummation of this ideal in India than elsewhere."

The passage quoted above is from Rajaji's *Jail Diary* written in 1921. With what prophetic judgment he visualised the shape of things to come in Swaraj India nearly a quarter century before the advent of Swaraj itself! We have now in full swing elections and their corruptions, injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth, and inefficiency of administration. The picture of life being made into a hell as soon as freedom is given to us that Rajaji foresaw has become a reality, and in the name of Swaraj many miseries have come to people and but little happiness.

The grinding injustice and tyranny of wealth has, within a short period of ten years, got worked up into the texture of the government itself. The process by means of which this result is being produced is the pursuit of the socialistic pattern of society. Under the shelter of this pattern, much ado is being made about getting rid of the inequalities of wealth. The Congress Socialist planners profess ostentatiously to be governed by an anti-rich attitude. But their practice amounts to the elimination of wealth in others and appropriation of ever-increasing quantities of it to their own control, so that the power of wealth may be superadded to political power in order that their own regime may be made impregnable, and exceedingly difficult if not impossible of being dislodged.

There are limits to the tyrannical operations of individual wealth. But when a government represented by the ruling party goes in for confiscatory measures that tend to concentrate in its keeping economic power along with political, the livelihoods of people are exposed to its mercy and freedom is attacked at its most vulnerable point. This is what has happened in the totalitarian countries. It is what is happening in India.

We should not be beguiled by the glamour of the name Socialism. Even at its very worst, the saving grace of Socialism is the provision of employment for all. Without full employment for all citizens undertaken as a definite State responsibility, it is meaningless to talk of Socialism. But the most optimistic of Congress Ministers does not envisage full employment for all in a defined time limit. The utmost they are able to promise is 12 million more jobs at the end of 10 years if their plans go well. The vast majority of the population would still remain out of the umbrella of their economic protection, which means that their Socialist aspiration is only for show and does not cover the bulk of the people.

They have disturbed the traditional springs of charity and fellow feeling that enabled over centuries millions of citizens to live and survive. They have installed in its place a spurious Socialism which in effect only means taxes and more taxes. The protection that people need today is not at the hands of the government but against the government itself. For this government, with its depredatory excesses, has become a symbol of the injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth, wealth in its most fearful form of concentration under totalitarian political contrivance, and it has made a hell of life for vast unprotected sections of the people. We have thus Socialism worked by

and pretend to despise riches. They have preserved intact most of the profligate expensiveness of the old imperial pomp and pageantry and surrounded it with a new oligarchy of the privileged. All moralities have been supplanted by that of the ballot box. There is no justice except for those who can get mobilised into impressive crowds.

At the head of it all we have a charming and beloved Prime Minister steeped in the drama of life and endowed with all the arts of popularity but with no comprehension of the depths that lie under the surface of reality. His indefatigable energies are most of the time lost in a wild goose chase after false will-o-the wisps that bring no happiness to the nation.

Hope and happiness lie in right conduct, and love and fellow-feeling among citizens; and education to create this world of beauty in the country is the greatest of our needs under Swaraj. For as Rajaji foretold more than 25 years ago, it is only if we succeed in this that Swaraj will mean happiness.

"Contempt" and "Privilege"

'Contempt' and 'Privilege' proceedings wherein judge and prosecutor combine and offenders are tried, convicted and punished for alleged infractions of dignity or authority by the complainants themselves are an exception to the principles of jurisprudence and a relic of the past when nothing better could be done. He who says he is injured cannot himself be an impartial judge in the case whatever be his merits. This anomaly has remained over in modern times merely because vested interests do not yield to progress as quickly as they should. In fact there is no justification for preserving this 'right' as other and more satisfactory procedures can easily replace the old unjuristic procedure without any danger to the legitimate authority or dignity.

In recent times this anomalous weapon has become a rather popular thing with legislative bodies who find it a very convenient way of dealing with those whose behaviour does not please them. It were tolerable in some degree if the alleged offence be one that was committed within the precincts of the chamber whose dignity has been wounded or thought to be wounded. But under some old rulings of the Speaker of the British House of Commons this jurisdiction wherein prosecutor becomes judge is extended to alleged transactions and speeches or writings outside the walls of Parliament House and it is acted upon in this country also. It has become quite common now to issue notices under the law of Privilege to outsiders who have said or written something somewhere which is supposed indirectly to 'offend the dignity of the House'. The law provides or can provide other remedies but since they have to be sought before independent tribunals, 'Privilege' proceedings are preferred by the prosecuting party. The very reason that makes it an anomaly in jurisprudence is itself the motive that leads to the preference on the part of wounded dignity.

In olden days it may be it was necessary to bolster up the importance and power of popular bodies with such drastic powers in order to make people fear and respect 'fellows no better than yourself'. But the old order has changed. It is totally unnecessary in these days, when the dignity of popular bodies has been firmly established in the public mind. It is no longer necessary to tolerate a system in which he who indicts another himself tries and convicts him for the offence. It is time this relic of the past be done away with, particularly because it is unnecessary in itself and is an impediment to the freedom of the Press which is so much more necessary to safeguard for restraining democracy from going wrong.

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The Accused

Four men in the Kremlin, once patriots, now plotters, follow in the long Soviet parade to exile.

Their time is up, and they go without a public word.

The accused, says the communique of the Soviet Union Communist Party, are against peaceful co-existence: against autonomy for local Soviets; against incentives for farm peasants and new planning for collective farms; against the reorganisation of industrial management.

They are sectarian and dogmatic, and against doing away with the personality cult; against normalisation of relations with Japan and Yugoslavia; against more milk, butter and meat for the Soviet people.

And, Nikita Khrushchev says, they are cunning plotters who planned to seize control of the party and the government.

What do the accused say to all this?

We shall never really know.

JOHN E. FRAZER

Implications of Russian Dismissals

Malenkov became identified with a policy of making life easier for the people—the life of the body as well as, possibly, that of the spirit—while Molotov was thought, on good authority, to insist on the need for the iron hand in a velvet glove, to deprecate the over-hasty de-Stalinization and to fear the possible consequences of the partial liberalization initiated by Khrushchev.

Thus, in pointing at both of them, by implication, as miscreants, *Pravda* makes it fairly clear that this is a case of Khrushchev, at the centre, hitting out at the two extreme and opposite wings of the party.

—VICTOR ZORZA of the



Sotto Voce

Truce as Smoke-screen

This is the Age of Make-believe Truce in India. We have, first and foremost, the ten-year old armed truce in Kashmir. Inspired rumours are in the air suggesting that a solution is imminent, which will register the accomplished aggression of Pakistan. Mr. Meherchand Mahajan's illuminating articles in the Press show that if the truce is not just a wooden lie but is to lead to a fair decision based on law and equity Pakistan should be asked to clear out and the whole of Kashmir come to India. But that would be to reckon without Mr. Nehru.

* * *

When Mr. Mahajan, then Prime Minister of Kashmir, insisted on that fateful evening of October, 1947 that India should accept Kashmir's accession and an Indian army should be immediately flown to Srinagar to save the city, Mr. Nehru "as usual" flew into a rage and ordered the audacious man to leave the room. But the next moment Sheikh Abdullah had quelled the storm by scrawling a few words on a bit of paper. Long after, when the limited issue of Pakistan's aggression was before the Security Council our chivalrous Prime Minister must needs make a gratuitous offer of a plebiscite. Mr. Mahajan cogently points out that he had no power to do this under the Instrument of Accession. The people of Kashmir did not want it either.

* * *

This Hamlet-like indecision at crucial moments is due to a conflict, which is endemic, between Mr. Nehru's cerebrated beliefs and his true instincts. His friendship with Abdullah may have prejudiced him against the Maharaja personally. And it is unfortunate but true that he invariably rationalises his prejudices by conjuring up the bogey of "casteism and communalism". While Abdullah's dynastic ambitions and his flirting with the houri of Independence didn't scare him (even if he noticed them) he obviously thought it virtuous to ignore Mr. Mahajan's and the Maharaja's urgent entreaty to accept accession, perhaps suspecting that it was prompted by Hindu communalism and Dogra dynasticism.

* * *

The longer the so-called truce in Kashmir lasted the less were the chances of the question at issue being re-opened without prejudice. The parrot-like repetition of the offer of an impossible plebiscite has only resulted in attracting the cheap gibes of Europe and America. The Pakistan-controlled part of Kashmir, like the victim in Poe's grim story, *The Cask of Amontillado*, is being neatly immured in the living tomb that Pakistan is raising. But Mr. Nehru keeps assuring us that Gilgit, etc., can be fished out of our neighbour's capacious maw any moment he chooses.

* * * *

And now for more examples of 'truce'. We have the famed industrial truce whose principal architect was Mr. Kandubhai Desai. Behind the smoke-screen of 'truce' the private sector is being saddled with Government-ordered concessions to labour which are calculated to swamp it. The P & T. workers and other employees in the public sector have not been slow to take the hint and indulge in malingering with uptodate refinements at the expense of a remedyless public. But the Finance Minister, serenely ignoring this domestic revolt, tells capitalists that he will ask his labour friends to be reasonable if the capitalists for their part behave.

* * * *

Congress is serenading the Samyukta Maharashtrians and the Maha-Gujeratis to observe a five or ten year truce and give bilingual Bombay a chance to make good. All the response it gets is a knock-out at by-elections. On the other hand, the mere suggestion that the Language Commission's Report should be shelved for a decade or so, makes the champions of the Rashtra Bhasha foam at the mouth. And in Kerala, taking advantage of the Constitutional 'truce', the Communists are destroying property by the simple expedient of denying police protection. The police, it seems, have been far too long the instrument of the exploiters. They are now to reverse their role for a change.

* * * *

But even our peace-at-any-price Congress stalwarts must have been startled by Mr. C. Subramanyam's bland offer of a ten-year truce to the D.M.K. A party which zealously apes the aims, manners and the methods that won Pakistan is told that it need not give up its objective but merely keep it in abeyance for a strictly limited period. All that Mr. Subramanyam asks is that he and his friends be given a reasonable opportunity to get as many heavy industries as possible started in Tamil Nad. The simple-minded foreign investor is to be charmed by the idyllic peace that this 'truce' with the D.M.K. will establish in India into pouring out a cataract of gold into our Government's lap. But alas, Mr. Annadurai is not interested. He wants to make hay while the sun of Mr. Nehru shines, radiating doctrinaire democracy and general benevolence. The arch-apostle of communalism thus relies on its arch-enemy to help his dream come true. Did not the Kauravas ask Sahadeva to fix the auspicious moment for the commencement of battle?

VIGHNESWARA

The physiologist intensely dislikes the siesta. Sleep taken in the middle of the day, for some reason not fully understood, is very unrefreshing. It seems to be much more satisfactory to have all one's eight hours' sleep at one time.—DR. O. G. EDHOLM, in the BBC programme, "The World of Science".

SIDELIGHTS : :

It is now one year since SWARAJYA was started. This is the first week of the second year. The occasion is appropriate for a sort of stock-taking of the commissions and omissions of the past twelve months. I have no hesitation in saying that the ideal weekly of my conception which I had hoped to turn SWARAJYA into is far from being realised. The responsibility for this failure I can share with none, having been, after a few initial weeks, the only member of the editorial staff. Ill-health and advancing age have often made me wonder in the past few months if it was not after all wiser to give up once for all work laden with imperfection which, for some reason or other, I could not manage to do better than I have done. On the opposite page is published Rajaji's greeting to SWARAJYA on completion of its first year. It is spontaneous encouragement of this kind that has enabled me to cast off doubts and determine to go on.

* * * *

As some of the most brilliant and distinguished writers in the country have been regular contributors to SWARAJYA it has no doubt succeeded in arresting the attention of readers and holding it in issue after issue. This is a good fortune which I can attribute only to the grace of Providence. How, except as the blessing of Providence, is it possible to account for the continuous and unremitting interest which Rajaji has been taking in the work of this journal? All issues but two so far published have carried special articles written by him, and a good few have carried two articles and some even three. Some have therefore called SWARAJYA Rajaji's paper. A distinction, this, to be proud about.

Of course there is a sense in which a journal cannot afford to be anyone else's except the editor's. The unhampered freedom and exercise of the editor's will and judgment constitute the indispensable condition of journalistic probity and dignity. But that does not mean that one should imprison oneself in cocksureness and obstinate servility to pre-conceived notions in the supposed pursuit of independence. Only what is left over as one's own after unlimited receptivity to the urges of reason and wisdom from whatever quarter they may emanate, deserves to be dignified as the outcome of freedom. Of all forms of enslavement, the worst is the fear of being right in response to persuasion, comprehension, appreciation or devotion symbolised in a revered leader or writer.

Of the illustrious finds of the Mahatma, Rajaji has shaped the nation's march to freedom more perhaps than any other contemporary Indian. His gift of combining loyalty with freedom of judgment enabled him on occasions to dislodge the Mahatma himself from pre-formed decisions, and in this way he was for many years a power behind the throne of the Father of the Nation. It was the unique reputation for rectitude that he won through historic trials and Gandhi's habitual reliance on his counsel that brought him latterly the destiny that befell Aristides the Just in ancient Athens. To him belongs today the distilled wisdom of a ripe experience of unparalleled variety and significance, and he with his writing confers on SWARAJYA a distinction enviably unique.

* * * *

Eleven years ago I stumbled on a gold mine of literary and artistic treasure. In these years, except for four weeks when he was out of reach of the post and three months when I was without a journal, Vighneswara has given the world under the title of *Sotto Voce* a weekly essay on current affairs of brilliant and scintillating wit and insight. The original promise was for six months. But it has continued, week after week, for some 580 weeks now. Once in this period there was a valedictory contribution. But it was withheld at my entreaty and *Sotto Voce* has gone on with practically uninterrupted continuity. Vighneswara is the Nation's top-ranking journalist and outshines all others of the craft in erudition, scholarship, vigour and versatility. As a repository of exciting and stimulating intellectual fare there is no parallel to *Sotto Voce* in the whole history of journalism in India or even perhaps of any other country. As the ordained Providential instrument for presenting to the discriminating world a weekly garland of exquisite literary beauty and fragrance out of Vighneswara's magic creativeness, SWARAJYA is blessed above all journals and can count on justification counteracting the sum of all defects.

* * * *

Another of its assets has been the association with it of Sri Krishnan. He is a rare example of successful freelancing in India. Every article of his comes fresh from the ardour of direct personal investigation into some subject of all-absorbing interest to him. He is therefore excited and delighted as a scientist is in his voyage of discovery, and he is really a scientist in writing, with



nothing trite or secondhand about him. His regular contributions furnish another outstanding attraction to readers of SWARAJYA.

* * * *

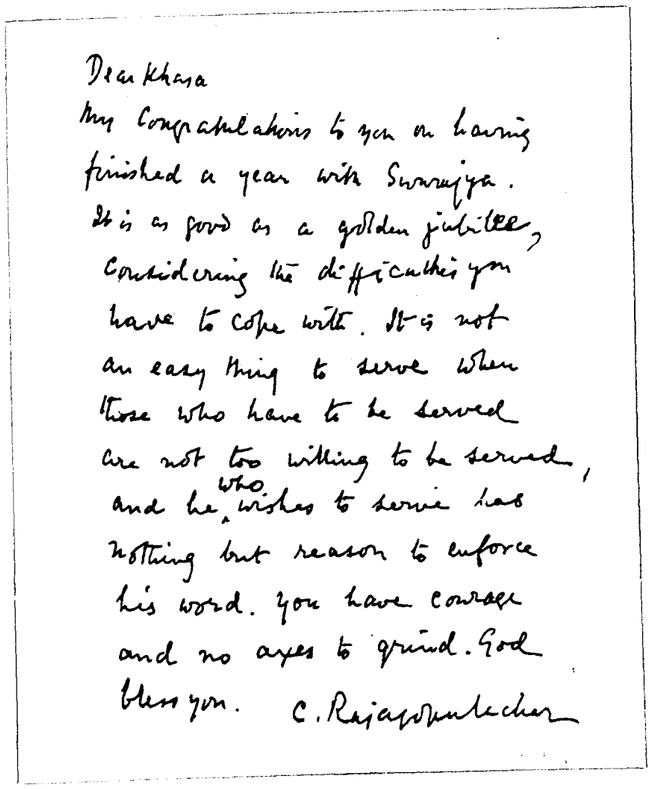
The discovery of new writers and thinkers and the ventilation of their ideas with reverence and sympathetic appreciation is probably not the least valuable of the functions of a journal and I have not been without a due share of gratification over this sort of discovery. Some of our fraternity have left for more lucrative fields, and that, too, in the balance-sheet of good and bad has to be accepted as if it were a laurel. In the midst of those that come and those that go, a good few steadfast adherents have stuck to SWARAJYA in the dedicated spirit of love's labour, supporting and inspiring and strengthening it in its trials and difficulties. As a recent entrant to this body of helpers, I must mention Dr. Monica Felton. She is an Englishwoman with an international mind and a passion for peace, endowed with a sense of kindred for all mankind and strange inscrutable affinities for things Indian. It is the secret of her charm and distinction that, with her, conviction and action go together. There is no hinterland of expediency devoted to hesitancy and doubt, once the conscience is touched about the duty or validity of a particular course.

* * * *

Despite these favourable factors, SWARAJYA has not progressed as much as it should have, mainly on account of limitations of means and energy, blemishes wholly traceable to me personally. Except for the influence exerted by its most distinguished regular contributors, it has failed to get integrated into the status of a national journal of international significance. A certain *ad hoc* character which it has not managed to outgrow has invested it with the attributes of narrow regionalism. An American friend of keen intelligence who has spent some years here and is a great lover of India, and who is also a close and critical reader of SWARAJYA, has summed up his impressions of the journal thus :

"I have been trying to piece together Indian events from dispatches to *The Times*, from the weekly *Hindu*, and from SWARAJYA. .... SWARAJYA gives more illumination about the trends of thought, and it upholds an excellent standard of expression in English. And yet I must confess SWARAJYA gives an overall impression of perochialism. It is hard to say why. At this distance, the overall flavour of Brahminism is more obvious than it might be at a shorter focus. Rajaji, Vighneswara, and you too, collectively and singly reinforce each other's cases for selectivity and aristocracy, without perhaps a conscious effort to do so. Furthermore, SWARAJYA does not seem to be achieving a national perspective, which I think you hoped it would. The reason for this may be, though I am not sure, your passion for moralizing about events and people which intimately touch your daily political life. What I mean to say is this : While I myself can enjoy all the editorializing in SWARAJYA, a person not familiar with the details of South Indian life finds it very hard to understand the bases for all the editorializing. And even when the subject is national or international, a number of comments of local reference frequently serve to obfuscate the minds of those people here to whom I have given SWARAJYA to read. In its present form it cannot widen its readership in the United States to any appreciable extent.

"This is not to suggest you do anything about it. Personally I love to see each issue of SWARAJYA, for it puts me in


Dear Khasa
My Congratulations to you on having finished a year with Swarajya. It is as good as a golden jubilee, Considering the difficulties you have to cope with. It is not an easy thing to serve when those who have to be served are not too willing to be served, and he who wishes to serve has nothing but reason to enforce his word. You have courage and no axes to grind. God bless you. C. Rajagopalachari

electric touch with a few minds which I profundly admire. Also SWARAJYA is an expression of your life, and is in a way a work of art. And thus I bring to bear my aesthetic appreciation, in which is embedded my affection for you as a person and a friend. And from this viewpoint, I am completely fulfilled."

In the coming year an earnest endeavour will be made to overcome the short-comings so charmingly set forth by this friend.

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The Family Life of Animals

"There are almost as many variations on the family theme as there are animals using it," said Maurice Burton broadcasting in the BBC programme "The Naturalist". "Hardly any two are exactly alike, and taking the animal world as a whole there are wide limits between those animals showing the merest beginnings of a family life and those showing the most advanced kind. In no case do we get anything quite as complete as in the human race. On the other hand, everything in the pattern of the human family is foreshadowed in one or other of them. Picking a few at random: penguins have a creche system, hippos have baby sitters and they also have a deliberate system of education for the young; in hippos, rhinos, elephants, porpoises and, strangely, ostriches, there may be several young of different ages with the parent at one time. As to porpoises, it has been shown that the youngsters not only invent games but pass them on from one to the other, so that they have a play culture very like the human children."

Recent researches on the emperor penguin had, Mr. Burton said, given an example of parental care and of timing. "In the emperor penguin the hen lays the egg, the cock takes it on to his feet—no nest is made—and the hen goes off to feed. For 60 days she leaves her spouse to fast and shoulder the family burden. Then she returns and takes over, leaving him free to go off to feed. Thereafter, they take turn and turn about. But the point is that the change-over is unerringly timed." There was a language for communication, he said, in which call and response were automatic and inherited complete.

A cat or dog, a vixen and even a mother hedgehog would not only take note of the cries of the young ones, but would *see* that they were in distress. Hedgehogs, polecats, stoats, rats and mice would carry their youngsters to safety one at a time by holding them in the mouth, just as a cat or a bitch would carry her litter. A hedgehog would help her youngsters over obstacles even when they were too big to carry.

Humphrey Hewer, another naturalist taking part in the programme, pointed out that play exercises which developed the muscles, and in some cases represented training for more serious problems of life later on, were

(*Continued on Page 15*)

THE FAMILIAR PATTERN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

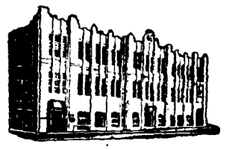
THERE was a gleam of hope in the closing week of June but again the sky has been darkened with the opacity of negotiation contradicted by incorrigible distrust and the desire to get an advantage. The international disarmament talks have assumed the familiar shape of our talks with Jinnah. Whatever you offer is a basis for further conditions and not a thing to be accepted and closed into a pact. Whenever a condition is accepted, it is treated as a confession and made a foundation for a further condition. Russia's offers have all gone to waste in this same way. Each time when the world's hope is raised reading a Soviet proposal, the reaction is a further condition that strangles the hope. One is sorry to say this, as we were sorry to say it when Jinnah was alive.

And if it is true that on behalf of his government Mr. Stassen has stated in the Disarmament Committee that the U.S.A. will never agree to the total ban on nuclear weapons even if other powers agree to it, then it is a turning point in the history of America's moral influence in the world. From now on, America will be known to stand for barbarity and destruction and the most cowardly weapons of war that mankind ever invented even when her opponent was willing to forego them. Of what use are other conditions invented to cover this disgrace, when it is well known that nuclear weapons can be effective only if used in anticipation and can never await the enemy's attack? To refuse to give them up means a readiness to use them in advance on some pretext or other, to examine which justification no time will be given to any one else.

We have it now clear on the record that U.S.S.R. has declared her eagerness to agree to a ban on all Atomic and Hydrogen bombs and other masked weapons evolved out of nuclear power, whereas U.S.A. has refused to accept any such international ban. That is, if it is true that Mr. Stassen has declared his government's policy as now reported. If it is true, it is a challenge to all anti-nuclear weapon nations which they must take up with the determination to win. It is civilization's cause.

Former American Ambassador Mr. Chester Bowles has recently written in the *New York Times*: "India has felt it necessary to match United States build-up of Pakistan's military establishment and committed over one hundred million dollars in hard currency toward the purchase of British and French military planes at full market price." This money, Mr. Chester Bowles points out, "was withdrawn necessarily from the funds available for India's Second Plan." Our battle for progress therefore includes a relentless battle against the Cold War of the Powers and particularly against their jet-nuclear programme. Without winning that battle for civilization, our battle against poverty will be lost as fast again, each time we seem to win. To relent in this is to lose all our policies.

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THE UNION BUDGET AND SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By Prof. B. R. SHENOY

It is important always to keep before our mind the fundamental principle that economic development is a function of invested savings. The only difference between planning in a democracy and planning under Communism and other totalitarian regimes is that in the latter savings are made to order, as it were, through the control which the planners have over the consumption of the community. In democracies, consumption is left to the free choice of individuals and consequently savings increase but slowly. At any given moment savings are a given quantity. They are not capable of being increased by methods which are open to totalitarian planners. That is why in a democracy, planning has first to take into account the available savings. In a totalitarian economy, planners first decide how much to invest and then proceed to gather the necessary savings. We in a democracy have got to do the opposite. We have first to assess how much savings are available and then adjust our investment accordingly.

The difficulty with regard to the planning in India is that we are trying to apply totalitarian thinking on planning to a democratic set-up.

In an under-developed economy like ours, the volume of savings is small for two reasons. First, low per capita income; second, the low rate of saving. The per capita income in the U.S.A. is Rs. 775 per month, in the U.K. Rs. 413 per month, while in India at the close of the First Plan, it stood at Rs. 23.42 per month. Whatever we wish to do in the field of economics—planning, good living, organisation of a socialistic pattern of society — all that has got to be done within that per capita income.

What about our rate of savings? In the U.S.A. in 1950 the rate of savings was 15% of the national income and the total volume of savings in U.S.A. was Rs. 17,136 crores. It is nearly double the total Indian national income, that year. Our savings were Rs. 572 crores. This is the basic material on which to build the Plan, because rate of savings has a direct effect upon the rate of expansion of the Indian economy. During the period 1948-1955, Indian national income rose at an annual rate of 2.5%, while the rate of expansion in U.S.A. was 4.9%. This higher rate in the U.S.A. is due to the fact that they have more savings to invest. If we have less savings, our investment must be less. Rate of expansion must be less because brave words do not create savings and without savings economic development is not possible.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period, the total savings available for investment are about Rs. 4,560 crores, assuming that the rate of savings is 8% at the end of the Plan, that is 1960-61 and that there is an increase in the national income of 20%. To this we may add Rs. 900 crores of foreign aid, and Rs. 300 crores of withdrawal from the currency reserves. We planned to withdraw Rs. 200 crores from our currency reserves over the entire period, but we began by withdrawing Rs. 300 crores in a year and a half. By adding Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 4,560 crores, we get Rs. 5,760 crores. What is the Plan's investment contemplation? The Plan aims at a total investment of Rs. 8,000 crores — including December 1956 addition of Rs. 500 crores. This amount of Rs. 8,000 crores does not include the non-monetised sector. The total savings including the non-monetised sector is Rs. 5,760 crores. It is therefore a fair guess that the resources gap of the Plan is about Rs. 2,500 crores.

Until recently we had great faith in deficit financing. After 2½ years of discussion of the subject, and a rise in prices by 27% (by 91 point to 433) in 20 months, we have at last discovered the limitations of deficit financing as a means to economic development.

The question we are trying to examine is whether it is possible to save the Plan. The total volume of resources available for investment, i.e. Rs. 5,760 crores, is mobilised through several ways—into the public sector from the revenue surpluses, which are public savings, market loans, small savings and deficit financing. The Private Sector gains hold of the same volume of saving through the issue of equities and debentures, through self-financing from undistributed profits and through credit creation by commercial banks. *Taxation figures in this scheme of things as far as it succeeds in creating revenue surpluses. If additional taxation does not create revenue surpluses, taxation does not contribute to plan finance.*

Has the heavy impost of the current year contributed to revenue surpluses and how much? The budget receipts during the current year from the new impost of last May is about Rs. 73 crores. The whole of this does not go into Plan finance. How much goes? Only Rs. 40 crores. What about the balance? *The balance would be eaten up in administrative expenditure. It is not available for plan finance.* What would be next year's position? We do not know. In a full year, the estimate is that the new impost will bring about Rs. 88 crores. I am excluding the additional levies on railway traffic. Including additional railway traffic, it would be over Rs. 100 crores. The whole of this will not go to Plan finance. But in the process of this collection of Rs. 40 crores for plan finance, a large amount of damage has been done.

Can taxation save the Plan? The taxation has saved the plan during the current year to the extent of Rs. 40 crores. Taxation does not add to the savings of the community. Going back to our fundamental proposition, viz., economic development is the function of invested savings, any measure we may contemplate would contribute to economic development only in so far as it contributes to additional savings. *Over-all savings of the community will not increase merely because the Government has decided to set up the tax levies. Savings in a democratic community are a given quantity in a short period. What happens when additional taxes are levied? The resources are taken away from the Private Sector into the Public Sector.* The Private Sector loses at least the amount of the revenue surplus. I say at least because the Private Sector may lose more. *The taxes are paid not necessarily out of the consumable income.* Taxes may be paid out of potential savings. If taxes are paid out of potential savings, since the whole of the tax revenue is not public saving, taxation might lead to a reduction in savings of the community as a whole. We proceed to finance the Plan more by taxation and revenue surplus than by administrative economy.

In actual fact, the gap in resources of the public sector may be considerably more than Rs. 2,100 crores because receipts under several heads, in particular under market loans, contain water. The expected receipts from market loans is Rs. 700 crores. During the last few years, public subscription to Government debts is rising very steeply from about Rs. 14 crores to an annual average of Rs. 100 crores. But this is no evidence that an increase has taken place in the savings. During World War II, Government loans were a great success. The subscriptions exceeded the expectations. In other words, the increase in public subscription to Government loans is no indication that more savings are being placed at the disposal of the Government.

A study of the subject has shown that during 1955-56 or 1956-57 no part of the voluntary savings of the community has flown into the coffers of the State. The entire amount of the collection represented part of the inflationary funds put into circulation. The moneys flowing into the coffers of the State through subscription to Government debt are as much savings as water seeping into a well near a canal. If the canal dries up, the well would dry up too. If inflationary finance should cease, the increase in governmental debt will cease also or it will assume pre-inflationary proportions which is of the order of Rs. 14 crores. From the standpoint of the voluntary savings, therefore, the figure of Rs. 1,700 crores is a gross over-estimate. Some over-estimation also exists in the matter of small savings.

Viewing the position as a whole, we find that the finance available falls short of the finance expected and the gap may be much larger than Rs. 2,100 crores; it may be as much as Rs. 2,500 crores. *To implement the Public Sector by drawing on the resources of the Private Sector, as much as Rs. 2,500 crores are to be raised. The implication of this is that the Private Sector investment will take a holiday for five years; the investment activity in the Private Sector will be restricted to maintenance of capital with provision for depreciation only. No expansion. This to my mind is not a practicable proposition. Collecting Rs. 2,500 crores through taxation, loans and small savings is not a democratically feasible proposition. It may be feasible under Communism. The effort involved is considerable because in a community where the masses of people live on the margin of subsistence the scope for a steamroller reduction in consumption is narrowly limited.*—Condensed from a speech at Green's Hotel, Bombay on June 17, 1957.

You become a writer usually to compensate for something that you lack. I had an unhappy childhood . . . if I'd been happy I couldn't have written most of my plays.

—MR. TENNESSEE WILLIAMS.

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'. . . . OVER A.I.R.'

By M. KRISHNAN

IN one of the "Listeners' Requests" broadcasts of film-songs from A.I.R., Madras, I heard Lata Mangeshkar plagiarise herself, singing a Tamil song set to the tune of her 'Mera Salaam' in *Uran Khatola*. Who was that admirer of Yeats who said that if, in 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree', the words "nine bean rows" were to be altered to 'eight bean rows' the line would lose its appeal? May be, to some extent, it was that same sort of feeling, a dislike of any change in something familiar, but I am sure it was not only that. This song, if you remember, is sung by Lata and a chorus, both in the Hindi and Tamil versions; Lata has much less to sing than she would, had she no chorus. Even so, her Tamil song is noticeably lacking in that tonal felicity that lends such charm to her voice, in her Hindi and Marathi songs. I suppose she had to keep thinking of the words all the time.

It was in this same broadcast that I heard the kind of film-and-drama-*song* which I thought had vanished, luckily, from the silver screen and the less silvery stage—I mean the sort known, technically and among the cognoscenti, as a 'two-part song', i.e., one recorded over both sides of a gramaphone record. Well, this Tamil song (from a picture titled *Ratnakumari*, I think) seemed fully a three-part song, with lengthy interludes of chanted prose. I think that A.I.R., broadcasting 'fillumigeet' so very occasionally, should make it a rule to turn down all requests for two-part songs. It is not merely that to broadcast such a song would virtually amount to favouring a requestor with twice as much time as another: it is also that life is short.

* * * *

I was positively delighted with *Sadarama* on the night of June 2. Recently, there was a discussion on radio-plays by A.I.R. experts; I do not know what they said, but I must say that though the many plays I have heard broadcast over A.I.R. have differed in their different ways, most of them suffered from the modern and unfortunate trend towards realism, a so-horrible verisimilitude that betrayed the pettiness and gaucherie of Life, in Fact. *Sadarama* was mercifully free from this leaning towards "psychology" (note quotation marks) and probability. It was not bound by the gruesome limitations of life, as logically and psychologically presented by our playwrights. In short it was a melodrama, a good old melodrama where there was a hero and a heroine, a robber and a villain, and even another villain, besides sundry kings and courtiers; where righteousness prevailed right at the end, after sustained intermediate reverses.

Sadarama is a melodrama in Malayalam (the technically-minded might feel that in view of the lack of songs in the play, I should omit the 'melo' from the 'melodrama', but of course, in spite of this technical lack, it is a melodrama) — what I heard was the Tamil version. Perhaps it lost something in the metamorphosis, but melodramas translate fairly well, as rule, and whatever loss there was in quality must have been slight. Sadarama is the name of the heroine; in the penultimate scenes, just before her constancy and virtue are rewarded she is Sadaram for a while, masquerading as a man. There were plenty of tense situations, situations which one could thrill to without feeling any real anxiety, for one knows in one's heart that virtue will triumph in the end — in melodramas. It was like watching a movie in the good old days of Elmo Lincoln and Eddie Polo.

I was impressed by the readiness with which kings, in the times *Sadarama* depicted, voluntarily gave up their thrones and retired to the jungles, to meditate and indulge in other actions worthy of their maturity. Why do the kings of our times cling so tenaciously to their seats, in spite of the fact that they are much older than the kings of *Sadarama*? But what a silly question to ask! Where are the jungles, conveniently handy to which they can now retire, to meditate? Let us hope our Vanamahotsavas will soon provide adequate scope for men of power in our South to follow their traditional surrender in old age.

There was only one little thing that I didn't like in the Tamil version that I heard of *Sadarama*, and that was the enunciation of the heroine on occasion — for example, she said 'Pathma' when she should have said 'Padma'. However, I have heard people say 'Bathma', and I must say that but for a few such lapses the broadcaster who played Sadarama was admirably lucid and spirited in speaking her part.

* * * *

T. Janakiraman's forcefully-written play, *Abhirami* (Madras, June 29), was meant to have a happy ending. But I wonder if it did.

This play is about Abhirami, awaiting the arrival of an unknown young man who might, or might not, agree to marry her — and naturally she is filled with a sense of humiliation and anger. You see, this is the eighth young man; seven previous suitors (I know 'suitor' is hardly the word, but it will convey to you what I mean) had turned down young, beautiful Abhirami because her father couldn't afford a substantial dowry.

Her parents think Abhirami is asleep, but in fact she is very much awake, indulging in a powerful soliloquy on the iniquities of the dowry system, and the young men who exploit it. I must confess that though I am no stranger to the vehement fluency that spoken Tamil can achieve on occasion, I was impressed by the adequacy of young Abhirami's language. Not once, during this diatribe on dowry-seeking young men, did her diction stray beyond the decorous limits of radio-play Tamil but still she was quite effective. Wolves, she called these young men, ravening wolves hunting dowries — she called

INFLUENCE OF PRESS ON THE PUBLIC

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

VIEWS about the influence of the press on public opinion are apt to run to extremes. In Britain one extreme is represented by those who argue that it was the advocacy of the *Daily Mirror* — a paper normally devoted to sex, crime, scandal and strip-cartoons —which won the 1945 General Election for Labour. The favourite example used to support the opposite conclusion is Lord Beaverbrooke's *Daily Express,* which goes every day into one-third of the homes in Britain. It is read regularly by many readers of *The Times* and the *Daily Worker,* as well as by millions of middle-of-the-readers who never look at any other newspaper. Yet it has been consistently wrong in its prognostications about the big issues of public affairs, and inspite of energetic campaigning over many years it has failed to convince the British public either of the wisdom of free trade within the Commonwealth or of the inept wickedness of Lord Mountbatten, whom it has still not forgiven for flinging away the Empire's crowning jewel. Hence its critics are apt to conclude that no paper, however popular, can seriously influence the opinions and actions of its readers.

The truth, I suggest, does not lie midway between these points of view, but has to be sought in a different direction altogether, and SWARAJYA'S first birthday seems to offer a good opportunity for both readers and contributors to have another look for it. Circulation and influence, everyone agrees, have no direct relationship to each other. Often they are in inverse proportion. But it is not a sufficient explanation to say that small papers are often read by "big" people. It is necessary to analyse why this should be so, as well as to try to understand why people who think of themselves as "ordinary" readers can give a paper an importance out of proportion to its size.

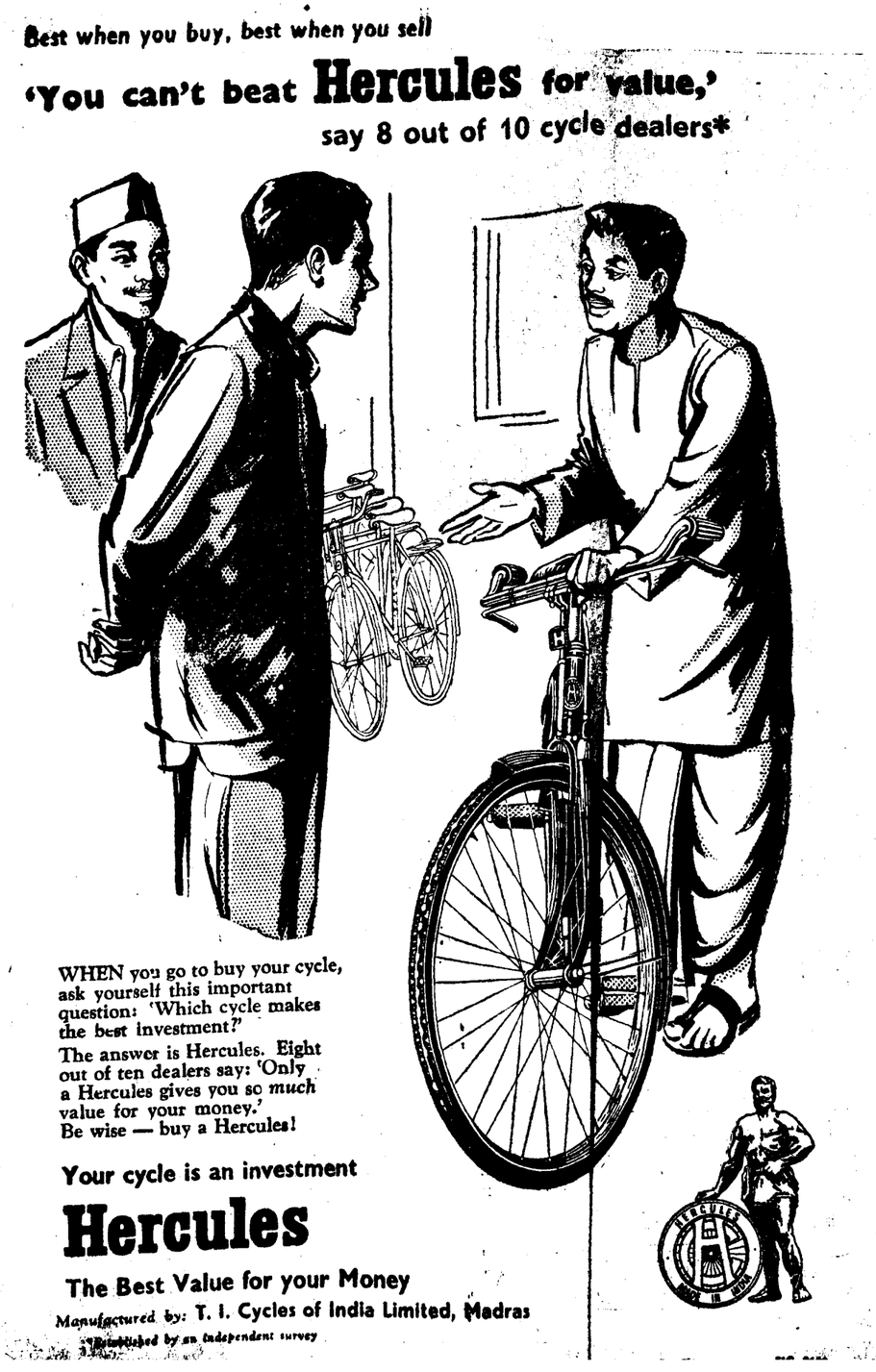
Some small newspapers have achieved importance through the presentation of news unobtainable elsewhere. A classic example of this was *The Week,* a mimeographed news-sheet which circulated in London before the war, and which contained so much news not to be found in the printed press that its list of subscribers contained the name of almost every politician of influence between Berlin and Washington. The news was presented with a strong leftward slant, but it was the facts and not the angle from which they were presented, which made the paper indispensable to everyone who wanted to know what was really going on in the world.

Another, bigger, and much more subtle influence is exercised not by the provision of new facts, however slanted, but by what may perhaps best be described as the setting of a tone.

"Slant" and "tone" are not to be confused, and a comparison between the Indian and British press should make the distinction clear. The first impression of British readers coming to this country is that the English-language press in India is remarkably free from slant. Dispatches from Moscow and Peking, as well as from London and Washington, are written straightforwardly, without the persistent elbow-nudging which constantly reminds newspaper readers in Britain of the way they are expected to think. News about Indian affairs seems to be equally objective, though here the newcomer is conscious of being handicapped by an insufficiently detailed knowledge of the background to current events.

But to catch up on this background knowledge is also to wake up to the fact that the various slanted angles from which news is presented in the British press are, in India, replaced by a single dominant tone, a tone of passive acceptance of things as they are. By this I do not mean that there is never any criticism. But the criticism — like the criticism which is to be found in the Soviet press of administrative errors and of policies that are about to be discarded — is essentially superficial. There is no questioning of basic assumptions, of standards, beliefs, ruling ideas. Instead of being prodded into the acceptance of other people's opinions, the reader is numbed into quiescence, surfeited with facts that seem to have no particular significance. One is left in doubt as to whether this is because nothing very much matters, or because everything matters equally. Either way, what is missing is a sense of proportion.

SWARAJYA needs no praise from me for being an exception. Other people, much better qualified than I to judge, have congratulated its editor on publishing facts which cannot be found elsewhere and on a freshness of outlook generous enough to offer hospitality to many different, and sometimes conflicting, points of view. These qualities — not only in India but in every part of the world today — are as rare as they are important. But to estimate the paper's real value — and its value for the future — one must go much deeper, to the fact that readers, instead of being coaxed or pushed towards a set pattern of conclusions, are stimulated and encouraged to do their thinking for themselves. Most thinking takes the form of repeating in one's own mind, perhaps with a few personal variations to give an illusion of originality, ideas which have been pumped out so often before that the thinker can be fairly certain of a guaranteed minimum of agreement from others. SWARAJYA offers no such comfort. That is why its influence will never be measured in terms of the mass-turnover of public opinion. But if it continues to encourage its readers to think independently and to have the courage to express their thoughts aloud its influence on the future should become, in the real sense of the word, incalculable.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TAXATION WITHOUT BENEFIT

Sir,—In a Welfare State like Great Britain, the citizen is willing to bear any amount of taxation because he is sure that he gets relief by way of free medical aid, free school education, old age pension, etc.

Our first plan period is over. Education and medical aid seem to have received step-motherly treatment from the planners. A parent has still to pay heavy tuition fees. What is more, with each year, there has been a scramble for seats and more students are being denied admission.

It is not too much for us citizens to wish that the Government should pay more attention to these important aspects before they demand more taxes.

Hyderabad. H. RANGACHAR.

AN ANOMALY

Sir,—May I bring to the notice of the authorities concerned through the columns of your esteemed journal, the great injustice done by the Union Government to the certified auditors of the former Part 'B' areas in the matter of providing opportunities for unrestricted practice throughout the territory of India?

Prior to financial integration in April 1951, certificates, renewable annually were being issued to qualified auditors by the Government of Mysore under the Mysore Companies Act. No auditor was allowed to practise within the State of Mysore unless he obtained the requisite certificate from the Government under the Mysore Companies Act. But with the extension of the Indian Companies Act throughout the Union territory and the simultaneous extension of the Chartered Accountants Act in 1951, the auditors from outside the State became qualified to practise within Mysore State and at the same time the Act prevented the certified auditors to take up audits outside the State. This measure has eventually put all the registered accountants, State auditors and other categoauditors of Part 'B' States. A and 'C' States, irrespective of their academic and professional attainments, on a par with the chartered accounants, but this privilege has been denied to the auditors of part 'B' States. A separate set of rules known as the "Restricted State Auditors' Rules of Part 'B' States" were framed for Part 'B' State auditors by the authorities of the Institute of Chartered Accountants with the approval of the Government of India, which has prevented these auditors from practising elsewhere.

In view of the fact that all companies coming under the Indian Companies Act have been accorded equal legal status, is it not ridiculous to say that a restricted State auditor of a Part 'B' State can audit the accounts of any company of any magnitude in his State and is at the same time incompetent to audit even a small company outside his State?

With the passing of the States Reorganisation Act in 1956, all distinctions that had obtained previously have disappeared; yet the anomaly of discriminatory treatment against State auditors continues.

I request the authorities concerned to do away with this anomaly by immediately enrolling all the R. S. As. as chartered accountants in the interest of justice and fairplay.

S. P. VASUDEVAN, M.A.

Bangalore.

FAIR-PRICE SHOPS

Sir,—It is high time the government take note of the long queues at the fair-price shops which were introduced last year to check the prices of food-stuffs. The terrible crowding at these shops brings out the plight of the public. The helplessness of the poorer section to adjust their stagnant and static income to the mounting prices of food-stuffs is indicated in these long queues.

The prices of all essential commodities like rice, wheat, ragi, firewood and charcoal have increased by leaps and bounds, and

there are as yet no signs of a downward trend in prices in spite of the assurance of government spokesmen that prices have or will come down.

To quote an instance, a particular variety of rice which was sold at about Rs. 56 per 'palla' last June is now selling in the market at Rs. 86, and it is feared this will shoot up in the coming months. The prices of other commodities also have increased proportionately. The working and middle classes who form the backbone of society and who are already burdened with taxes, decimal confusions and 'flu epidemics' cannot any more bear the rising cost of living.

My servant says feelingly that she could get her quota of 2 seers of rice at the fair-price shop only after long waiting. Even though she joined the queue at about 11 a.m. she could reach the counter only at about 4 p.m.

If the merchants are not co-operating with the Government in bringing down the prices of foodstuffs, it is incumbent on the Government to open more fair-price shops and help the struggling section of the people.

The Government might also think of paying their employees in kind. After all, the salary received is spent out immediately on provisions. There exists now definitely a need to open more fair-price shops to enable all classes of people to get their rations without difficulty. Only then the market prices will tend to come down appreciably.

R. VENKATA RAMAN

Bangalore.

The Family Life of Animals

(Continued from Page 7)

very important, and one of the most interesting aspects of family life was the opportunity it afforded for the young to learn by imitation. To find examples of teaching which showed intention on the part of the parent was much more difficult. Maxwell Knight, chairman of the programme, cited the case of the otter. The young had no instinct to swim at all and on several occasions he had watched the mother teaching them to swim by a mixture of enticement and coercion.

On the matter of discipline Maxwell Knight observed: "It is always interesting to me to reflect that when animals dish out correction it's always done immediately the offence is committed. There is never any delayed reaction. I think this is a point where the human race might take example. Punishment to be effective at all should always be immediate so that the offender at once associates it with the offence committed."

.... Over A. I. R.

(Continued from Page 11)

them many other things, no less expressive of her contempt for youthful avarice and meanness.

Well, finally this eighth young man, who is a little short in one leg but remarkably forward nevertheless, says he will marry Abhirami for her own sweet sake — in fact, he presents her with a cheque for Rs. 3000, to cover marriage expenses. The play ends on this generous and rather unusual gesture.

Happy ending? I wonder. I hope you won't think me unduly cynical, but my feeling is that when a wife has such powers of speech as Abhirami has, her husband should be extra-long and swift in both legs, for them to live happily ever afterwards.

* * * *

So far, I have never switched off the radio halfway through a programme, even if I disliked it especially. But I was unable to endure the 'Friendly Warning' programme on the International Geophysical Year, relayed on June 30. If this is science, give me art, or even philosophy. They have some measure of restraint, comparatively speaking, their boost is less yeasty, loud, panchromatic and empty-seeming.

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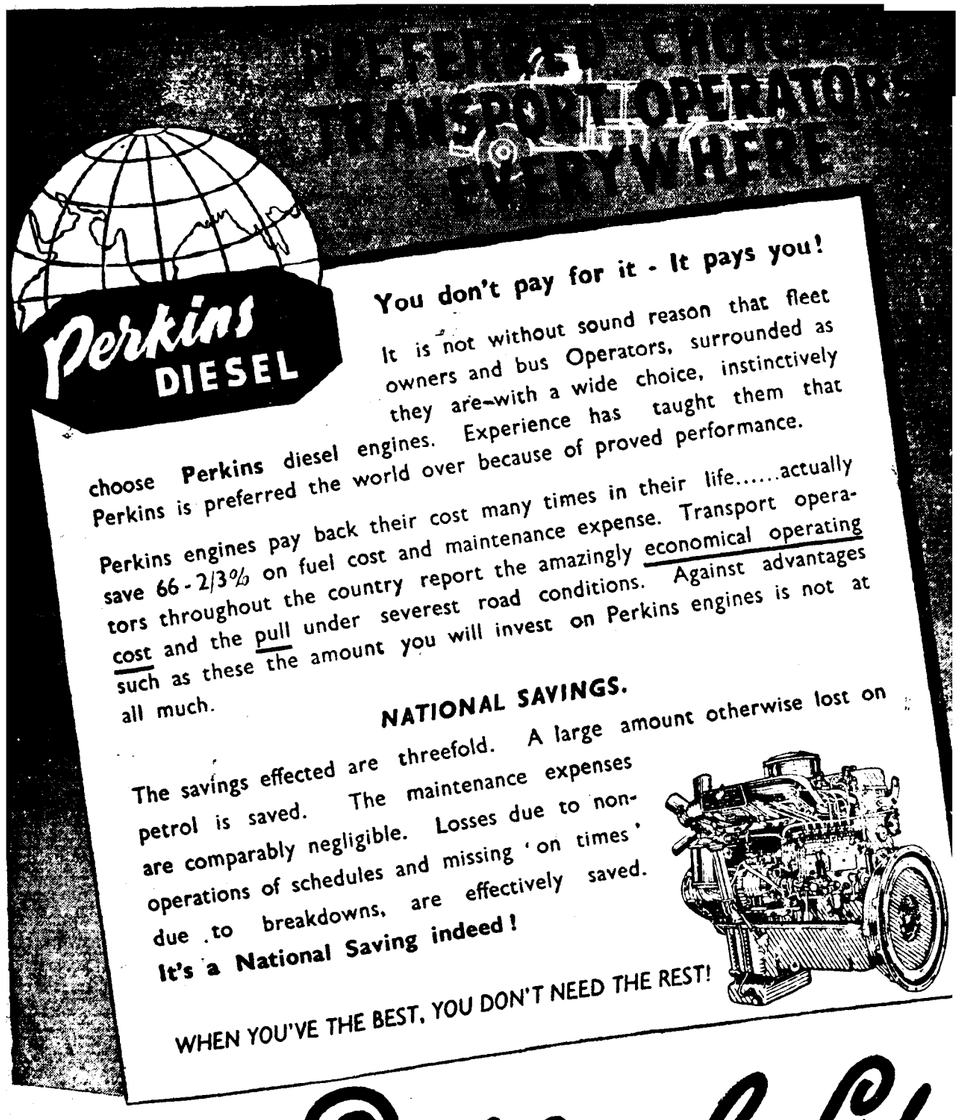
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II No. 2 SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1957 15 Naye Paise

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF NEWS
31 JUL 1957
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LOYALTIES

THERE is some indication in the letters published in recent issues of SWARAJYA that the journal is not altogether fair to the Government and that it is more critical of the failings of the ruling party than appreciation of its good deeds. This article is written to deal with this criticism. The only party to which the editor of this paper ever belonged was the Congress. The momentum of two decades of continual participation in Congress activities bred in him a sentiment of homage to Congress leaders which continued for long after the attainment of independence. It was the reluctant comprehension of the realities of independence under Congress rule spread systematically over ten years of progressive deterioration and degeneration that has compelled him to overcome almost the tradition of a lifetime and realise at last that the Congress leaders of today are interested only in power for themselves and not in serving the country and the people.

It is realised all over the world that work is wealth. Work, harnessed to talent and intelligence and human brain power, is the source of all happiness and prosperity for mankind. If the United States is now the most prosperous country in the world it is because its leaders realised the productive wealth-yielding capacity of human labour and permitted no impediments to be placed on it. They encouraged incentives to work with every device known to human ingenuity. The Congress leaders in India when they came to power adopted the very reverse of this principle. They pampered labour beyond the limits of reason until today it has come to be the biggest menace to the national economy. Workers have understood their rights and not their duties, and the main reason for this is their realisation that the ruling party, precipitated into imbalance by the desire to perpetuate itself in power, will not dare to resist their demands even if unjust. The present position is that managements have lost the capacity to check indiscipline and shirking of work. The patriotic duty of giving of his very best, without supervision, which every citizen has to learn as the way of serving the nation, the Congress leaders have failed to instill into the workers of India. If West Germany has marvellously repaired the ravages of war and come back once again to the forefront of industrial enterprise in Europe, it is because German workers have been trained by their leaders to comprehend the dishonourableness of indiscipline, evasion and shirking. In India, unfortunately, in our ten years of freedom labour productivity has deteriorated and more men at higher wages are now needed to perform diminishing quantities of work. Labour indiscipline fostered by Government policy is the heaviest dead-weight now pulling down Indian economy, and so long as relief is not provided against it, 5 million crores will go down the drain in the same way in which the bulk of the Plan crores have gone.

It is not contended here that workers are not entitled to a more liberal share of the proceeds of industry than they have been getting hitherto. Our objection is to the undermining of their sense of duty and conscience which has been going on side by side with quite legitimate insistence on improvement of their economic and service conditions. Another deplorable trend has been uneven governmental consideration given to different sections of people. Those that are numerically strong and know how to organise and have learnt to point the pistol at the community with threats of strike have their demands conceded and go on getting more concessions the more they threaten. At the same time meeker elements doing even more important social or public work are ignored and neglected if their demands are not supported by compulsive belligerency.

Official policy has ceased to have any relation to reasonableness of demands and compliance has come to be in inverse ratio to reasonableness and in direct proportion to the strength of the pressure put forth. The premium is on the extent of the trouble given by the framers of demands. As this fact is coming to be increasingly realised, we find the spirit of aggression and bravado invading more and more even precincts that in the past had been noted for traditions of exemplary restraint, loyalty and

conscientious application to duty. After experience of Congress rule for a decade, nobody is able to believe now that good work diligently performed will of its own potency lead to reward and preferment, and therefore application to work is being progressively abandoned in favour of strike-threats, pressure tactics and hunting operations to win the goodwill of the high and mighty that count. There has been, thus, a large-scale destruction of incentives to productivity for the labour force employed in the various branches of the national economy.

The brain power of the nation has been taken care of by the official leaders no better than the labour. Professors and principals have been dethroned and politicians have been allowed to take charge of admissions to professional and scientific institutions. The deliberate wastage of talent has thus been colossal, and particularly in the South, it has been carried to unconscionable limits. We have no doubt, if applications were invited for high-grade educational training from candidates rejected in Madras State, the result will be found to be brilliantly satisfactory, and we suggest that the Government of India start such institutions as a check on regional maladministration.

With neither talent nor labour properly nursed and disciplined, it is not surprising that a state of diminishing satisfaction with Congress rule should be forced on people to-day. Expenditure is not improvement. We have taxes and more taxes, with only a fraction of benefit to show as return. The burdens put on people have been oppressive, the advertisement prodigious, and actual improvement in conditions of life quite negligible. Here is a rigorously edited letter, just received, which is a sample of genuine popular feeling on Government plans and expenditures :

> "You have omitted to discuss in your editorial the blatant phenomenon of creation and provision of "political jobs" to the sons, grand-sons, sons-in-law and would-be sons-in-law of VIP's in the administration. Had the Father of the Nation been alive to-day, he would be truly shocked at this state of malfeasance flourishing under the aegis of his principal *chelas* and the ease and facility with which high-salaried jobs are created and rapidly filled in the name of Plans, Projects, Programmes and Publicity. The dawn of Swaraj and the advent of Congress (mis) rule, which has come to stay, have only tended to accelerate the pace of these appointments. Nepotism is the order of the day and jobbery a unique feature of our young democracy."
>
> For honest people there is no alternative except coming to the conclusion that heavy taxes are being exacted to feed Congress wastage, and just as in the old days the Mahatma won freedom from foreign rule, the nation needs to-day, a saviour to rescue it from financial and other oppressions of the Congress regime. The present rulers have failed the country. Of what use are little bits of good, that can only emphasise the general dreariness or serve the purpose of interested advertisement ?

'CLEAN' BOMBS AND 'CLEAN' CIGARETTES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The cigaratte firms are very closely following the nuclear tactics. The cancer evidence that science has confirmed has become to the cigarette interests as great a headache from their point of view as the agitation against A and H bombs to the Nuclear Powers. £250,000 have been placed at the disposal of the medical experts for a change of opinion on the cigaratte cancer issue. The firms are—it is now widely announced—and newspapers have large-type articles or may be cloaked advertisements on prominent pages—explaining how they are actively engaged in investigating, and will very soon succeed in the production of "clean" cigarattes. It is to be seen which will come out first in the race, the 'clean' bomb or the 'clean' cigaratte. The tobacco interests propose to 'kill' the cancer-producing cause in tobacco as if that were a bug to be caught and disposed of. The semantic jugglery of it is obvious, but smokers will accept any argument for continuing their addiction. They may even take a vaccine to enable them to smoke courageously. It is curious how the bomb-tactics are exactly copied by the cigaratte men. The evidence of medical statistics which finally found the cigarette guilty, is sought to be met by the argument "that people who smoke may be those with a hereditary proneness to cancer as people of certain blood groups tend to get stomach cancer". The cigarette interests want to make out that the cancer potential in the man somehow makes him take to smoking, maliciously to produce evidence to spite the industry, and that really it is not the smoking that causes the cancer but exactly the reverse is the case—it is the cancer that produces smoking and so cigarette must be acquitted, and the industry must thrive. "It is doubtful yet; so, go on smoking"—this is the lesson sought to be impressed, just as the Nuclear Powers want the world to believe that the radio-active quantum is not yet certain to injure, so they must be allowed to go on throwing the poison out until someone proves the certainty of biological and bone-damage. Give us the benefit of the doubt, both the cigaratte industry and the nuclear powers claim. "Do not make your doubts a reason to *avoid* the danger. Wait until you attain *certainty*. Meanwhile we shall try our best with the help of such science-men as we can get to help us." This is the identical strategy of both the tobacco and the radio-active poisoners.



Sotto Voce

Who is the Worse Bigot ?

Prof. Gilbert Murray, the eminent Greek scholar, died last month at the ripe age of 91. An interesting controversy has been going on in the British Press whether he died reconciled to the Roman Catholic faith in which he was born or whether he remained to the end the 'reverent agnostic' which, according to his son and others, he had been for the best part of his long life. Certain Roman Catholics apparently maintain that he made his submission. Others, including his daughter, herself a Catholic, contend that there is no evidence for this supposition.

* * *

To men of a different faith this domestic dispute is interesting for the light it throws on that contemporary Western civilisation which has so explosive an effect far beyond the Western world. Here are the facts briefly summarised from Mr. Stephen Murray's letter to the *New Statesman*. He says that his father had "for some years been increasingly worried by the thought of death". This pre-occupation was intensified first by the death of his old friend Bernard Shaw and then of his wife some months ago.

* * *

When his daughter Mrs. Toynbee asked a priest of her own persuasion to say a mass for her dead mother, who had been a Quaker, he good-naturedly offered to call on her father. She preferred not to disturb the old man. But when later she told him of the priest's offer Dr. Murray "rebuked her and said he would have liked a visit from the priest." So Mrs. Toynbee asked him to tea. The acquaintance thus begun continued. But, says Mr. Stephen Murray, "it was not until a late stage that matters of faith formed the subject of conversation"; and, further, "the visits in no way took the form of a convert being under instruction from a priest".

* * *

Dr. Murray took grievously ill last April. Mrs. Toynbee desired her friend the priest to say a prayer for her father. He agreed, and asked whether Dr. Murray "would like to receive the blessing of the Church into which he had been baptised". She put him off saying that the old man was not in a condition "to recognise any one or understand anything". But when, later, finding her father in a lucid mood she asked, "Would you like to have a blessing from the priest you know ?", he said, 'Yes'. When the priest himself in due course put the question, not as Mrs. Toynbee had put it, but in the identical words he had used to her, the old man again distinctly said 'Yes'.

* * *

The priest gave the blessing. Then, after some whispering, the purport of which Mrs. Toynbee, being too far away, could not catch, he administered the sacrament of extreme unction, which may be given only to a member of the Church. Dr. Murray lived on for some weeks more, but never again referred to these matters. And Mr. Stephen Murray says that the priest himself and his own sister "refuse to make any allegation that his father died in the Catholic Church". He concludes that there was no deathbed conversion in fact. And he rather gratuitously suggests that the priest may have, unasked by and unknown to Dr. Murray, administered the sacrament at his own discretion, preferring "to err in favour of presuming the patient to be a member of the Church."

* * *

We in India are only too well aware of the temptation to snatch souls (not peculiar to Roman Catholics) which besets medical and other proselytisers when men and women of a different faith are in sore straits. At a famous mission hospital the daughter of a prominent public man, a Hindu, who was awaiting a critical operation, was crudely badgered by a stupid neophyte to say that she would accept Christ as her sole refuge in her travail. The girl gave her a spirited rebuff and the missionaries discreetly abated their zeal, no doubt remembering the father. But how many of the poor helpless who go to these hospitals can withstand this racket ?

* * *

Uglier far, however, are the rancoorus partisanship and intolerance of the Savonarolas of Reverent Agnosticism. Mr. Kingsley Martin of the *New Statesman* declared that "the pretence that he (Dr. Murray) died in any other faith, is nauseating to all his admirers". Why "pretence" ? Have there not been last-minute, dramatic conversions ? A. J. Cronin speaks of an old unbeliever who, in spite of age and ill-health bravely went on maintaining "I still don't believe in God", only to cave in when his daughter said, "But, father, He believes in you". Dr. Murray's constant thought of death, his desire to see the priest, his willingness to receive his blessing, all suggest that the long-forgotten faith he had learnt at his mother's knee may have come back to him with terrific conviction when cerebrated "Humanism" looked all too inadequate in the awful clarity of approaching dissolution. The apostles of Reason are as fiercely monopolistic as the shepherd of Christ, thus showing themselves true children of the West.

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SIDELIGHTS : :

The voluntary imposition of cuts in salary by Ministers, legislators and others that are being so widely advertised now in the newspapers has not somehow impressed the public favourably. When the Communist Government was formed in Kerala, the Ministers decided to pay themselves much less than their counterparts in the Congress-governed States. That touched public opinion profoundly because the time was appropriate. Whereas the Congress Ministers waited for ten years to make their voluntary cuts, the Kerala Ministers did so in the very first week of their assumption of office and their cuts were substantial and not merely trivial and symbolic as in the case of the Congress Ministers. The moment it was announced that Communists would form their government in Kerala people knew they would do something dramatic to signalise their advent, and willing or unwilling, that Congress Ministers in other parts of the country would feel themselves compelled to follow suit. This is just what has happened. Credit for all the little cuts that are being nowadays announced is being passed on in the inscrutable balance of public judgment to the Kerala Communists and not the advertisers of the economy campaign.

* * *

Curiously enough, the abstainers, those who have not joined as performers in the economy cut announcements, seem to be rated as of higher worth in public esteem. The renunciation of little bits of income is really of no consequence and nobody would grudge a good wage for a competent Minister. A Minister who knows his job is worth his weight in gold, but if he does not know it, he has to be deemed a liability even if he should forego not 10 or 20 per cent but the whole of his salary. Readers of SWARAJYA know already of a Minister who in the opinion of a fellow Minister has cost the country 20 crores because of his failure to master the details of a big deal. What percentage of cuts for how long a period can make up for so huge a loss? And yet we do not hear in all this hullabullo of stunts in the name of economy that the particular Minister through whom so heavy a loss was suffered has been relieved of the opportunity to go on incurring further loss.

* * *

Sri N. S. Muthana of *The Current*, Bombay, has brought to light the sad story of a ten-lakh building nearing completion which is about to be demolished immediately because the site on which it was built is required urgently for some more important purpose. It does not appear that any of the several high officials responsible for this debacle has offered to make a cut in his salary. How much and for what duration should the cuts be to afford some compensation for the loss of 10 lakhs? And even if the officers concerned should offer their service free, would it be safe to accept it, with this ten-lakh worth of ruin staring one in the face to proclaim its quality ?

* * *

The papers carried the other day a report about a building which cost 20 lakhs to erect and 28 lakhs to repair ! Our first and second Plan periods are replete with monuments of this sort to the skill and calibre of our planners, which illustrate that the secret of choosing the right man for the right place without which there can be no good government, has not been mastered by the leaders of the nation, not excluding even the Prime Minister. It has to be regretfully realised even by admirers of Pandit Nehru that he has chosen the least suitable persons for the highest responsibilities of the State and their potentialities for harm and the accumulated effects of their operations have brought our morale and condition to the very verge of collapse.

* * *

It is a simple axiom of commonsense that a person of controversial involvement in international politics is least suited for the Defence portfolio, especially in a country with non-alignment as its foreign policy. Sri Krishna Menon as the head of the Defence department could not be an asset to India. He is far too peripatetic, inclined incessantly to rush from capital to capital. Over the greater part of the world he enjoys the reputation of being an undeclared Communist. When he goes to Moscow, with or without cause Washington will conclude that an Indian military deal with the Soviet Government is in the offing and proceed at once to strengthen Pakistan militarily. Also, Sri Krishna Menon's experiences have been journalistic and propagandist. As an administrator his record has been dismal, and mixed up with echoes of the jeep scandal, though his rectitude has shone bright through all reverses. Every patriotic Indian has cause to shudder over the fate of our Defence with this globe-trotting, excitable, high tempered, inexperienced ascetic at the helm, and it is to be feared that in military matters he is no better than a novice that can be easily outmatched by the veriest tyro.

* * *

As in Defence, so also in Finance. Sri T. T. Krishnamachari was forced into a false position when he was made to exchange the Commerce and Industries department for the Finance portfolio. From that moment he became the architect of the Socialist planning of the Congress, a responsibility which threw him into the defensive, with all the psychological complications and consequent emotional acerbities that a defensive plight might be expected to entail on a masterful Minister avid for achievement. With past traditions and business career rooted in capitalist enterprise and success, his latter-day attempt to prove himself a Socialist brought him no new converts. Its signal failure has made him get deeper and deeper into irritated irateness. He has begun to be ineffective, what with firm refusal to budge an inch

(*Continued on Page* 15)

THE OBDURACY OF THE WEST

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The political institutions and way of life of the West are certainly far superior to those of the totalitarian governments. But in the matter of A and H weapons they have displayed an attitude that puts them far below the Soviet government in the scale of civilization. Even when Distrust has substantially disappeared, Fear seems to strangle reason and morality. Manpower and the land-mass advantage of the Soviet Power and its own inferiority in these respects have created a morbid fear that has pushed the West into an indissoluble embrace of the nuclear weapon. They seem to believe that the marriage of their military policy with the H bomb is now final and can never be dissolved. Those vast millions of the world's people who want these nuclear weapons to be given up and consigned to the limbo of forgotton evils should cast off the hypnotism of the money power of the West and translate their just wishes into active policy. If world-opinion gives up its efficacy, victory is certain. The West German League has spoken in the language that is called for at this juncture, when the 'clean' American H bomb is offered to the world as the coming Messiah of Peace. It is unabashedly offered as an alternative to accepting the U.S.S.R's. repeated offer that all these nuclear weapons and bomb tests should be totally banned and the nuclear powers should sign an international agreement to that effect at once and see to its execution and for that purpose exercise all powers irrespective of national boundaries. All this is considered no good and that the coming 'clean' American bomb will solve all difficulties.

It is refreshing to read the appeal of the West German League against atomic weapons. This league claims 250,000 members and in its statement (July 10) appeals for the formation of an international league to oppose the development of atomic weapons. It asks for "world-wide strikes and boycotts to bring unreasonable and untouchable rulers to reason and make them bow to world opinion". It is only a down-right earnest attitude and readiness of action of this nature that can stop the obduracy displayed by the Western Powers in this respect.

International friendship and good manners are good and even necessary ; but it is fatal to include in that code a relenting towards the nuclear weapons programme of the Powers. A tolerance of the obdurate nuclear policy of the West as it has now developed is no part of civilization. A more relentless battle is called for than what has so far been given to this monstrous and too long permitted programme that stands so justly condemned by all the enlightened leaders of humanity and science.

A NEGRO GANDHI

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

New York : The Reverend Martin Luther King is only 28, and it is not impossible that he may have to live the rest of his life in the shadow of the miracle he helped bring about in Montgomery, Ala., last year.

Whites and Negroes are intermixed in Montgomery's buses now, although a few of the Negroes who walked for miles every day rather than ride a segregated bus still edge to the rear from ancient habit. Montgomery is the only victory in the long war in the South, and Martin King is that victory's embodiment as a personality.

He remains the minister of a Negro Baptist church within sight of the first capitol of the Confederacy, and he expects to remain with his people.

Occasionally he leaves his ghetto as ambassador plenipotentiary to the great world : Last spring to Ghana, next January to see Nehru in India, yesterday to present his congregation's petition for redress to the Vice President of the United States.

This voyaging to the world of temporal power leaves Martin King with mixed feelings. He is supposed to have said recently that he hadn't read a new book, or thought a new thought or made a new speech in the last year, and that he was in terror of losing his amateur standing.

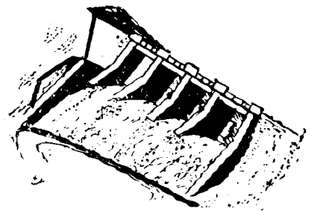
But then, if he had not gone to Ghana, he would never have met Richard Nixon. The Nixons were coming from some ceremony last March 16, and the Vice President stuck out his hand and said he had read all about Martin King in *Time*. Mrs. Nixon told Mrs. King that she had been deeply moved by her love story. The Vice President asked King please to drop in when he got back to the States.

This amateur symbol of non-violent resistance came to the Senate cloakroom one afternoon last month to meet that professional exemplar of non-violent reconciliation. The Rev. Dr. King came accompanied by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, an associate in the Montgomery bus boycott ; the Vice President waited with Labor Secretary Mitchell.

When their business was done, the Rev. Messrs. King and Abernathy — who not much more than a year ago were being hauled in handcuffs into a Montgomery police court — returned to the Raleigh Hotel in an air-conditioned Secret Service sedan.

The Vice President had told them that he could, due to pressures of State, see them only an hour ; their talk ran closer to two

D.V.C.



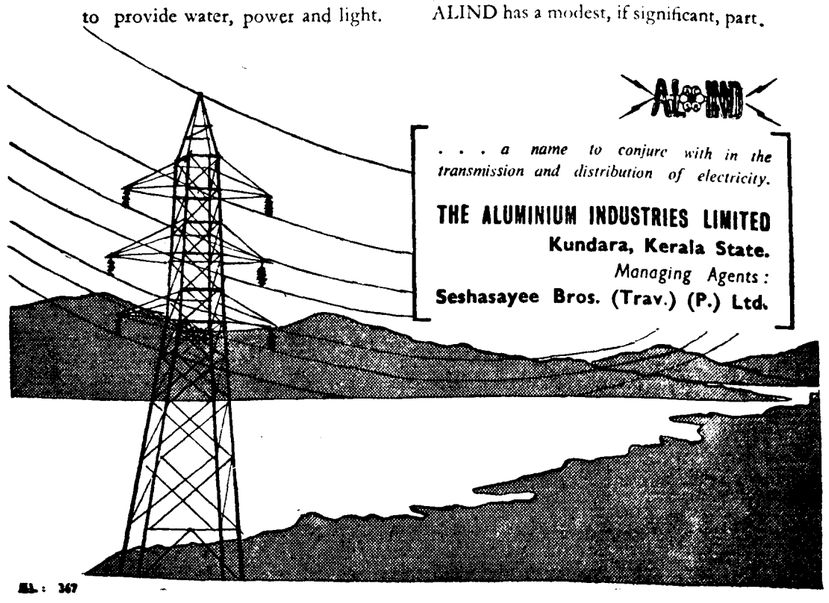
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hours, and Nixon's administrative assistant said later that he had never known the Vice President to get caught up so long with any visitors. There are techniques of hospitality untaught in the hotel schools.

Martin King came most of all to ask the Vice President to go South to give the moral support of the national government to the achievement of integration. He pointed out, of course, a fact which the Vice President is the first man in America to confess: that Richard Nixon is no full substitute for Dwight Eisenhower. Mr. Nixon appears to have plenipotentiary powers only as the President's representative in Ghana, not Alabama. Still, he is chairman of the President's committee to enforce fair employment practices on government contracts, and he would hold public hearings of the committee in any one Southern city the Rev. Mr. King might suggest. The Rev. Mr. King suggested Atlanta, and the Vice President said Atlanta it would be.

The visitors recalled the long roll of crimes of violence against Negroes, and asked at the end whether the President might speak out against this sort of thing. Mr. Nixon made a note of it.

Irving Ives, with the scent of libertarian symbols which is granted to Senators whose terms expire in 1958, came by to have his picture taken with the group, but there were no other efforts at entrapment. The Vice President gave Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy ballpoint pens with his name imprinted upon them, and autographed calling cards for their children.

Near the end, Mr. Nixon wondered aloud whether the Rev. Mr. King, when announcing the approaching march on Atlanta, might point out how close the President and the Vice President stood together in their devotion to the common cause. Martin King was too gracious to reply, but he did not allude to the subject when he met the papers.

Over in the House, the debate on civil rights went on; Martin Dies of Texas pleaded with his colleagues not to pass laws which "would check the tide of tolerance which is sweeping America." Bigotry is unfashionable in Washington.

The Rev. Mr. King is a very young man, and almost a diffident one. He is also the doctor of theology who had great promise in Boston University, an intellectual of the first class who lives in a ghetto. He is big in the word's deepest and finest sense; the night his house was bombed by the Citizens' Council, he came out and told his neighbours to remember that their one, great unconquerable shield was the whole armour of love.

THE WAY TO DISASTER

By B. SHIVA RAO

There is one aspect of the present situation in the country which must cause deep concern to all lovers of peaceful progress. It is beyond controversy that the economic and social conditions of the vast majority of our people are deplorable despite the progress made since independence. Every organisation or group, political or other, regardless of ideological affiliations, has for its objective the raising of the standards of the people.

The question is: What are to be the methods for achieving such reforms? That question has been forced to the forefront by a number of movements in different parts of the country designed to defy the authorities in the pursuit of their objective — all in the name of Satyagraha.

The time has come for all who care above all else for the security of the State — whoever be in authority for the time being — to reflect on the consequences of such efforts at undermining the general respect for law. Gandhiji would have abhorred the use of the term "Satyagraha" to describe all manner of organised lawlessness to effect reforms, some of them of questionable value, others at a pace beyond the resources of a State.

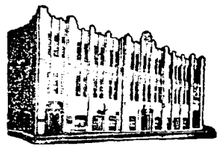
We must remind ourselves of the limitations and conditions under which Gandhiji resorted to Satyagraha. The essential fact was that he did so in a country under foreign rule, among people who could under no circumstances replace their foreign masters with representatives of their own in a constitutional manner by the exercise of their vote. The introduction of adult suffrage within the last ten years from the level of the village panchayat to the central Parliament has so altered conditions that there is no longer any justification, political or moral, for the use of pressure tactics in independent India. The ballot box has created a revolution in the country, of the full implications of which the people are not yet aware.

This is the vital point in India today which must be emphasised until experience familiarises the people with the vast potency of the ballot box. But even under foreign rule, the author of Satyagraha adopted precautionary measures to prevent the general respect for law from weakening. He chose specific grievances — the salt tax for a notable instance — explained in elaborate terms his reasons for the choice, and gave ample warning of his intentions to the British authorities before finally launching the movement. If despite all his precautions and his unquestioned moral authority, violence broke out (even when provoked by the excessive use of force by the other side) Gandhiji promptly suspended the movement.

How far we are from the observance of these standards is apparent from recent instances of so-called Satyagraha, actual or threatened. Some of these, such as the demonstration against a reception in honour of a Union Minister at Jullundhur, may be dismissed as childish, if regrettable, manifestations of anti-social behaviour.

On the other hand, serious notice must be taken of the cam-

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paign of lawlessness — to use the appropriate term — recently launched under the guidance of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia to enforce the acceptance in the U.P. of a series of far-reaching economic and social reforms. On their merits nothing more need be said after the sober and realistic statement of the Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Sampurananand. Even partial implementation of the programme would have reduced the State Government to a condition of hopeless bankruptcy. It is to the credit of the U.P. Government that the challenge was met with restraint and tact and that it fizzled out in the short space of a few weeks.

Undaunted by failure in the U.P. Dr. Lohia has now threatened a similar campaign in Madras, this time to get the name of the State altered to Tamil Nad. He is hoping, thereby, to secure the support of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. He gives the impression of being a man in search of a grievance — provided it can be used for promoting defiance against those in authority.

Dr, Lohia's example is, unfortunately, proving infectious. The Communists in Bihar are reported to be preparing for a struggle unless provision is immediately made of ten crores of rupees for taccavi loans in scarcity areas, remission of rent in areas of substantial crop failure and other economic concessions. Whether these are deserved and practicable within the existing resources of the State is a matter for debate and decision in the Bihar legislature. The short-cut proposed for seeking redress through a campaign of lawlessness is fraught with mischief and danger.

Such instances can be multiplied almost every day. The Mayor of Bombay will resort to direct action if the State Government should persist in completing an extension in Sachivalaya. The Arya Samajists of the Punjab are speaking in terms of Satyagraha in support of Hindi. In Vidarbha, a clash has been reported between some villagers and new converts to Buddhism over an attempt to remove idols.

In this matter, the record of some of the Governments, Central and State, is not altogether beyond reproach. On more than one occasion, they have yielded in response to the pressure of direct action what they would not accept by the normal ways of reasoned agitation, thus encouraging the belief that only campaigns for embarrasing the administration produce results.

For an instructive analogy to throw light on the methods that are legitimate in a democratic country where the technique of democracy is widely understood and practised, one may turn to Britain. The Conservative Government's policy in regard to the Suez Canal is utterly repugnant to the Labour Opposition. Labour leaders in the House of Commons and outside have in numerous speeches declared their intention of reversing that policy if the verdict of the electorate at the next general elections be in their favour. The criticism of this rash adventure in Egypt has been vigorous and unsparing, but there has never been a whisper in this campaign of immediate direct action.

Such is the democratic way in a country where democracy has grown through the centuries and struck its roots deep into the consciousness of the people. If India is to make good her claim of being a democracy, she too must accept the method of educating the electorates on live issues, however controversial, and of patiently awaiting the decision of the electorates at the next opportunity.

There are no short-cuts to reform and progress in democracy. The present tendency to declare "Satyagraha" to remedy all grievances, major or minor, fancied or genuine, cuts at the roots of our infant democracy. But its destructive effects go much further. The general weakening of respect for law, if carried far, must inevitably bring about a growing insecurity and assail the foundations of our independence. In a world which has not turned its back finally on war and aggression, that is a peril we dare not face.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF THE FUTURE

MASTER TEACHERS TO BE TELEVISED

AN American university of the future is being drafted today that will drastically change the picture of higher education in the United States for many years to come. What the precise form will be, is still in the minds of educators and college administrators, but that a profound change in concept and even physical form will take place in the next decade or so, is questioned by few.

What is forcing educators to plan not only new curricula and philosophies of teaching, but even new university buildings and campuses, is the inexorable rising tide of student applications for admittance. This is caused in part by the increasing national birthrate and by the increased desire of parents in middle and lower income brackets to give their children a college education.

Most of the nation's 1,900 colleges and universities are now crowded with approximately 3,000,000 students. The problem is how to care for the increased numbers expected to ask admission between 1957 and 1970. A report by the Educational Policies Commission warns that during this period, college enrolments will approximately double.

Faced with enrolment of some six million young people, most university officials are now figuring how their individual schools will fit into the educational picture. Common to all are such problems as additional teaching space, enlargement of teaching faculties and increased student housing. Of equal importance is the matter of financing and the question of what part of society will bear what part of the cost.

Here are some of the proposals that educators have suggested to meet the future :

Prune the curriculum to provide fewer and better suited courses. Some even recommend placing many present first-year college courses back in secondary schools.

Where possible, replace with television and films featuring master teachers, the present programme that features textbook assignments, term papers and final examinations.

Change the timetable of the academic day to make greater use of existing facilities. Classes might meet not only in the morning and afternoon as they do now, but extend well into the evening.

It seems plain that some of the venerated but expensive traditions will give way before the rising tide of enrolments. First to go, where new campus areas are being planned, will probably be the broad, rolling areas of grass and trees that have been the hallmark of American colleges since the 17th century. Laid out in a period when the availability of land was no problem, most surrounding land is now occupied, while the press for greater use of college-owned space is tremendous. The curtailment of broad campuses will come about, in the opinion of many, because the American student of today is a working student outside of his classes.

To even a greater extent in the future, students will find it necessary to hold jobs between classes in cities and towns near the universities. This means that they must drive their cars from their work and homes to the campus ; park their cars, attend classes and then leave. At Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey, for example, the university has provided literally acres of parking space for its student body of 8,000. The enrolment of this college was but 153 students in 1942. Similarly, at the University of California at Los Angeles, officials expect a future enrolment of 24,000 by 1965 and are planning for 12,000 parking spaces.

Not a collegiate affectation, but vital transportation, the automobile and space for it on the campus are visible signs of the many changes that are likely to transform the American university of the future.

More efficient use of university teaching faculties is emphasised by most educators. While great efforts are being made to attract more men and women into the college teaching profession, there simply will not be eough to man future teaching staffs under present conditions. Many educators therefore plan to use their senior professors to better advantage by supplying them with staffs of assistants to do the time-consuming work of reading student papers and other administrative details. This will give professors more time to lecture and teach larger classes and, in some cases, to put their lectures on television and films.

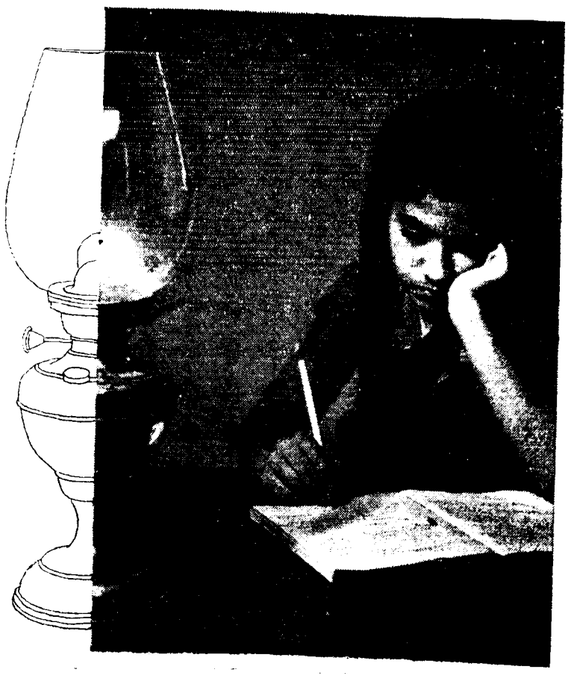
Some universities are already televising courses to students in their homes and the latter take final examinations to receive a grade on the campus at the end of the year. At least one outstanding teacher, Dr. Harvey Elliot White, professor of physics at

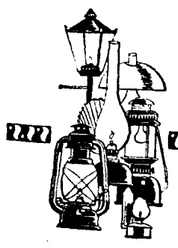
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BURMAH-SHELL...

in India's life and part of it

the University of California, has put a full year's course of physics instruction on motion picture film. His teaching thus will be carried to thousands of students instead of the usual small classes.

The overhauling of curriculum and "tightening" of university operations to better prepare for future large enrolments, is now under way at Columbia University in New York, according to its president, Dr. Grayson Kirk.

"I am convinced that we must re-examine the entire educational process so as to shorten the total number of years it now absorbs," he recently told a group of alumni. To this end, he said that the university will offer a double summer session for undergraduates beginning in the summer of 1958. He also revealed that the curriculum is being studied in an attempt to eliminate some courses.

Considerable study is being given to the physical structure and capacities of future college buildings. Officials of American University in Washington are now planning for a new building in the down town area to supplement its campus facilities in the suburbs. It will house its Graduate School, School of Government, evening classes and administrative offices. Like his fellow educators, Dr. Hurst R. Anderson, American's president, is looking to the future — a future in which the university will be called upon to educate many more students than its present enrolment. He believes strongly that the structure as well as the academic life that will go on within its walls must be characterised by flexibility. The idea that future classrooms will have the traditional four fixed walls, a roof and ceiling, he believes, is outdated. Instead, he foresees an entire building floor with no fixed partitions but rather one in which sliding panels can create a room to fit the needs and size of a class. "Why should we build an inflexible classroom with 50 seats or desks if the class to use it numbers 25 to 100?" he asks, and suggests that it is engineeringly feasible to create, rapidly, a sound-proof classroom

(*Continued on Page* 14)

NARLA, AUTHOR AND PLAYWRIGHT

REVIEW OF TELUGU BOOKS

If journalism is literature written in a hurry, the author of the five books here noted, Sri 'Narla', has amply proved that he is a master at both types of writing —hurried and unhurried. *Kottagadda* greets the reader as a de-luxe volume of sixteen one-act plays. The themes are drawn from modern Andhra rural life mostly, but in some the chic sophisticated urban life is also depicted. Coming as he does from the class of rural peasant proprietors, the author knows them all — the rugged individual ryot with his bucolic sense of honour and honesty, his superstitious wife, the ruinous impact of parish-pump politics on an otherwise prosperous community life — and portrays them with subtle understanding and abundant sympathy. Here the author is not afraid to draw out the good that there is hidden in every soul, lying dormant and shivering, chased by the misery and terror of the world. Cradled in the rugged rural culture of Andhra and nurtured in the aesthetics of modern western dramatising, the author has opened a new chapter in modern one-act play writing in Telugu. If in *Ardhangi* he has taken over the problem of woman's economic thraldom, in *Vanthena* he graphically brings home the clash between the old and new order of things. Reading *Kothagadda* is an exhilarating experience, making our perception of social life keener and creating in us an awareness that our social behaviour-patterns could be better, much better.

Narla, the dramatist must be a successful quick-change artist to be able to produce the two slender volumes *Maata-Manthi* and *Pichapati*. ("As I was saying" and "Fire-side chat"). In these pages we meet the essayist Narla. They can be more aptly called Musings in their content and scope, punctuated as they are with opinions which are sometimes astonishing and true, sometimes astonishing and not true. Whatever they are, the writer never allows himself to forfeit your attention. Here you find wit and wisdom in plenty. In one musing, for instance, the author extols the plain, unsophisticated virtues of the common crow or jackdaw and condemns the cuckoo as a cunning rascal. He pleads that our attitudes toward the two species of birds are misconceived. Even so, be it a crow or a cuckoo, or a hirsute embellishment (to wit, a beard) or the lust for power, in these pages you come across a mind which is at once suave, sophisticated, breezy, delightful, exasperating but still charming. There is a lightness of touch and a masterly simplicity of style in the company of which the reader can spend a delightful couple of hours.

Narla Vari Mata ("Thus spake Narla") is a collection of three hundred and odd verses. They are modelled on the classic verse-aphorisms composed by the Telugu saint-philosopher poet Vemana who lived centuries ago. From time immemorial we have had an unbroken chain of sages and saints who by word and deed have bequeathed to us a precious heritage, literary as well as philosophical. Saint Vemana was one such immortal! His verse-aphorisms are renowned for their epic simplicity, brutal frankness and moral courage. He has attacked all that is ugly, sham and artificial in the social and individual conduct of man and appeals to man to be a little less selfish. Vemana is a house-hold name in Andhra and every child's first

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Kothagadda—Rs. 10.
Narla Vari Mata—Rs. 3-50.
Maata Manthi—Rs. 1-50.
Pichapati—Rs. 1-50.
Jagannatakam—Rs. 3.

By Sri Narla Venkateswara Rao. Published by Narla Varu, 4 Pycrofts 1st Street, Madras-14.

introduction to literacy is through the simple verses of Vemana which teach the eternal veritics of life. No wonder, then, that Narla, inspired by Vemana, has composed his own aphorisms on contemporary social, cultural and political life patterned in the form of Vemana's verses. Simple in metre, each stanza contains four lines, the last line being the refrain — "Thus spake Narla". In the form of these aphorisms, Narla declares his testament of faith, laughs at politicians and ridicules their current importance which blazes for a brief moment and then is no more, extols the virtues of true love, defines what true freedom means and how to guard it, proclaims that socialism is the panacea for all modern ills and goes on like that recording his reflections on subjects all and sundry, ranging from Parliament to potatoes. A delightful book, this, didactic but eminently readable.

The fifth book *Jagannatakam* is a collection of poems. It is a valuable contribution to modern Telugu poetry. Here we find the poet who is sweet as a lyricist, genuine as a romanticist, powerful and convincing as a modernist. Though the lyric element is predominant, we also hear the voice of the poet as a social reformer, as an ardent humanitarian and as a visionary who believes that the Golden Age is not yet.

These five books are a significant and fruitful contribution to modern Telugu literature. Here we find a writer with a versatile mind, who writes with a sense of responsibility and who believes that writing is a sacred mission and not an irresponsible occupation. Truth as he sees it he records and in so doing he exhorts man to see not only the brokenness of life but also the wholeness of it; and having seen it, to love it and to have faith in it. To read author Narla is to get convinced that the only real charity is charity of mind and the only real selfishness is selfishness of mind, and that with the help of sound convictions man can rediscover himself.

G. R.

"H BOMB NOT A WEAPON, IT IS A PLAGUE"

BISHOP OF MANCHESTER'S WARNING

Excerpts from presidential address at Diocesan Conference (England)

I begin with this statement: "All of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force." These are not my words—not the words of a sentimental ecclesiastic: they are quoted from Clause 8 of the Charter of the United Nations. That Charter was drawn up by statesmen, and to it the nations are solemnly committed.

All nations *must* come to the abandonment of the use of force. For realistic as well as spiritual reasons I am convinced that that time *has* come.

We stand now with two roads facing us; one leads to a garden —a place in which the flowers and fruit of the human spirit can grow; the other leads not even to the homely graveyard, nor to the cold impersonality of the public cemetery. There will be no burials in an H-bomb war.

"All nations must come". Can we conceive of any greater compulsion, any more horrible prospective warning than we have already received? We realise (do we not?) that Civil Defence has become impossible, that 12 H-bombs could make this whole country uninhabitable: to quote Professor Lonsdale "The pastures would be radio-active, the vegetation would be radio-active, the cow's milk would be radio-active, the buildings would be radio-active." Such descendants as we had would be crippled and deformed in both body and mind.

As we face these dangerous times these lines of Milton's come often into my mind:

"On the other side Satan alarmed
Collecting all his might dilated stood
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved
His stature reached the sky, and on his crest
Sat Horror plumed."

"Horror plumed": that is what may be seen at Christmas Island. But what can we do? Russia's conventional arms can overrun us. We must possess some ultimate sanction.

But do we intend to use it? Ought we in any conceivable circumstances to use it? My answer is an unhesitating "No". It would be better to be defeated than to engage in H-bomb warfare. For when the last bomb has exploded you have lost what you were fighting for. Surely we have to realise (what those in authority do not yet seem to have realised) that the H-bomb is not a weapon, it is a plague, far worse than the dreaded bubonic plague. Its invention has created a completely new situation. We have got to readjust our mental furniture to cope with its advent.

But would it not be wise to retain the H-bomb as a threat, even though we were secretly determined never to use it? Alternatively we might say: "We undertake in no circumstances to use it unless it is first used against us." There are many considerations which might be urged to support one or other of these courses, but I find them ultimately unconvincing, and for this reason. It is generally agreed that the root cause of our present situation is fear—fear fed on mistrust and suspicion. The only ultimate remedy for fear is faith—I do not here mean faith in God but faith in the other person, party, or nation. And that means trusting them more than the facts, and past experience, would justify us in doing: in the hope that we might thus create in them something which was not there before. This is the most effective, indeed perhaps the only way to break the vicious circle.

But there is risk, even great risk, in so doing. Yes, that is certainly true. But there are risks no matter which way we turn, but is it not better to take a risk which is creative and can lead to no worse than material defeat, than to take one which may lead us into a defeat which has as its only compensation the total destruction of the enemy as well as ourselves. Make no mistake: in an H-bomb war there will be no victors. There will be triumph only for the 'plumed horror' of the bomb itself.

Both for realistic as well as spiritual reasons I believe that the best and wisest course would be unilaterally to renounce the use of the H-bomb. I believe this might bring about a new situation; and that it might create an atmosphere in which the gradual reduction in other armaments might be possible. We need to make a bold and quick decision, or we shall find ourselves on a road along which there is no return. Ponder these considerations:

(1) Three nations at present possess the H-bomb, but if scientific history is any guide in a few years that number may well be 23. It will be much more difficult to act effectively then.

(2) Does anyone seriously believe that tactical nuclear weapons can be used without drawing in the H-bomb? I cannot believe it. We must abolish them too. But one step at a time. I am not advocating their immediate renunciation, only that of the H-bomb. This would pave the way for the abolition of all nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of conventional arms.

Someone must give a lead. Some one nation must make an act of faith. My hope is that it might be Great Britain.

When men meet as representing others they seldom meet as men. They are concerned to manoeuvre for a position of strength: they are concerned to out-wit the other fellow: they are concerned to take no risks and to act not as justice and common humanity would counsel them, but rather as they think those whom they represent want them to act.

And that leads me to my last point. When I last spoke to you in November I had occasion to refer to the Suez crisis. I would not wish to unsay anything I then said, indeed if I had then known what we all know now I should have spoken more forcibly. Nor have I any desire to renew that controversy. But there is one lesson that we would do well to remember. And here forgive me if I speak with complete directness. It was then said: "We do not know the facts, we must trust the Government". I say "In matters of high policy touching life and death, peace and war,—trust no government". No government, unless it is a Communist or Fascist government, should expect to be trusted blindly in these matters. We are a democracy. The Government has an inescapable duty to keep the country informed. It has no right to say to the nation "We have the facts. You have not. Trust us." What it should say is: "Here are the facts as we know them, and this is what we propose to do." If the country thinks otherwise it has its constitutional remedy. We have of recent years been far too ready to shelve our responsibility for decision by handing it over to the Government or the expert. But experts are often blind; they fail to see the wood (the great principles) because they are concentrating upon the trees (their technical details). If an H-bomb war starts it will be cold comfort to be told that we have followed the best technical advice. I repeat that in matters of high policy it is the ordinary man who must judge—but it must be the *informed* ordinary man. He must be given the facts and the issues must be patiently explained to him.

What I have said is not intended to be an ecclesiastical *ipse dixit*. I would not wish for a moment to unchurch those who disagree with me. I realise that great and difficult issues are involved: but I would plead that it is the duty of Christians to think seriously and most carefully about these matters—and not dive into the rabbit-hole of irresponsibility murmuring "Trust the Government. They know. It's their job to decide". The end of that course (to continue the 'rabbit' metaphor, and it is not inappropriate) may well be human myxomatosis.

AMERICA'S NO

Neither the poet's satire nor the warnings of the learned men who have attained the highest distinction in the world of science have had any effect. The solemn appeals of the Church have fallen on deaf ears and have proved as vain as the expressed fears of the biologists. America shakes it all off as 'a lion shakes the dew off its mane'. The evolution of nuclear power has captured the imagination of the rulers of the United States.

It is costlier than other armaments and that is an attraction by itself. It saves the element of human agency to the maximum and it eliminates distance. It is therefore a complete answer to the man-power and the land-mass which are the Communists' strength and America's headache. So she must have it and can never agree to give it up whatever others may be willing to do.

After all it is her own baby to whom she gave the baptism at Hiroshima. The mother loves her child. She does not realise that it is Satan's progeny and hugs it to her bosom. And now Satan promises to make the baby quite 'clean'.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Yesmanship

In order to derive petty favours from the Government, a certain number of people have indulged in the art of Yesmenship. Whether what is good for these people, when they get a crumb here or there in the form of petty favours, is good for the nation, is highly debatable.—*Ramniwas R. Ruia.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Sir,—I am very happy to note that SWARAJYA has completed a successful year with the blessing of Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

I have been reading your journal week after week with increasing avidity and have found the passage of a year quite imperceptible.

Your courageous stand and frank criticism of men and matters has marked you out as an outstanding person in the field of journalism and as a real and valuable 'public asset'.

I have absolutely no doubt that you will have continued success in the years to come. As Rajaji says, 'you have courage and no axe to grind.'

R. S. VENKAT RAO.

II

Sir,—Allow me to congratulate you most heartily on SWARAJYA'S first birthday.

Perhaps your magazine most of all symbolizes that "freedom of expression" for which so many men and women of this world have given up so much. You have rightly praised Rajaji, Vighneswara and the rest, but may I single out for special gratitude and credit SAKA or KHASA? In your efforts to publish so freely the correspondence you receive, you are rendering your readers no end of a service.

After all, men realise their best selves only in expression—spoken or written. And in publishing letters which are even highly critical of you and your editorials you have shown that you are willing to give the other side of the argument a hearing.

Fairness should continue to be your motto and support for the down-trodden your guiding principle. In encouraging them to speak out their inner feelings and thoughts you are doing far better than you may imagine.

"GAMA"

SELECTION PROCEDURE

Sir,—Government should not fall a prey to the temptation of sacrificing academic qualifications at the altar of the interview. In the recruitment of men for the public services, enormous expense is incurred over interviews—"only selecting favoured candidates already fixed up."

There have been clear cases of unfair rejection of candidates who on the basis of academic and other records should have been preferred to others of less merit.

K. RAMAYYA, M.A.

American University of the Future

(*Continued from Page 11*)

of any size to fit almost any occasion.

Dr. Anderson agrees with his colleagues who predict that university facilities in the not too distant future may be used 12 months of the year instead of 10.

Other educators feel that to fill the ranks of college teachers, industry may permit many of its scientists, engineers and other technical personnel to teach classes at universities close to industrial plants. Universities in Washington, for example, employ many government specialists with requisite educational backgrounds to give courses in their specialities. By doing this on a greatly expanded scale across the country, scientific faculties can be enlarged considerably at relatively modest cost to students and universities. Many leaders of industry feel such an obligation to contribute to the education of the students who may soon be members of their staffs.

Finally, educators predict that stricter entrance examinations will help hold down rising enrollments by eliminating many who manage to enter college only to find that their wiser course would have been to enter trades or the business world from secondary school. The closer selective process has been under way in many universities for the past several years, but may be expected to play a greater part in the future, say admittance officers.

That the American college 20 years from now will be quite different from the institutions of today is clear. That it will also be a better system, offering more students better education is also the firm belief of the men and women who today are planning the university of the future.

The Bishop of Manchester's Speech

This is indeed a noble and brave speech. The Bishop so far went out with candour that he actually urged that Defeat was better than safety or success with nuclear weapons. The British people to whom this was said are, I fear, too proud to accept or tolerate the idea that Defeat can be better than anything else. They would never agree—not even that defeat may be preferred to the denying of Christianity or God—what then about the discarding of atomic weapons?

It was not necessary for the Bishop to go so far. The fact is that defeat is impossible. If really any nuclear Power could be so brave as to make up its mind unilaterally to give up the new weapon, it would be impossible for any other Power to think of using it in the face of such courage. Opposition and rivalry are the two lungs from which this and other evil things take their breath and live. If these lungs be removed this progeny of Satan will perish, die of strangulation and meet its well-deserved end.

How one would wish Russia could make up its mind to do what the brave Bishop of Manchester has advised his people to do. After seeing the obdurate trend of the American Government one is even inclined to pray that the nation that denied God may find the courage to do this in furtherance of its oft-declared object that this weapon must be discarded in the interest of civilization, while the nations that always took the name of God would not agree. If that miracle should happen we could imagine the plight of America and Britain! Who knows? God's ways are strange. He sometimes sends travail and humiliation that the erring may save themselves.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Sidelights

(*Continued from Page 4*)

from the Plan, followed by unacknowledged retreats devoted to the task of saving the "core" of the Plan at least. The present excesses of the Indian budget are an expression of the contradiction between the past and the present, the roots and the claims of the untenable personality that the Finance Minister has become. Because of this the whole atmosphere for the Plan has been ruined and suggestions of further taxation no longer evoke passivity or the co-operative spirit. They rouse only rising resentment.

SAKA.

Marriages

Boswell: "Pray, sir, do you not suppose that there are fifty women in the world, with any of whom a man may be happy, as with any one woman in particular?"

Johnson: "Ay, sir, fifty-thousand".

Boswell: "Then, sir, you are not of opinion with some who imagine that certain men and certain women are made for each other; and that they cannot be happy if they miss their counterpart".

Johnson: "To be sure not, sir. I believe marriages would in general be as happy, and often more so, if they were all made by the Lord Chancellor, upon a due consideration of the characters and circumstances, without the parties having any choice in the matter".

HEWLETT'S MIXTURE

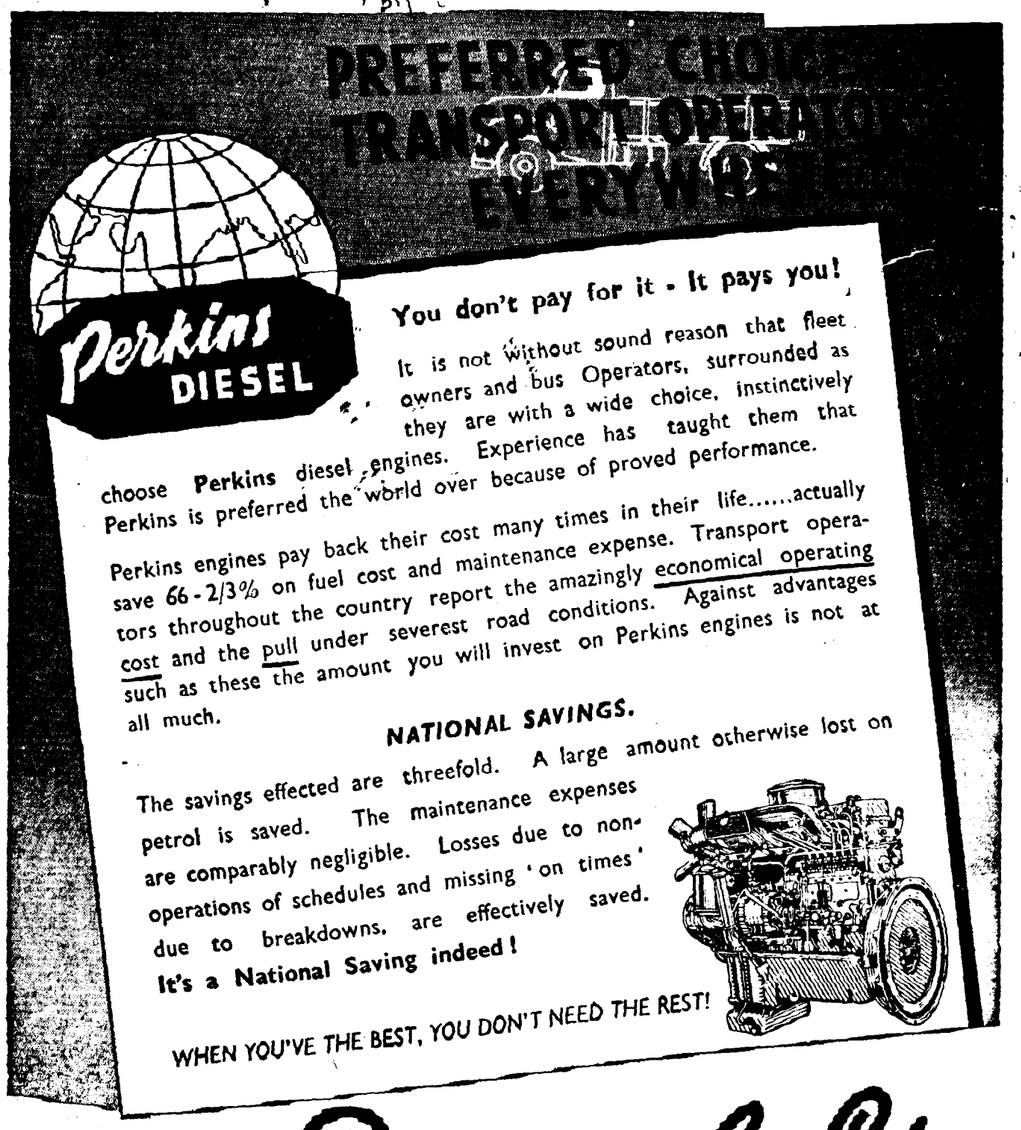


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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II No. 3 SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1957 15 Naye Paise

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KHRUSCHEV

As a result of the struggle for power in Russia, Khruschev has gained ascendancy but it is by no means certain that his regime has achieved stability or security. Khruschev did not invite a breach with his dethroned colleagues. He was precipitated into it by their attempt to depose him from power. In the Soviet Presidium, the ultimate repository of executive authority, it was not Khruschev that commanded a majority of votes but Molotov and Kaganovitch. These were diehards of the Stalinist era and looked with strong disfavour on the liberalising tendencies associated with Khruschev's emergence to prominence. Their conspiratorial efforts to oust Khruschev gathered momentum after the Hungarian uprising and by the middle of June the ground had been carefully prepared for his quiet removal from the Secretaryship of the Communist Party. It was at this stage that Khruschev realised his danger and acted quickly and firmly to avert it. He called for the intervention of the Central Committee, a body analogous to the legislature in our own Constitution. The members of the Central Committee are on the average much younger than those of the Presidium and their anti-Stalin temper more pronounced. Still the Committee was packed with factions and the pro-Kruschev and anti-Kruschev groups in it wavered in their loyalties, pulled this side and that by the intrigues and permutations of the [illegible] visitors. Eventually it was Marshal Zhukov's support that saved the situation for Khruschev.

After the expulsion of Molotov, Kaganavitch, Malenkov and other leaders of the revolt, the Presidium has been enlarged, and Khruschev, with a majority in the enlarged executive, is now to all appearances the most powerful man in Russia. But some of his recent acts, according to close observers of Soviet internal politics, bid fair to involve him in a turmoil of trouble that may end in his ruin. The most serious of these is his crusade against Malenkov. It is to Malenkov that the Soviet people owe the destruction of the secret police, the engine of terror and oppression that consolidated Stalin's power as a dictator. When Malenkov visited England he was complimented by a daring reporter on not having lost his life after being thrown out of his job as Prime Minister. He answered "I represent the new Russia. We do not shoot people any more".

That confident assertion has now been brought once again to dispute in the aftermath of Khruschev's rise to power. Writing in *The Times*, Isaac Deutscher records that immediately after the Presidium crisis, Khruschev directed exclusively against Malenkov the charge of complicity in one of the great blood purges of the past, forgetting that though he managed to destroy Stalin's old guard, he himself has come of it, and no charge can be levelled against any of them in regard to the past without involving him also equally disastrously. The Stalinists have disintegrated. The secret police that fed their power has been destroyed. But Khruschev is in command of no alternative base to sustain him securely in power. Liberal public opinion is likely to be revolted rather than attracted by his obviously crude persecution of Malenkov, attributing it to a repetition in another guise of the power politics that made the Stalin dictatorship so oppressive and unbearable. In the absence of public support and police terror, the army is the only source of strength for dictatorial regimes. But in Russia it is Marshal Zhukov, revered as the hero of the second world war and acclaimed as the most popular living Russian, to whom the loyalty of the army belongs.

The prospects do not seem bright for an enduring Krushchev leadership.

The Whirlwind

The Kerala Education Bill is an advance signal of the shape of things to come. Kerala Communists have gone one better than the Congress leaders by attempting to take possession of the very minds of the young. The Central Government's reported objection to the proposed Kerala Bill seems to be wholly pointless, since the Bill dies no more than just carry one or two points further the expropriatory or depredatory orgies of the Congress planners. It is futile

to hope to stem the whirlwind after sowing seeds that could possibly have no other effect.

Neither indoctrination nor regimentation is education, which needs the soil of freedom and unrestricted intellectual variety and experimentation for flowering and bearing rich fruit. In art, culture and allied expressions of the human spirit, enforced conformity is deadly. It is a pity that the educational effort of the past ten years has been shrinking into just this. The adventure of knowledge has been converted into the mechanical trade of merchants, with State Governments going into deals in the book business and coveting the profits of such-like transactions. The last bulwark of freedom is liberty to teachers to dedicate themselves to the mission of bringing up the young according to codes held in honour for their merit without being subjected to organised financial or economic pressure by governmental authorities.

The Strike Epidemic

The postal strike, as so many other strikes now impending, is a direct product of the perversity of measuring justice in the scale of votes. Experience has taught people to put faith in the fetching power of organised demands for more and more wages and privileges. The faculty of showing some sympathetic concern for others in a weaker or less favourable position has fallen into disuse, and with it the cement of internal cordiality holding society together in amity and goodwill has fallen loose. When it is realised even by distant powerful nations separated from us by oceans and continents that our backwardness and poverty threaten *their* progress and prosperity, how can any section of people in the same country hope for isolated happiness for themselves without reference to the needs and welfare of their fellow-citizens much worse off than themselves? Government should abandon once for all the cowardly policy of concession in response to the force employed in their dealings with labour demands. Nothing less will humanise Indian labour and rescue it from the present savagery of exclusive self-interest. The whole question of wages in relation to work should be taken on hand in an integral way, in accordance with the social value of the services rendered, and not merely the vigour of the threats or the power to do injury or influence votes at elections at the disposal of particular classes clamouring for special and more favoured consideration.

THOU SHOULDST BE LIVING AT THIS HOUR!

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Do we want teachers of men —Teachers in the largest sense, not schoolmasters—or do we want leaders of movements? The answer of this writer is, we want Teachers.

What is the distinction between the two and why this juxtaposition? We wish to obtain an object—say the general improvement of individual character. We want men and women to be less selfish and more considerate about others; we want people to be honest and to value Truth and Goodness above money, and so on. If we wish this, and hope to achieve it in the short space of say, one year, or two years, or what is worse, "within my lifetime", there is to be a Leader and a 'movement' which he leads. If on the other hand we wish and hope to achieve this by the method of slow indoctrination of true values and shaping behaviour and conduct accordingly, we can fix no time limit. The process is necessarily slow and we want Teachers who will teach and do their mission in a different way from the Leader of a movement. They labour with faith and with patience and without ostentation or display. There is no question or room for 'my time' or for any egotistic hurry. A 'leader' has necessarily to strive to become known, to become famous, to be conspicuous. Otherwise the 'movement' cannot grow. This may be done crudely, or it may be done skilfully, in a restrained but effective way, but it has to be done.

This is not the way or the need in a Teacher's work. He, indeed, must want to be *inconspicuous*. He has to remain almost anonymous and work quietly. If he indulges in fame-seeking, his work, the process of magnetising the souls of his pupils, will suffer. If he takes open or secret pleasure in becoming known and cultivates that science, he soon ceases to be a Teacher and either succeeds or fails, very probably the latter, in the role of 'leader'.

The Teacher does not strive for greatness. He strives for righteousness. The truly righteous man *must* remain unknown. In the Talmud there is a fine saying: "In each generation, the fate of the world depends upon thirty six unknown righteous men".

Are there such Teachers? Yes, sometimes God sends them out of His grace. Socrates was so sent; Jesus was so sent; Gautama Buddha was so sent. Ramakrishna was one such, as everybody now knows who reads what has been recorded by those who were taught by him. "Ramakrishna! Thou shouldst be living at this hour. India hath need of thee. She has forefeited her ancient dower of inward happiness. We are selfish men: O! raise us up, return to us again; and give us manners, virtue, freedom, power". Thus we may cry out as Wordsworth did. And may our prayer be heard! We want the unknown Teacher.



Sotto Voce

Philosopher of Equipoise

The birthday of the Maharaja of Mysore was observed quietly, though it is proposed to make a national (and no doubt secular) festival of the Dasara celebrations. Meanwhile the Palace has been disposing of a large number of motor cars and other paraphernalia used in the Royal Processions and Durbars. These obviously have no place in our new democratic order. What was not known, however, till the other day is that the Maharaja, ever since he became the Governor of the State, is not taking the salary attached to the post, while other high dignitaries are only now gingerly contemplating a ten per cent sacrifice.

* * *

All this prepares one for the Philosophy of *Samarasa*, Equipoise, which the Maharaja expounds in his book *Dattatreya: The Way and the Goal* which George Allen and Unwin have just published. The Maharaja here offers us a new philosophic system with ontology, epistemology and Theory of Liberation complete. In keeping with the Indian tradition it is based on Sruti (Veda), Yukti (Reason) and Anubhava (Experience). The book is in form a commentary on the *Jivanmukti Gita* and the *Avadhuta Gita*, two texts attributed to Dattatreya, as well as on certain passages in the Sandilya Upanishad and the Dattatreya Upanishad. The Mahayogi, commonly regarded as an avatar of the Trimurti, is still supposed to appear to his favourite disciples on Mt. Girnar (see Purohit Swami's *Autobiography*). The Maharaja himself mentions two famous adepts. The philosophy expounded by the Brahmana (identified as Dattatreya by Sridhara Swami) in Skanda XI of Srimad Bhagavata has striking resemblance to the doctrine here set forth.

The book aims, by using the well-known method of *samanvaya*, to show that these texts are fully in conformity with the true teaching of the Veda considered in its entirety. That teaching the Maharaja holds to be Monism. Theism, he declares, "is not the highest truth". But he prefers to emphasise 'identity' rather than 'non-duality' as the term that best conveys the real content of the Vedic truth. And identity is realised not by pin-pointing the unreality of the phenomenal universe but by cultivating the detachment that enables you to see the One in the many without forcibly shutting out any of the data of experience.

* * *

Others more competent must say whether the reconciliation of the principal Upanishadic texts with the teaching of the *Avadhuta-Gita* which, like all mystic utterances, (magnificent outbursts of a kind of lyric ecstasy, as Zimmer calls them), is not easily plumbed by discursive thinking, is as complete as the Maharaja suggests. Be that as it may, it is not so much a basic difference in doctrine, as it seems to me, as a difference in its implications for one in search of a way of life that constitutes the distinctive feature of Datta-Advaita, as the Maharaja styles the system. "The manifested and the manifold universe is the effervescence of the inherent bliss of the Absolute (Ananda). Dualism therefore presupposes identity. It is therefore not ultimate. The ultimate is identity". (p. 80).

* * *

While duality and the body are repudiated personality is not. "Our ancients laid stress on the interlinking connection between the meaning and purpose of philosophy and aesthetics"; for so they explained "how personality illustrates the absolute truth clarifying how the whole (*sakala*) and the part are aspects (*vikala*) of the one Reality. This ontological unity is the essential nature of Dattatreya". (pp. 82-3). That the Maharaja's thinking is all of a piece is shown by the elaboration in his lectures on "An Indian View of Aesthetics" of the idea, stressed here, that "Truth and Beauty go together".

* * *

"The concept of the attributeless, *nirguna*, is the highest in the sense that it has all the advantages of all other theories of reality. ...This is the reason why the Upanishads, while concentrating on the highest truth, prescribed the meditation on the Lord with or without attributes ... The Upanishads insist that without meditation, *dhyana*, so as to appreciate the absoluteness, richness and completeness of Reality, the truth cannot be appreciated" (p. 40). The problem for the seeker was therefore to reconcile *dvaita* and *advaita* so as to make the latter, while "all-inclusive, give at the same time proper recognition to different and opposing elements of life". (p. 239).

* * *

All philosophic systems and yogic techniques are but a scaffolding for the man who would rise to the Truth. The Maharaja in a moving personal testament says that all his *samskaras* and attempts to "seize reality on the wing" ripened to the point when *pratibha* (spiritual illumination) was vouchsafed as the Lord's gift (Iswaranugraha). He intuited the Truth: "Life is bondage. Beyond life is liberation. Beyond life is not the negation of life. It is the state of transcendance. The truth of unity must cover both" (p. 244). The key to it must be found in detachment and devotion to Truth which is but another name for knowledge.

* * *

Detachment (*vairagya*) is the "non-recognition of the binding character of bondage", the recognition in fact of its freeing character. "The state of the so-called bondage becomes purely a state of

(*Continued on Page* 15)

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WEATHER REPORT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Hope glimmered for a time on the horizon. But now black clouds have returned and the sky is dark again. Arrangements are being made for the winding-up of the disarmament talks in courteous and conventional terms.

The only thing that remains in the scrap-heap is a definite offer of Mr. Khrushchev that Russia is prepared here and now to sign an agreement for a ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. America does not agree to this. She says this offer of Russia is only propaganda. But it was in America's power at once to nail it to the counter by saying "yes."

Is deterrence better effected by an unending technical and armaments race in nuclear weapons than with this ban that Russia offers to sign ? Will not an agreed ban on the *use* of nuclear weapons be at least an added deterrent ? If Russia and the U.S.A. and Britain lodged an agreed ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the U.N. archives, it would have been a step in the recovery of civilization of which the year 1957 could have been proud.

It is a pity that America has got into this delusion. A vast scattering about of nuclear-head missiles and weapons all over the world among the various nations on the strength of temporary and doubtful pacts will not build peace. Asia will be a perilous house to live in. It is easy to prepare a multi-continental network of danger, but it will not be possible to undo the mischief. It would be a calamitous inheritance that this generation would leave for the future men and women of this globe.

America has given, and is giving, assistance to Pakistan with the intention that Pakistan may stand up to Russia, but the thing works altogether differently. It has set up a minor armaments race between Pakistan and India, which is of major significance to us because it eats up whatever Plan-resources are available. All the internal difficulties in India's economics that have recently come into the limelight are traceable to the armaments race which India has been thus forced into. It is not easy for India to turn a blind eye on this. It is one of the reasons for the growing coldness of India towards America.

It is foolish for India ever to hope to equip her military forces to cope with any country which has America as a financing partner. It may also be unnecessary to attempt it, because America will never tolerate war between Pakistan and India. Yet national psychologies go their own way. The armament race between India and Pakistan has become a reality.

Our not being in the cold war of the West is paying a good dividend in international influence. We have been useful to others and they appreciate it. But in budgetary consequences for ourselves our non-alignment has not been of much use by way of saving us from military expenditure. Even those who stoutly oppose the new taxation measures will not ask for a reduction in the defence budget. They support the armaments race, and in fact want it to be further intensified. This is the unintended consequence in India of the global strategy of Mr. Dulles.

Thus America, while thinking and talking of helping India with funds for her Plan, is actually forcing a diversion of available funds from the Plan and reducing India's foreign exchange for nothing. America is bound to see her error if this is frankly explained. But if America does persist in this policy, India is not going to double the folly by herself accepting Defence Aid from America in parity with Pakistan. This is inconceivable for more reasons than one. India will have to think of what she will have to do to meet this difficult situation.

Whatever she may or may not do, one thing is clear. India must set her teeth against being pushed into a suicidal race in defence expenditure, inspite of the pressures that may naturally come from certain sections. It should be made plain to the world, and to America first, how the Asiatic arms policy of the United States postpones economic and industrial development and increases local mutual tensions, weakening instead of strengthening the nations whom Mr. Dulles wishes to set up as a bulwark against Communism.

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A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

THE AGE OF AUTHORITY

Some day, perhaps, I shall be an old, old man. When I was young the prospect revolted me, but now I feel differently — why, I almost look forward to it! It is not that I am any nearer ripe old age today; in fact, that is not the reason at all. It is just that I have watched others age, without any great change.

Yes, age does bring its aches and disabilities with it; the joints stiffen, the responses are slowed, gout and palsy wait on one's failing limbs, and, worst of all, one has to act dignified, so as to conform in behaviour to the venerable looks that one has somehow acquired. However, provided one can keep oneself from developing philanthropic impulses (this is the first true sign of senility), old age is not so bad, it has its compensations.

Actually, I assure you, there is no softening of the intellect, or quavering silliness of judgement, in advanced age. The traditional belief that age mellows a man and transforms him, and that by stages he grows weaker and weaker in mind, is all balderdash, based on incorrect and prejudiced observation. Of course there *is* no fool like an old fool, but that's because he was born a fool, and having had practice for 70 years in being a fool, is now champion. Similarly, the senility that you notice in a drivelling ancient of eighty-three was there in him when he was twenty-five-only, people then said that dear Ramasubbu was so immature, and still needed years and experience: at forty-five they commended his unspoilt, child-like purity of heart, but by the time he was sixty he was no longer immature or unspoilt, but just senile!

And old age, as I begin to see, has its advantages. For one thing, one need not feel any responsibility towards others, and for another, one need not find elaborate excuses for being selfish. Somehow, tradition everywhere permits direct action in old age. And if he can retain reasonable control over his tongue, and prevent it from blabbing all the time, an old man can say the very things that were adjudged so gauche and silly when he said them in his youth, and command the respect of his audience.



But the great thing about age, as I said, is that one can be oneself without pretence or excuse. Take the old lady in my picture, for example. I found her waiting outside the gates of a well-known jail — I, too, was there, slouched in the rear seat of a posh motor car, waiting for the owner of the vehicle to come out of that jail.

Watching her sad-faced immobility, I began to wonder idly why she was there. Waiting for the hour when they would let her visit her only daughter, now, alas, behind bars? Waiting, my incurably romantic imagination suggested, for her dear son, due for release at noon after a term of seven years R.I.? Or was she squatting there merely because it was shady beneath the banyan? I thought not. The timeless patience of the attitude, the far-away look in the eye — these suggested a less casual occasion. Then, with her eyes still on the distance, she spied an uniformed warder coming out of the massive double-doors of the jail, fifty yards away — she clapped her hands to call him, and when his attention was drawn, beckoned vigorously with a crooked finger. The warder came swaggering up, and when he was near, she asked for some chunam; he took out a cloth pan-bag from his shorts pocket and tossed it to her, and she helped herself, without fuss or hurry, to pan, betel-nuts, chunam and a solid plug of tobacco, before tossing back the bag, considerably reduced in bulk, to him. The man stood wordlessly there for a moment, gaping at her, and then slouched back to the door way, and she settled down comfortably for a good, long chew. That's what I mean — the directness of old age. No circumnavigation, no sidling in, no tangential approach. I wonder if I can ever develop the wits and authority to clap and summon a government servant, rob him, and then dismiss him from my presence without so much as a formal, hypocritical word of thanks — but perhaps I will, if I too manage to live on and on.

SIDELIGHTS : :

"There are two things which I am confident I can do very well: one is an introduction to any literary work, stating what it is to contain, and how it should be executed in the most perfect manner; the other is a conclusion, showing from various causes why the execution has not been equal to what the author promised to himself and to the public".—DR. JOHNSON.

* * *

I reproduce below some of the letters received by way of greetings to SWARAJYA on completion of the first year of its existence, and comments on its merits and defects and on how it should be run. One or two letters received earlier also, which could not then be published, are now included on account of their relevance at the present moment. Ordinarily it may not be advisable to give so much space to views, mainly repetitive and overlapping, which tell readers nothing which perhaps they do not already know. But it is done in the spirit of an annual experiment to give readers the fullest freedom possible in at least one particular number of the journal to place the editor in the dock or on a pedestal as they choose, so that editorial answerableness to the public, always taken for granted, may for once get concretised in a form that can be tested. Praise has to some extent been let in, but not for any gratification of vanity. Two considerations have prevailed as the reason for the sort of complimentary publicity here permitted. One is to counteract the idea that might wrongly be formed if only adverse criticism had been ventilated; secondly, not to shut out from the journal the strength that might come to it from approbation of its aims and work from persons entitled to judge. Moreover, some have put forward their case as a form of right under democracy for self-expression. Of course no journal can concede the right of self-expression to every individual claiming it, but symbolic acceptance of the right within the permissible limits of human interest, space, law, relevance, propriety and non-duplication is undoubtedly the essence of duty in the practice of journalism.

Here are the letters :

i

Sir—As a reader of your weekly from the very first number, may I offer you my felicitations and good wishes on the occasion of the first anniversary? Your readers will echo every word of Rajaji's magnificent tribute. They will be grateful if the anonymity of the savant writing under the pen-name of 'Vighneswara' is lifted and his name published.

Madras. JAGANNATHADAS GOVINDAS.

('Vighneswara' is Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyer, India's ablest journalist, who has just retired from *The Hindu* after thirty years of most distinguished service).

ii

Sir—I read with much interest SIDELIGHTS in SWARAJYA dated 13th July. I am a regular reader of your writings ever since the inception of SWATANTRA. Your writings embodied all that is noble and healthy in journalism. And yet after the birth of SWARAJYA, your writings have taken a new course. The impartial outlook that marked your writings once is now conspicuously absent if I may venture to say so. Your journal, that was once the forum of free thought and candid opinion now looks like a mouthpiece of a particular section of people. In all humility, I request you to make your journal a repository of many a diverse view so that the people may derive the benefit of healthy traditions from your esteemed journal. Needless for me to say, if a veteran and tried journalist like you cannot take up the job, who else can?

P. C. GANESAN

iii

Sir,—SWARAJYA recommended itself into the hands of seven readers with just the preliminary initiation on my par. I have, for my part, set a target of fifteen readers, but I am sorry I have been able to cross only about half the river, being quite new to this place. I will attain my target, I assure you.

Of late, I find advertisements usurping quite a sizeable part of the sixteen pages. I wonder if you cannot increase the price of SWARAJYA to, say 3 annas or even 4 annas, to avoid giving articles a left-handed treatment, as it were.

Yet another suggestion. Rajaji's short stories in Tamil meant essentially for children, but invariably read by elders, appears in KALKI every week, or almost. To have them translated into English and published in SWARAJYA would, I think, be quite an idea.

Bombay S. TIRUVENGADASAMI.

iv

Sir—We warmly congratulate you on the completion of a year of your brilliant journal. Your *Sidelights* column, together with the all-absorbing *Sotto Voce* is unique for its impartial, fearless and frank comments upon current events.

We are entirely one with you when you describe Vighneswara as a 'gold mine of literary and artistic treasure.' We take great delight in making an honest endeavour to grasp the views expressed in *Sotto Voce* which are never brought to light in the newspaper columns.

Most of your editorials are set against the prevalent conditions in South India. Your journal will command a wider readership if North Indian events also find a place in your columns. North Indian conditions are no better than South Indian.

May God bless you with sound health and courage to wage a relentless war against injustice and tyranny, foisted upon an almost illiterate society.

1. P. K. SANKARAN.
2. A. H. RAMACHANDRAN.

Bombay.

v

Sir—After Rajaji himself has spoken what more can an humble reader like me say. You are courageously holding the banner of journalism in those dark days. You are carrying on with the noble mission of upholding justice and fairplay without fear or favour despite your advancing age and ill-health. May Providence grant you radiant health to be of service to the nation.

You are unostentatious in not publishing anything in praise of you. However, please do afford me freedom of expression in view of the fact that this is an age of democracy.

Bangalore. P. M. DAMODAR.

vi

Sir—I read with interest your review about progress of SWARAJYA, in the issue dated 13th July. As a regular reader of SWARAJYA, I think I can take the liberty of pointing out some defects. While the price of SWARAJYA rose by half anna (3 naye paise) in the beginning of April this year consequent on the introduction of decimal coinage, the number of pages was not increased. Secondly, I find in SWARAJYA not even a single article on science, technology or other allied subjects of technical interest. Though it is apparent that this journal is mainly wedded to political criticism, essays on these subjects or short stories will not mar the reputation of this journal.

West Tambaram. S. SUNDARAM.

vii

Sir—The two outstanding features of SWARAJYA have been its good literary style and its pungent and factual criticism.

Three readers have so far voiced their views on the conduct of the magazine through letters to the Editor.

The letter of Sri Sarma on 4th May 1957 refers to your 'atomic English.' The natural style of a writer should not be converted into an artificial one, like writing of text books to suit a particular standard. The plea that the language used in your magazine often necessitates the use of a dictionary does not call for much consideration. On the other hand, it is a good thing to know a few new words and their uses every week.

Two other letters, one by Sri M. S. Raghavan (9th March 1957) and the other by Sri Nagaraja G. Gurjale (6th July 1957) are worth consideration. A regular reader is apt to come to the conclusion (may be it is a mistaken one) that the business of SWARAJYA is only to point out the loopholes of the Government. I wish that there should be balanced criticism of the Government.

It may perhaps be difficult for you to meet the demands of the reading public within the short space of the magazine. I invite your attention to the *Publisher's Note* of 30th March 1957 and suggest that the number of pages may be increased to 20, if it can be done now when it enters its second year.

Kurnool. G. SRINIVASA RAO.

viii

Sir—This is an age of planning. Dr. Shenoy's article has thrown much light on the subject. We wish for many such articles in the future and a weekly feature on the economic problems of the day will be a welcome addition to the fare SWARAJYA brings us every week.

May the light SWARAJYA has lit up continue to shine with resplendent lustre in the years that lie ahead.

Madras. V. V. VISVESWARAN.

ix

Sir—As a regular reader of SWATANTRA as long as you were associated with that journal, and now of SWARAJYA, your present journal, ever since its commencement last year, I was very much disappointed to find the usual sixteen page issue dated July 13, 1957. I expected to see your annual number (which was a special feature of SWATANTRA as long as you were working for it except perhaps in the last year, with many more pages and more interesting material with attractive get-up. May I know if such an issue will be in our hands even in the near future?

MANTHINA BHANUMURTHY.

x

Sir—I have been a regular reader of SWARAJYA right from its first issue, having been in the habit of following your writings in SWATANTRA, and I would say that you have brought with you from the older journal all the boldness of criticism and clearness and perspicacity for which it was popular.

Particularly, in your editorial in the first issue of the second year of your journal, you have brought forth in very lucid-terms the injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth and the inefficiency of administration rampant in independent India. In the editorial note titled "Contempt and Privilege" you have emphasised on the necessity for the discontinuance of the anomalous convention of the prosecutor sitting in judgment in our courts of law and legislatures. I only wish that our much-pampered legislators grasp the full implication of your arguments and set about rectifying this convention.

The passage you have quoted from Rajaji's *Jail Diary* written in 1921 is yet another proof of his miraculous capacity to forecast the shape of things to come.

I would suggest that, in the forthcoming issues of SWARAJYA, such passages of topical interest and educative and reformative value be published regularly from the innumerable speeches and vast writings of our great leaders—Gandhiji, Rajaji, Nehruji, Dr. Radhakrishnan and others.

I would be one of your many readers watching the early fulfilment of your promise (in *Sidelights* of 13th July) "to overcome the shortcomings so charmingly set forth" by your American friend; for many have felt on the matter just the same as he.

I am also waiting to see the fulfilment of another earlier promise of yours to increase the number of pages of SWARAJYA to twenty with added interest.

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I wish your journal all success in the uphill task of serving "those who have to be served" and "are not too willing to be served".

Bangalore. P. N. BABUSUNDARAM.

xi

Sir—Consider my disappointment when I finish the whole magazine in less than an hour after waiting for a full week in anxious expectation.

Hyderabad. C. SESHAGIRI RAO.

Discontent over the small size (only 16 pages) of SWARAJYA emerges as the most frequent complaint in the letters reproduced above. It is true when the price was raised to 15 naye paise, the intention was announced of increasing the number of pages to 20 as early as possible. Actually the increased price has turned out in retrospect to be a move for prevention of the extinction of the paper. The accounts for the past year disclose a loss of Rs. 1,000. The loss would have been much bigger if the price had not been raised, so big indeed as even to place out of the bounds of possibility the continued publication of the paper.

SWARAJYA was planned, when it was started, to provide a paper within the reach of everybody so that none who wished to buy it would be prevented from doing so by the price. It has been revealed by experience that the inexorable facts of newspaper economy set definite limits to the power of the producers of small journals to fix the price at will. In the current issue of *New Statesman*, Francis Williams discusses the basic dilemma of the British press, which may be defined as the progressive reduction in the number of daily newspapers simultaneously with the enormous increase in their circulations. We have in England newspapers with two million readers and more that are being compelled to close down or amalgamate with even bigger papers to achieve survival. The doctrine of the net sales certificate has stimulated a competition for circulation of which the first effect was the lowering of the price of newspapers and concurrently their increasing dependence on advertisement revenue. As advertisers have found that all the mass market they want can be secured through one or two papers, the trend has been towards the elimination from existence of all but one or two daily newspapers with the largest circulations. This is the simple fact at the heart of the economic mystery of Fleet Street, says Francis Williams. "The British press, in fact", he explains, "is suffering from an acute form of giantism,—a disease one of the attributes of which is that intelligence not merely fails to keep pace with growth but tends to decline, the larger the victim grows". Britain has proportionately to population the largest circulation of newspaper readers in the world and the fewest number of daily newspapers. It is the paradox of British democracy that freedom of expression which is its essential condition has already been undermined to a disastrous extent by the high rate of mortality in the daily press.

The tragic consequences of excessive dependence on advertisement revenue have in England brought journalists and the more intelligent sections of the public at a late stage to a comprehension of the dangerous potentialities of too cheap newspapers and the present practice, at any rate in the periodical press, is all in favour of high prices. There is safety for the press only if the widest dispersion of advertisement revenue is secured among as large a number of newspapers and periodicals as the size of a country's population will allow.

I have had some of my old preconceived notions knocked out of me by Francis Williams' presentation of the economic and moral maladies of the British press. The objective of the cheapest possible journal accessible to all pockets seems no longer so unquestionably worth pursuing as it was a little while ago. There is no intention however of resiling without more thought from the inexpensive economy on which SWARAJYA in its origin rested. The experience of the year that has passed reveals possibilities of immense development for the future, but only if readers and supporters take a more active hand by treating the journal as one solely devoted to the public good and help to strengthen it with every means in their power. Ideas, contributions, subscriptions, advertisements, all are welcome, as also suggestions from readers as to the proper price to be fixed and the size. Consistent with means the utmost consideration to the suggestions received will of course be given.

In the coming year, an earnest effort will be made to correct the lapses that readers have pointed out, to the extent they are in conscience felt to be justified. Government ordinarily do not give a chance to disinterested observers to indulge in commendation of their policies for public welfare, but SWARAJYA, in becoming respect for critics, will search for material reflecting credit on official deeds and policies with a magnifying glass. It is not conscious of any inhospitality to any particular section of opinion, nor is it, as alleged by one writer, any one section's mouthpiece; but we shall be doubly careful to avoid the charge. As to publication of short stories by Rajaji, the decision rests with him but the request will be respectfully conveyed. For the present it is to be feared there is little chance of bringing out an annual number and the proposal must be kept in abeyance for the time being. All other suggestions of readers will be properly attended to, to the limit of possibility, having regard to the limited means. My grateful thanks to one and all who have been ever so kind with assistance and encouragement in this first year's journey on the great adventure of SWARAJYA.

SAKA

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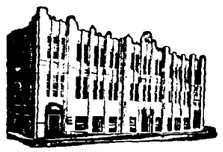
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PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

When I flew into Madras at the end of November my first impression was of the meagre, poverty-stricken look of the palm trees. Seen from the air, they were like pins stuck untidily into the green cushion of earth. As the plane lost height I threw out of the window the usual and exhausted phrases about tropical luxuriance, along with all the other second-hand notions of what I was going to meet when we touched the ground. The pins, meanwhile, had grown to the size of matchsticks. Then as the fronds became visible, brushing the air like ragged feather dusters, I sensed something familiar in their oddity. Before I could think what it was the plane had landed, and I was being driven into the city.

Nobody had told me that Madras was, like London, a collection of villages, that Spencers looked like a miniature copy of the extravagant Victorian Gothic of St. Pancras Station, and the Connemara Hotel like a replica of one of the modernistic factories on the Great West Road. I had been prepared for poverty, but not for the closely-stitched patchwork of squalor and wealth that caught my eyes wherever I looked. In the world from which I came the unpleasant things of life were mostly kept out of sight. Watching them here, staring at the ribs of hungry animals, at the dirt-coloured huts clotted together within sight of green lawns and sugar-white villas, at the dark and vivid beauty of the people I saw walking in the streets, I forgot about the palm trees. My visit was only for three days, and since it seemed unlikely that I would ever come to Madras again I wanted to see and learn as much as possible.

I had, of course, been told that Madras meant Rajaji, and next morning I was taken to meet him. The window behind his chair was open, and the leaves outside wove a shifting pattern against the light, so that although the outline of his head was sharp I could see nothing of his face but two hollows curved like remembered laughter beneath the cheeks. But his talk was not all fun, and it was not all what I had been led to expect. I had met many of the world's great men. Most of them had settled comfortably into the moulds of the greatness which they had achieved or that had been thrust upon them, and lived up consciously to their reputations. But here was somebody who conformed to no pattern. With the wisdom that is often — and often wrongly — attributed to age went a searching interest, and a freshness of outlook as original as if this particular Saturday morning were as young as the sixth day of creation. I was dazzled, but not too dazzled to disagree with ideas that were too novel, and sometimes too uncomfortable, to be easily accepted. I went away greedily unsatisfied, determined that someday I would come back for more.

By the time my train left I knew that I had not had nearly enough of Madras. I had spoken at two meetings where I had glimpsed, though far too briefly, the detached intellectual curiosity on which Madrasis pride themselves. I had watched the well-dressed, leisurely crowds strolling in the dusk along the Marina, and had crawled into the blackness of some of the fisher-folk's huts, and seen life at a lower ebb than my imagination had ever been able to reach. I had observed enough of the city's contradictions to realise that it was a place to be learned at leisure, and that promised to repay the effort that would be needed to understand it.

In January I returned, and now I have settled down to stay. I still have almost everything to learn, and the diary which the Editor of SWARAJYA has asked me to keep for his readers will no doubt expose depths of ignorance of which, as I learn, I become every day more aware. But at least I have discovered the reason — or at any rate one of the reasons — why I feel so much at home here. Madras, with all its differences and contrasts, has a more than superficial resemblance to the country in which I spent my childhood.

I was born in Penzance, almost at the tip of the Cornish peninsula, and the only town in Britain where palm trees grow along the shore. But though they grow they do not flourish and their ragged heads, beaten by the Atlantic gales, make them look like orphaned cousins of the scraggy trees that I glimpsed when I first arrived in Madras.

The resemblance, I realised, does not stop there. Cornwall is as different from the rest of England as Tamil Nad is from the rest of India: inhabited by small, dark people of an older race, so proud and conscious of their own traditions that even today people who live in the next county are called foreigners. The language died several hundred years ago, but the people speak an English of their own, rich with vivid phrases that can be heard nowhere else. They are eager, warm-hearted, excitable about politics and, by age-long tradition, intensely religious. The bleak countryside is dotted with prehistoric monuments, less ancient and much more primitive than the monuments of southern India. It is also peppered with the round walls of disused tin mines, and it is known that in the very distant past, long before Julius Caesar crossed the Channel, traders from the Middle East ventured out into the Atlantic to make their fortunes from Cornish tin. Reading of recent archaeological discoveries, I found myself wondering whether it was these ancient mariners who brought Greek trade goods to southern India and whether, becalmed on their long voyages, they whiled away the time in comparing the habits, customs and beliefs of the peoples who inhabited the two extremities of the world they knew.

Such comparisons are still irresistible. But of course the real fascination of Madras is that, like every other city worth knowing, it is uniquely itself: beautiful and ugly, frank and secretive, sometimes exciting and sometimes dull, proud and dissatisfied, full of hopes and despairs, of fears for the future and convictions of better things to come. Madras may not be home, but there is certainly no place like it.

The Intellectual

Dr. Albert Schweitzer relates, with disarming naivety, the story of his meeting with a native youth in French Equatorial Africa about the time he started on his mission of mercy. In the course of clearing a part of the virgin forest for raising a hospital of sorts, he was cutting logs of wood when he saw a dark, well-dressed youth watching him with no hint of any inclination to lend a helping hand. The persistent missionary hailed the other, asking if he would mind coming to his aid for a little while. The reply was: "I am an intellectual, Sir, and would not like to soil my hands by manual work". To which the master of medicine and music could only say: "You are lucky. I tried to be an intellectual myself but could not succeed".

D.A.

Headlines of the Week

Monday 15-7-57: Prime Minister Nehru returned to Delhi from his tour of Europe and the Middle East. In Peking three Ministers confessed to having harboured "serious doubts" about communism. In Madras Chief Minister Kamaraj celebrated his fifty-fifth birthday, and members of the C.R.C. walked out of the Assembly in protest against the proposed move to Fort St. George.

Tuesday 16-7-57: The Planning Commission's Panel on Education stated that the constitutional provision for education of all children up to the age of 14 by January 1960 could not be achieved and would take another 15-20 years. The U.S.A. exploded another nuclear device and Mr. Dulles announced plans for stockpiling of atomic weapons by NATO.

Wednesday 17-7-57: The Spanish Parliament was informed that the monarchy would be restored on the death or retirement of General Franco. The king of Afghanistan arrived in Moscow. In New Delhi Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari blamed the joint-family system for the rise of communism and Kerala, and pleaded for its disappearance as it interfered with efficient tax-collection.

Thursday 18-7-57: In London Mr. Macmillan said it would not be possible to ban nuclear weapons because total past production of fissile material could not be accounted for. In New Delhi the Congress Parliamentary Board agreed in principle to allow "brotherly criticism" of governmental misdeeds.

Friday 19-7-57: In Cairo President Nasser announced the foiling of an attempt in April to overthrow his regime. The U.S. fired its first air-to-air rocket. Mr. Nehru stated that the strike move of government employees was political and would have to be dealt with on a national basis.

Saturday 20-7-57: The British government sent troops to aid the Sultan of Muscat and Oman against rebellious tribesmen. The Commons passed a bill for the establishment of the Federation of Malaya as an independent country within the Commonwealth. In Rangoon Prime Minister U Nu reiterated Burma's desire to promote world peace, and in Long Beach, California Miss Peru was crowned "Miss Universe".

Sunday 22-7-57: New Delhi and Karachi report attempts to increase tension in Kashmir. The Central Statistical Bureau of the U.S.S.R. announced a rapid rise in industrial and agricultural production in the first half of 1957. More than 120 constituency Labour Parties in Britain demanded the ending of H-bomb tests.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A STRANGE THESIS

Sir,—A strange thesis that because facilities for professional studies in medicine and engineering are megre to-day, people from every area should have reasonable access to them, seems to have come to stay with us.

Just imagine: Are our professional colleges educational institutions, or representative assemblies? Why should there be district-wise allotment of seats? If a district does not produce enough candidates of worth, why should its "due share" be filled in, even at the cost of choosing the second-best?

Since we are entrusting the health and welfare of our future generations to the candidates we presently choose and train for these professions, their past record, intelligence and aptitude should not only be the primary, but the *only* issue considered.

W. S. KRISHNAN.

CONGRESS BRAND OF AUSTERITY

Sir,—Sri T. T. Krishnamachari who called himself "the poorest person in India" is said to have occupied during his recent visit to Bombay an air-conditioned suite at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the cost of which is said to be Rs. 115 per day. Is this the Austerity living which is being preached by T.T.K. to the nation? Before asking people to tighten their belts, will T.T.K. tighten his own first?

Instead of indulging in cheap stunts like cuts in salaries, will our Ministers kindly stop wasting public funds?

Can we call Bombay Government's purchase of 17 brand new luxury cars at Rs. 22,000 each, Austerity?

Spending more in the name of economy and wasting public funds appear to be the Congress interpretation of Austerity. We find a yawning gulf between the slogans shouted by our rulers and their deeds.

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VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Sir,—Section 4-A of the Madras Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act is in clear violation of the small landowner's "right to an adequate means of livelihood" under the Directive Principles of State Policy in Article 39 (a) of the Constitution of India. Section 4-A recognises the principle of the small owner's right to resume his land for self-cultivation up to a ceiling of 5 acres (wet) or its equivalent in garden or dry land. The right, however, is rendered nugatory by a number of statutory restrictions, such as (1) the area for resumption is limited to half the leased area of the individual tenant, (2) the right cannot be enforced if the tenant offers to pay the prior rent as before 27th September 1955, (3) the owner should not have been assessed to sales' tax or profession tax; and so on. A small owner's holding is his means of livelihood. He is entitled under the Constitution to the maximum income from his holding either by self-cultivation or by a proper change of his tenant if and when necessary. But the statutory restrictions in the Tenants' Protection Act make this impossible. They prevent the small owner from properly utilising his holding which is his means of livelihood. The restrictions are thus in violation of the Constitution. They are in addition retrograde in character as the small owner's means of livelihood are reduced instead of being enhanced.

The Directive Principles of State Policy are the basic moral pillars of the Constitution. They are the political steel-frame for economic, social and political justice in the new social order under the Constitution. The Madras legislature which should be the guardian and custodian of the Directive Principles has unfortunately violated the same under Section 4-A of the Tenants' Protection Act.

The injured citizen, the small landowner, has to present his case to the legislature in the proper democratic manner for the requisite remedy. The electorate also which is the ultimate master in democracy has to be duly apprised of the legislative breach of the constitutional right and the gravity of the resulting economic injustice to an important sector and the consequential injury to social welfare.

A. S. KUPPUSAMI.

Tirunelveli.

PROGRESS IN PLANNING

Sir,—From the report of the Planning Commission on the progress of the second Five-Year Plan, one wonders whether the Plan will come up to the actual level so eloquently professed by its sponsors. The distinctive feature of the Second Plan is that provision is made for a review of each year's progress so as to facilitate necessary adjustments in the succeeding years. Now a whole year of the Plan's working is past and the results shown are by no means encouraging or conducive to its full fruition in the time envisaged. Even the authors of the Plan qualify the progress as 'modest'.

That the expenditure during the year under consideration is far below the estimated figure shows the incapacity of the Government to utilise even the available resources in full. The proposed installation of powerlooms was 15,000 whereas the actual figure is only 7,281. Again, in transport the expenditure incurred falls short of the 247 crores estimated.

These are only instances to show that the targets were fixed on an *a priori* basis. What has our Ministry done to further the Plan except waxing eloquent on its merits? 'The perspective approach to planning', 'the Plan at any cost' and such words send a thrill down the spine of the easily tractable citizen and the posters of the Government on the Plan are intended only to mislead the common man that the Eldorado is just round the corner — in this case just after the completion of the Second Plan — but where is the actual proof of all this tall talk?

It is to be hoped that saner counsels will prevail and the Government will understand the significance of the writing on the wall. T. T. K's recent budget has focussed the attention of the whole country on the Plan. The report of the Commission is not exactly a balm to soothe the people. After the long discussions on the Ambar Charkha and its advantages over the power-looms, the increase in the production of cloth in the last year is very disheartening and is in the nature of an anti-climax. After all, what is the necessity for this desperate hurry in carrying out the Plan in record time? A year or two more does not matter.

MRS. THAILAMBAL RAJAGOPALN

Sleeping Berths for Third Class

The Southern Railway has introduced sleeping accommodation for third class passengers on mail trains between Madras and Bangalore. The extra cost for a sleeping berth is Rs. 3 for a night of the journey without any fee for reservation. In the new carriage built specially containing these sleeping berths, of which a preview was afforded to Pressmen on Monday, the arrangements and appointments were found to be satisfactory and on a liberal scale.

Sotto Voce

(*Continued from Page 3*)

life preliminary to liberation. This is the environment in which the truth of identity is readily appreciated". The professional philosophers will no doubt have a lot to say about all this. But I take comfort in thinking that the breed of Janakas and Kekaya Aswapatis has not become wholly extinct.

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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II No. 4 SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1957 15 Naye Paise

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS

Newspapers reported last week that the Government of India have under consideration a proposal to set up administrative tribunals in different States as Central Government agencies to decide revenue disputes and matters relating to conditions of service and discipline of Government employees. Under this proposal, the jurisdiction of courts of law in administrative matters will be restricted and the High Courts will be barred from exercising the power of issuing writs and of superintendence over all courts which they now possess under the Constitution. It may be of interest to the Indian public in this connection to know that a survey of the work of administrative tribunals in England has just been completed by a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Oliver Franks. The Secretary to the Treasury put forward the view before the committee that the tribunals under review are part and parcel of the machinery of the government. Rejecting this view the committee held that the tribunals are properly to be regarded as independent organs of adjudication. The distinction between the two view-points is important. One emphasises the value of these tribunals for expeditious disposal of administrative business. The other insists on the superior worth of impartial assessment by the tribunals of the claims coming up before them. Impartiality, in the opinion of the committee, cannot be had if the tribunals combine in themselves the roles of detective, prosecutor and judge. And they recommend that this sort of combination should be scrapped forthwith wherever it is found to exist.

It is noteworthy that the committee are not opposed to the system of administrative tribunals as such. They are satisfied that in most cases the administrative tribunals are more suitable for their intended purposes than the ordinary courts. But they do not favour either a centralised appeal tribunal, or a single administrative appeal tribunal or appeals from the administrative tribunals to the Minister. They want the tribunals to be associated with the higher courts through appeals confined to points of law. This view they have affirmed in spite of the fact that the relation between administrative tribunals and courts of law lay outside the purview of their terms of reference. It is an indication of the importance the committee attach to a general right of appeal against maladministration as a means of redress to aggrieved citizens.

In India, the high probity normally characteristic of Ministers and administrators in England, is rare to find. There has been a general disposition on the part of the ruling party here in the past ten years to get round the law by amending it when its interpretation by the courts proved distasteful to it or interfered with its ways. The Ministers have not learned to separate their duty to the State and the public from their personal inclinations, likes and dislikes. One day the Chairman of the Universities Grants Committee criticises the financial administration of the Plan. Almost immediately he is made to pay for his temerity and the size of the grant to the universities is cut. It is also well known that some of our Ministers have placed themselves under heavy financial obligations to wealthy donors at election time. It is to be expected that these will have to be worked out by means of favours conferred through administrative channels necessarily involving considerable injustice to other parties outside the circle of official favour. The courts happen to be the only hope of redress for aggrieved citizens baulked of their legitimate dues by powerful agencies under executive control or influence purporting to perform judicial duties. Any further extension of the process of curtailing the power, integrity and authority of the courts or the area of their jurisdiction deserves to be resisted by every public spirited citizen who wishes to check the strides of absolutism in government and remain undisturbed in enjoyment of his rights and liberties under the Constitution.

Palm for Unreliability?

Expounding Government's policy in the matter of admission to educational institutions, Sri C. Subramaniam, the Education Minister, made this statement last Saturday

in the Madras Legislative Council: "In the present state of affairs, if a Brahmin was the principal, non-Brahmins would allege that their children had been victimised. There would be similar allegations if a Malayalee or a Christian was the principal. That was why they had included members of different communities in the selection committees". If this explanation is to be taken seriously, it should be worked into a general principle applicable to all administrative decisions affecting people of different communities, instead of being limited only to college admissions. To many citizens there are matters of even greater importance than the admission of their sons to educational institutions. The High Court, for example, very frequently decides issues of life and death determining the fortunes of the litigants before it. If the doctrine propounded in the Legislative Council by the Education Minister is to be accepted as valid, every High Court Judge should also be assisted, like the principals of colleges, by a committee representative of all communities. And why not every Secretary of the Government or, if it comes to that, every Minister as well? How far is the doctrine to go, at what point is it to be suspended, and who are the dignitaries to be trusted to act with non-communal fairness without aid of the committees, and on what basis is this adjudgment to proceed?

Evidently the Government have decided that straightaway an assumption of unreliability can be made against college principals, while to other categories the benefit of the doubt could be conceded. What a gloomy prospect this holds forth of the upbringing in store for the future citizens of the State, consigned as they are to the care of mentors admittedly the least trustworthy of public servants in the Minister's scale of values? Contemplating more deeply this vision of the present and the future conjured up by him, it is to be hoped that the Minister will be driven by the horror of it to some less repulsive philosophy to guide him in his tasks.

THE SECULAR STATE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It has been repeatedly affirmed that when the Indian Constitution laid down that India shall be a secular State, it was not intended that the State should discourage or be hostile towards religion, but that what was intended was impartiality towards all creeds and denominations. It was a refusal to accept the theory that different religions made different nations or that the State should belong to one religion more than another.

In a recent article in the American *Review of Politics* an eminent writer has expounded at great length how although the United States of America is a 'secular' State as far as any one denomination is concerned, it is at the same time a 'religious commonwealth'. America according to this writer believes in the necessity of a truly religious basis of citizenship. According to the American Constitution Congress cannot make any law 'establishing' any religion or prohibiting the free exercise of any religion. But the American Constitution presupposes a religious society. 'Secular' in the American language means 'non-sectarian', and not a negation of or indifference to religion.

The basic relationship between religious life and politics in America is not founded on a negative policy of non-encouragement. It is a positive policy of impartial encouragement of all religions and of all religious life and activity in American society.

The European concept of the 'secular' State is very different. It is a concept hostile to religion starting out of a feeling that religion is a political nuisance and that religious belief is a threat to political unity and stable government. The American concept of the 'secular' State, on the other hand, is grounded on a firm belief in the incomparable value of the religious life. The separation of State and Church in America arose out of the desire to protect religion and not out of hostility or dislike. The American people hold religion to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions (Tocqueville). The framers of the American Constitution believed that the State can be free only if the people are basically a religious people.

Although there has been some misunderstanding in some quarters about it, it may be stated that the Indian conception of a 'secular' State is nearer to the American concept than to the European. The Constitution did not intend to discourage or undervalue the place of religion in society. It placed all denominations and creeds on a religious basis without reference to the strength of their following. It marked out a different path from what was chosen by Pakistan.

It is true that national integration is rendered more difficult by differences in creed or denomination. But national stability would be fully endangered if all religious faith should gradually disappear. Whatever the forms and rituals of different creeds and denominations, religion and the restraints it imposes on human behaviour are of inestimable value to society. What the Indian Constitution-makers aimed at was not a general indifference to religion but a tolerant and broadminded appreciation of all creeds and denominations and a respect for one another's religious belief and practices.



Sotto Voce

Holding the Mirror up to the Congress

The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,
The devil was well, the devil a monk was he.

Denunciation of the "lawless laws" of the bad old British regime was the life-breath of Congress old stagers. But more "lawless laws" have been made in the past ten years than in the previous one hundred. Almost every bill passed—and most of them were introduced in the morning and declared law before sunset—gave dispensing power which indemnified all wrongs and covered every mistake. They summarily ousted the jurisdiction of the courts and armed the Executive with enormous powers over the freedom, wealth and happiness of the citizen which could be exercised by a revenue inspector or a police sub-inspector.

* * *

Did the Constitution come in the way? Why, then, the Constitution should be amended: "the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath". After all, the Constitution was the gift of the Congress. E.M.S. and his small orderly phalanx are not yet in a position to adopt this proprietory attitude towards the Constitution. But they are experts in "underground" strategy. And they no doubt count on the inhibiting power of a guilty conscience. How otherwise explain the equivocal silence of the Central Government in the face of Kerala's claim that its Education Bill has not been 'opposed' by Delhi?

* * *

The Kerala Bill aims, under the pretext of securing teachers' rights (for whom it actually does precious little, by the way), to secure political control of education, for the manipulation of immature minds. It would ride rough-shod over the Constitutional rights of religious and denominational minorities to run their own educational institutions. It would give powers to the State Government to take over school buildings and other property of aided institutions, paying the "market value". All this may be done without so much as asking the parties affected to show cause why they should not be liquidated.

* * *

All the objections that are now so cogently urged against the Bill were put forward in 1948 against the proposal of the Congress Government in Madras to requisition buildings and other property belonging to educational institutions from which recognition had been withdrawn. But they were loftily brushed aside. Recognition could be withdrawn for not paying salaries according to the scales fixed by the Government or for "corruption and falsification of accounts". But withdrawal of recognition was itself an executive act and the aggrieved party had no effective legal remedy against injustice.

* * *

I suppose that measure is still on the statute book. If the present Communist Government wants even more drastic powers, that only shows how the appetite grows on what it feeds on. We are told that there are many mismanaged schools of the Dotheboys variety in Kerala, and that the teachers are all in favour of the Bill. Educational exploitation is not unknown outside Kerala; nor, for that matter, are employees in other professions, journalism for example, who are prepared to lose both their eyes on the off-chance of their employers losing one by seeking Government intervention. But the question all Governments have to ask themselves is whether their interference might not be such as to upset the natural stability, resulting from the inherent balance of social forces, on which alone as on a bed-rock the Rule of Law can be founded.

* * *

E. M. S. propounded a new and sensational doctrine as to the place of the police in a 'democratic' State. But not a mouse has so far stirred, either in the press or on the party platforms. The Chief Minister of Kerala does not bother to deny seriously the charge that "there are thousands of cases of unauthorised occupation of land" and the police have been directed not to interfere in landlord-labour disputes. Instead he maintains that police intervention in the past in such cases amounted to "the suppression of people's movements" and was really against the spirit of the rule of the law. And with a smooth assurance he claims British precedent in support of this contention.

* * *

Police protection, though not in terms denied to the owning classes, will not be available to employers who want to run their concerns with outside labour if their workers should go on strike. But the right to strike itself is obviously recognised as a plenary and indefeasible right of "the masses" to bring the employer to his knee. "The guaranteed protection", says the Chief Minister, "is not the right of the employer to recruit blacklegs during times of strikes nor his right to take blacklegs in and out in order to work a unit of which a majority of workers have withdrawn their labour". So that is that. Mr. Nambudiripad forgets that if labour is allowed to over-awe the employer by its strength of numbers and ganging-up power, employers in their turn will claim the same unhampered right to mobilise their forces. And that will be war, the Government having abdicated. But that will no doubt suit the Communist Party very well.

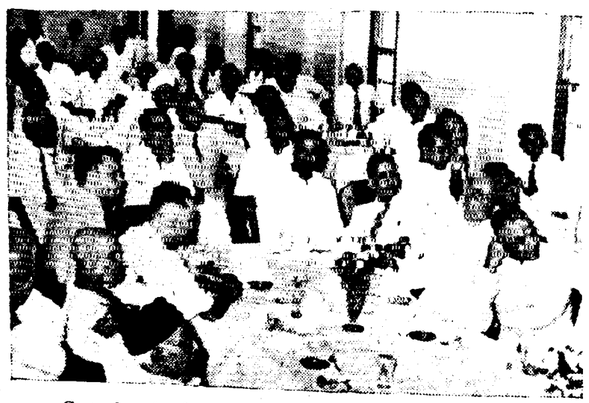
VIGHNESWARA

Life is short. Live it up. See all you can. Hear all you can and go all you can.—KHRUSHCHEV

SIDELIGHTS : :

After playing different screen roles in 60 plays, Sri A. Nageswara Rao arranged a reception in Vijaya Gardens last Sunday to commemorate the event and do honour to the producers, directors and fellow-artistes who had helped him to reach so distinguished a record. Only a fortnight ago the area now known as Vijaya Gardens was a sort of jungle land with uneven, non-negotiable terrain. Sri B. Nagi Reddi, with his customary zest for difficult tasks, conceived the idea that the reception should be held there, and set a small army to work to convert the jungle into a presentable garden. He himself worked for I don't know how many hours, but he had under his command not less than 600 workers continually grappling with the task of civilizing the soil. Sri Nagi Reddi is a concentrated human dynamo whose religion is thoroughness. Whatever he undertakes, he performs on a gigantic scale, sparing neither expense nor pains. In three different fields, printing, publications and films, he has made prodigious headway, leaving far behind many earlier practitioners. In getting up, too, grand social parties with spectacular paraphernalia, he has stolen a march over the veteran adepts. There was therefore nothing perfunctory in any of the furbishings and appointments designed for last Sunday's reception. The lighting and the upholstery were superb and gorgeous and the thought that a day or two later they might be dismantled made one sad. It would be a great comfort to lovers of beauty if some pooling of intelligence could be done to save from prospective destruction the wonderful architectural masterpieces and structures of beauty that are reared at a cost of tens of thousands for a day or two and then vandalistically demolished. These deserve to be enshrined in some preservable form of accumulating glory.

All the stars of the silver screen were there. It was as if the panorama of two or three decades of filmcraft was compressed into an evening through the concentrated presence of its principal *dramatis personae*. The ladies of the screen, many of them, seemed to take special delight in excessive transparency of apparel. Another noticeable feature was the gorgeousness of their floral decorations. They piled heaps of flowers on their heads and a symbolic embellishment for merging fragrance with form took on the aspect of a mighty pyramid in its own right. But these lovely makers of fantastic fashions in



Swarajya Anniversary: Some of the distinguished guests at the reception



Sri A. Nageswara Rao

quest of attention provided a background of variegated colourfulness to the whole scene. It furnished a picturesque and not inapt illustration to the multifarious record of the hero of the day.

To have acted in sixty pictures cannot be claimed, quantitatively, as an unbeaten or unbeatable record. There are perhaps a good few artistes who have acted in as many and even more without a public occasion to festivalise the event. Sri Nageswara Rao's uniqueness lies not in the number of the roles he has acted, but their variety, their dissimilarity, their lack of uniformity, and the vast multiplicity and unbelievable diversity in style and character which taken all together, they collectively indicate. There is nothing very impressive in any geometrical multiplication over years of repetitive performances of identical or similar attributes. But this particular hero of the film world, Sri Nageswara Rao, seems to have taken the whole gamut of life in his stride, savouring all its unlimited joy and pain, victory and defeat, high and low and ever so many nuances of experience that are comprised in the tragedy, comedy, drama and philosophy of our eternal pilgrimage from one crisis to another on this planet. All this cannot come by acquisitive assimilation of the external details of human behaviour. It can only spring from the comprehension of the secret of identity in the midst of change governing the human personality, an exploit of the spirit in the domain of art. This sort of inside illumination marks the inspired artist of genius who is at home in every situation, because he has learned to replace technique with understanding. Sri Nageswara Rao belongs to this choice *elite* of the world's great artistes. Hence the mere counting of the number of pictures in which he has acted fails to do full justice to him.

* * *

A fortnight ago, 21st July to be exact, kind friends arranged a tea party to felicitate me on completion of sixty years, on the occasion of the first anniversary of SWARAJYA. Actually I completed sixty years a year and a half ago, but sixty or sixty-one or seventy, the man who advances in age does nothing about it, Time does everything. But the running of a weekly like SWARAJYA is a different matter. Here effort is everything and Time as such does precious little; and as Rajaji observed in his gracious year-end message, one year of SWARAJYA is as good as a golden jubilee.

The plaudits showered on me at the gathering thrilled and excited me at first and there was enough of them to overpower even a less sensitive person. Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar said that I had "the innocence of a child" but also great shrewdness in judging issues connected with public affairs. Sri C. Subramaniam reminisced over his jail days and complimented me on having been an exemplary prisoner then. He said a journal like SWARAJYA was valuable for "purifying politics". Sri S. S. Vasan called me a "hero". Sri P. V. Rajamannar credited me with the culture that belongs to fearlessness and love of beauty. My old friend G. V. Krupanidhi said that in the old days he often found through me "inspiration" in difficulties. Ramakotiswara Rao gave me his benign benediction. Sri Narla recalled that I was the first editor with whom he worked and had found pleasure and benefit in the association. He presented me on behalf of the committee of hosts



Sri S. S. Vasan speaking at the year-end reception to Swarajya

with a Parker pen and pencil set. Sir M. Venkata Subba Rao said what sort of pen I had been having he did not know, but now armed with a new pen what new power would come out of it he could not predict. Sri V. Kalidas, the moving spirit of the day's function, was grateful to the guests who contributed to its success but said he had been handicapped from the beginning by my uncooperative outlook.

The praise of such eminent men and the presence on the occasion of ever so many distinguished personages whose very presence there was an honour, turned my head for a little while and filled me with happiness and the warmth and comfort of well-being. It took away in a trice the strain of the years. But praise can also be the most exacting thing in the world. Long ago I read somewhere that character is what a man is, reputation is what he is taken to be. Perhaps in the best of us there is a secret difference between the two which normally we dare not look at. For stimulating a consciousness of this difference there is nothing like praise, and then nothing can redeem the soul except a dedication before all-knowing Providence to give a better account of oneself in the future than in the past. A promise to do this was all I could say when it came to my turn to speak. It is repeated now here, and the repetition is the object in telling the story of the reception.

SAKA.

Men and Money

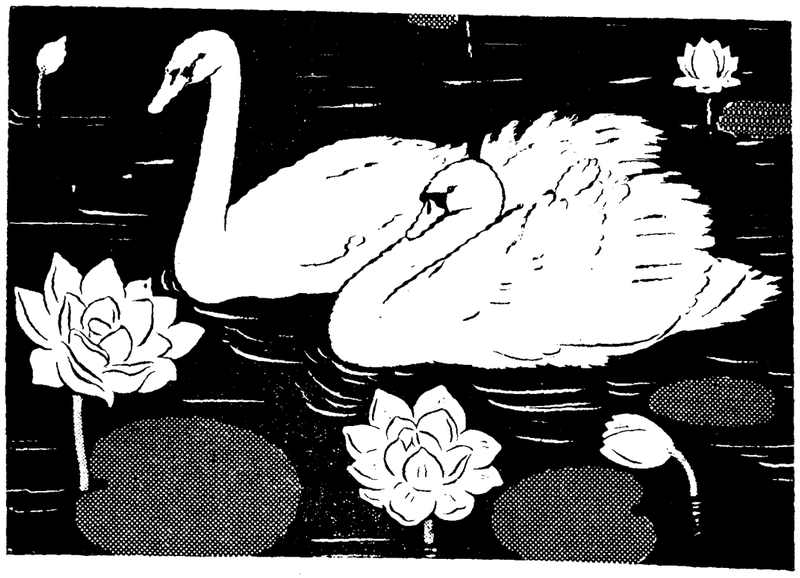
Money does not make men rich. It is thoughtful deeds, kind words and unselfish service that make men really rich.

Of all the inventions of man, money is the most wonderful. It may bring food but not appetite; medicine, but not health; acquaintances, but not friends; servants but not faithfulness; days of joy, but not peace of mind or happiness.

Years ago, I read the story of seven of the world's then most successful financiers. In their respective fields they controlled a vast segment of the world's economy. Fabulously wealthy they were. The happiness of thousands of people they controlled. A few years later, these financiers completely vanished, every one of them becoming penniless and destitute. They left a legacy of untold misery to humanity.

We have heard wealthy men saying that they would gladly exchange all their possessions if they could regain their lost health, their lost zeal for happiness and contentment.

The proper place of money is to serve as a lubricant for the economic mechanism that man's ingenuity directs, to the prosperity of all mankind. DR. E. K. SWAMY.



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THE COMMONWEALTH CONNECTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

On the "hardy perennial" of India's association with the Commonwealth, Mr. Nehru said he would like to know how "it has injured our policies or advocacy of any cause that we hold dear." Broadly speaking, he was against breaking any kind of association of nations. "I want more associations and not less."

The Prime Minister has claimed in his recent speech in the Lok Sabha that our Commonwealth connection "has not injured our policies or advocacy of any cause that we hold dear". I admit the claim in the particular form it is put. But must we not be prepared to throw this connection on the counter, if by readiness to give it away we can make our expression of disgust and our advocacy more effective than it has so far been in the matter of nuclear weapons, about which it may be truly said that they have come to destroy and not to save or fulfil the hopes of mankind? The issue is not on a par with a question of tariff or things of that kind but is admittedly as important as civilization itself and our conviction on the matter is definite and unqualified, a conviction for which the highest form of sacrifice is called for.

Here is an offer repeated many times and most recently reaffirmed by Mr. Khrushchev at Prague, that Russia is prepared for an agreement 'here and now' to a ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. England does not agree and blocks it along with America. Why should not India make supreme use of her Commonwealth connection forging a sanction out of it for achieving something great and good for all humankind? Can this question stand further delayed? If Britain agreed, could America resist world pressure; and will a better occasion arise for achieving the end?

If an agreement not to use these weapons be registered in the U.N., would it not certainly postpone the terrible occasion when according to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd the agreement "would not be worth the paper it was written on"? It may be admitted that "in the ultimate recourse" the promise to renounce the use of the weapons one possesses may be broken, but is it not supremely worth while to push the "ultimate recourse" as far away as possible? An agreement by itself pushes the breaking point away.

Once this agreement is obtained and registered, making these weapons declaredly unusable, would it not be easier thereafter to discuss dismantling the stocks held and to take up all other issues involved?

We should not accept the policy of tying up all issues together as the last word on the subject. The wedge must be driven in somewhere. The logic of entirety must be opposed by the non-nuclear powers in a combined effort because they are interested directly in the abolition of nuclear warfare and the ban on these weapons more than in the balancing of power, round which the disarmament talks are fruitlessly turning. The united mind of America and Britain is closed against reason on this matter and so we have to think what to do about it and not drift helplessly. It is not a question of advocacy only. What is needed at this juncture is a sanction. The best and greatest use of what we possess is sometimes the giving up of it.

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा

tena tyaktena bhunjea haa

"YOU SHOULD COPY DENMARK, NOT BRITAIN"

Rajaji Talks To Japanese Leaders

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

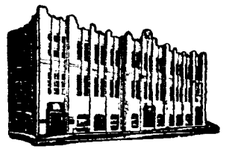
At the end of the World Peace Council session in Colombo Dr. Hirano, the Secretary of the Japanese Peace Committee, said that he and two of his colleagues planned to travel back to Madras with me. They had been deeply moved by Rajaji's message, in which he had urged the peace movement to concentrate all its energies on the stopping of the H-bomb tests. Inspite of an over-crowded programme they had found time to read *Mankind Protests*, and had insisted that the drafting committee should, in framing resolutions, try to achieve something of the simplicity and force of Rajaji's style. Now they wanted to pay him their respects and, on behalf of the thirty million people in Japan who had signed the petition against A and H bombs, to thank him for his leadership.

He was very unwell, but when I asked him to receive them he at once consented. They arrived carrying parcels, their faces radiant with anticipation. Rajaji, as he rose to greet them, looked radiant, too.

"I still have flu," he told them as he returned their bows by pressing his palms together, "so you must not touch me in case you catch the infection. I am sorry that I cannot shake hands with you."

The three men smiled, overcoming their shyness as they tried to express their sympathy, and stepped forward to offer their gifts. There was a lace table-centre, and a book of photographs of the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasakai. The visitors, seating themselves in a row, watched Rajaji turn over the pages. He said: "People should not be reminded of these things. They are too painful."

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The visitors nodded, but, perhaps out of respect, did not reply.

"Do you understand?" Rajaji asked. "And do you agree?"

Professor Okakura, speaking for them all, said that they agreed. I, guessing this agreement to be mere politeness, added quickly that I did not.

Rajaji threw me a malicious grin. "No, *you* do not. But these are good people. They understand what I mean, and they agree. It is not good for people to remember all that they have suffered. When people have been ill they prefer to forget about it afterwards. The Japanese people have suffered very much, and so these things should be banished from Japan. Let them be published in English or French. Not in Russian, because the Russians are trying to stop such things. No, I don't like to see these pictures." He put the book down and picked up the lace mat, admiring the delicacy of the workmanship.

"We thank you," Dr. Hirano said, "for your message."

The news from London that morning was good, and it looked as if the disarmament talks might really end in agreement. "We should stop examining all these problems in detail," Rajaji went on, "and agree on the big things. But by the big things I do not mean only the big weapons. The smaller types of nuclear weapons are made by private enterprise. This means that resistance to banning them will be very strong . . . . . Any proposal to retrench in industry is objected to, is it not? If the cold war is not stopped the smaller weapons will be distributed all over the world, just as in the last war you distributed sten guns all over the world. That was a long time ago, but we know how many crimes are still being committed with these guns. You can confess what you did, and you can make our friends in America understand what sort of trouble they will store up if they persist in following your example." He paused, but the visitors were too struck by the force of the analogy to do more than nod, look at each other, and nod again. "You should write about this. Conferences speak only once, but literature speaks many times. You should write to American journals and show that Japanese policy in Asia in the past had many points in common with what America is doing now. If you confess it will go through. Japanese people do not confess easily. British people confess. That is a good thing"—again he paused—"and that is why they deceive people so well."

This thrust, and the laughter which followed, eased the pain of memories too bitter to be forgotten but which, I could see from the faces of the guests, they were resolving to use as a means towards saving the future.

Talk of the future led back into the distant past where Dr. Hirano, who is an eminent historian as well as a man of action, is much happier than in the demanding and anxious present. They discussed Buddhism, and presently Rajaji rose and crossed the room to take from a shelf a small sealed phial. "Much of the greatness of the Japanese people comes from what they have learned from Buddhism. It is the things that have been added to Buddhism that have been your undoing. I am giving you a little water from the Ganga which, as you know, is a sacred river for Buddhists as well as for Hindus." He put the phial into Dr. Hirano's hands and added in a tone of great gentleness: "Do not interfere with the beliefs of your parents. It is not from superstition that I give you this. Give it to your mother."

Dr. Hirano took the gift, still smiling, his emotion showing only in the difficulty he had in expressing his thanks. Rajaji, seated once more, brought the conversation back to politics. Dr. Hirano spoke of the Japanese demand for the return of Okinawa. "If the Americans agree to hand it over," Rajaji asked, "will they give it to you with or without the atomic bases? My opinion is that you should say: 'We don't want the island unless you take the bases away.' Consistency demands that you should not allow any bases. Are you against re-arming altogether?"

"In the name of keeping order,"

Dr. Hirano replied, "rearmament is still going on. The people are against it, although we agree that it is possible to have small weapons. If Japan were to rearm now the army would force us to be on the American side."

"Japan," Rajaji answered, "is the only country from which it is possible to organise an effective opposition to China. But you must be friends with China. If you constantly see China as a rival you cannot be disarmed. You must develop goodwill towards the Chinese people. If you do that your enemies will say that you are helping the Communists. You must say that it is not to help the Communists that we make friends with China, but because we want all Asia to be united. But if Japan tries to develop a high standard of living like Britain you will have to have an empire. You should copy Denmark, not Britain. And you must say — put it in quotation marks — 'We have learned the lesson of humiliation, and we do not want arms. Like the people of Germany — of West Germany — we refuse to enter this insane competition.'"

The three agreed, and then the two younger men turned to Dr. Hirano as he invited Rajaji to attend the third World Congress against Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons in Tokyo in August.

"I am afraid my health will not allow it," Rajaji answered, and wished the conference success. "Besides," he added, with an irony of which neither he nor the Japanese seemed to be aware, "if you are to succeed in your purpose you need live politicians—"

"Oh!" I exclaimed, too startled to swallow the syllable before it escaped. Nobody heard me, and after that I was so absorbed in my own reflections that I heard no more of what was being said.

'TACTICAL' WEAPONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SPECIFIC civilizations rise, prosper and fall. But for mankind as a whole there is no doubt of the reality of progress. This is Professor Barraclough's formula of faith in his *History in a Changing World*. His conviction however carries an important conditional clause. *If we control and inhibit the new technological implements of mass-murder in warfare*, there is every reason to believe that better periods than the past has ever known may lie ahead. This is an important qualification which cannot be too often or too strongly emphasised at this hour of crisis in human civilization. The Atlantic powers have adopted a policy that threatens the world with the opposite of Professor Barraclough's prognosis, for these seem bent on negativing the professor's condition. America as well as Britain has chosen a most perilous policy of 'economy' attempting to cut costs and reducing man-power investment in defence by shifting decisively from conventional arms to nuclear and guided missiles. The British Premier clearly indicated the mind of these nuclear power governments when recently he was answering a question in Parliament. They *do not hope* that nuclear bombs will not be resorted to if war breaks out.

Now, this is to make war mean certain annihilation for Western Europe, if not for the whole of what has been proudly calling itself the 'civilized world'. Western Europe everyone knows is far more exposed to atomic attack than the U.S.A. As a well-known columnist has written in the *New Leader*, a tactical atomic campaign in Central Europe would not only mean the annihilation of the population it was intended to defend, but also lead to total global thermo nuclear war.

The Social Democrats—and in this they have German public opinion on their side—oppose German possession of American atomic weapons. They also protest against the stationing of American and British atomic weapons on German soil. Their rivals the Christian Democrats have tried to meet popular feeling by re-affirming their renunciation of atomic weapon production and demanding a suspension of H-bomb tests.

NATO's new strategy has been to equip all continental armies including Germany's with 'tactical' nuclear weapons. When Adenaur gave a press conference statement in which he supported this strategy and described these 'tactical' weapons as having by now become "virtually normal weapons" and merely a "further development of artillery", the eighteen German atomic scientists immediately issued their celebrated protest. Every notable German figure in nuclear physics has warned against any minimizing of the atomic peril and demanded that Germany should renounce the use of atomic weapons. These scientists have made it clear that their warning has nothing to do with the forthcoming German elections and their sincerity cannot be questioned. The "atomic awareness" of Germany has undoubtedly undermined Adenaur's position.

Whatever be the result of the German elections as concerns the party position, let us hope that Germany will save Europe from annihilation which is the plain consequence of the policy of using Western Europe as a base for 'tactical' atomic warfare. "Tactical", the weapons may have been christened by American military priests, but the policy behind these weapons is the most untactical of all conceivable policies and is sure to touch off the total-annihilation-war that is hanging over humanity. German wisdom—born of bitter experience—may yet, God willing, guide Western Europe eventually to prefer neutrality to the cold war policies now pursued by the NATO powers.

I believe that a novelist who tries to instruct or persuade his readers or even to make them imagine precisely what he has imagined, will fail. He must set them free; he must enable them to re-imagine his story for themselves and to read it in the light of their own experience. —CHARLES MORGAN

DANGEROUS WEDGE OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM

By R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR

Are we moving towards the spoils system?

It is reported that in his closing speech on the Madras Appropriation Bill 1957 on 26th July, the Finance Minister of Madras announced in the Madras Legislative Assembly that "children of political sufferers who had taken part in the freedom struggle, irrespective of the present political complexion of the latter, will have free education right up to the university level, including professional and technical courses". It is also reported that the Minister was loudly cheered by *all* sections of the House as he made the announcement.

The provision of free higher education to any young person who desires and deserves the same is always to be welcomed. For, in the words of Poet Rabindranath, "the heaven of freedom" is "where education is free". In recent years higher education has become too costly for the children of moderate means to seek: and one is surprised that the Chairman of the Universities Grants Commission has suggested an increase in the fees which are now levied by colleges and which are already high. It is the duty of the Government to afford life-giving opportunities of higher education, especially professional and technical education, to all deserving young men so that they may rise to the fullest heights of their individual capacity and so that they may be in a position to increase the wealth of the nation and make it prosper.

What the Government are now proposing to do is not to enable all its deserving young men to have the benefits of higher education, including professional and technical, but to enable only the children of a section whom they call 'political sufferers', to do so.

In the absence of fuller details of the Government's scheme, it is not possibe to say exactly who the persons are whom they would recognise as "political sufferers". Does the expression apply only to persons who went to jail in implementation of the Satyagraha programme of the Congress or even to those who were fined in that connection? Does it apply to persons who without being sentenced for any offence suffered lathi charge and is there any limit to the beating suffered by them which would qualify them for the concession? Such questions are now immaterial.

It is clear that the Government have in view only persons who at one time worked for the Congress party. This is clear from the words "irrespective of their present political complexion". In other words the Congress Government which is now in power wants to show to persons who belonged to its party a monetary advantage which it is not showing to the members of any other party.

This is a dangerous and reprehensible policy. In a democratic State, a majority may form the Government. But government by a majority is not government *for* a majority. Democracy is government of the whole people for the whole people.

The expression "sufferers in the freedom struggle" is very elusive. When did the freedom struggle begin? Did it begin with the Congress in 1885 or only after the Mahatma started his Non-cooperation movement in 1920 or when? Many eminent men belonged to the Congress, and took a conspicuous part in the freedom struggle, at considerable sacrifice to themselves, though in later days they differed from Gandhiji's method of non-cooperation and did not go to jail. Such men suffered both at the hands of the Government and the extremist section of the Congress. It would be ungrateful on the part of the nation to belittle the contribution made by them to the achievement of independence. For that matter, several government servants even have suffered for their suspected sympathies with the movement for India's freedom.

Nor is it possible to obtain reasonable and satisfactory proof of who were political sufferers in the freedom struggle.

Congressmen and others who at any time suffered for the Congress have already been fully rewarded by the grateful recognition by their countrymen of their services, and by the love, honour and respect which they have received at their hands for such services.

It would be derogatory to their self-sacrifice to think that they suffered in the expectation of future material rewards. It is wrong to pretend to reward them. If their services are to be compensated for by pecuniary advantages, they cease to be *tyagis* or sufferers.

Rajaji gauged public opinion correctly when as Chief Minister of Madras State in 1952, he expressed himself against the policy of assignment of lands to political sufferers as a reward for their sufferings. Even before that, he had in a message addressed to Congressmen in 1950 said: "Every Congressman should ask himself, shall I serve the Congress or am I making the Congress serve me?" Even after Rajaji's retirement from the government, the Madras Government acquiesced in the policy of Rajaji and ordered that assignments of waste lands should be only in favour of poor and landless persons and not in favour of a class known as political sufferers.

If the present Government gives special advantages to their partisans and supporters, what can prevent the Opposition when they come into power, to follow a similar policy and say: "Our party men have suffered under the previous government and party in power. We will reward them for their sufferings."

We will thus be introducing into this country the dangerous wedge of the spoils system. Apart from all other considerations, the proposal is repulsive as it smacks of corruption. It will vitiate the atmosphere of the State. It will lead to envy and hatred of the Congress. Concessions like this, coming so soon after a general election, are liable to be suspected as rewards for past assistance. The expression "irrespective of their present political complexion" is open to the construction that an endeavour is being made to retain and, if possible, to bring back to the party-fold rebellious members. Otherwise, why did even sections of the House other than Congress cheer the Minister's announcement? "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion".

The Government will do well to extend to all poor and deserving young men the concession which they propose to give to children of political sufferers.

IN MADRAS

Exhibition On Soviet Education

I remember seeing a motto hanging on the kitchen wall of a Durham miner's house which read: "Friends are people who know the worst about you and love you just the same." It would be charitable to assume that it was this no doubt impeccable sentiment which led the Indo-Soviet Friendship Society to sponsor the exhibition on higher education in the U.S.S.R. which is now being shown at Rajaji Hall. Certainly it is the worst exhibition of any kind that I have ever seen. The photographs are dull, uninformative, and so crudely-posed as to make excellent propaganda weapons for those who argue that there is no vitality, much less any originality, in Soviet youth to-day. The accompanying explanations are printed on hardboard of a colour which must once have approximated to boudoir-pink, but which is now dirtied to the tone of shop-soiled remnants on the last day of a bargain sale. There is an almost complete absence of charts and other devices that would give meaning to the rather meagre facts and statistics that are to be read within frameworks of black smudges and dirty fingerprints. In fact, the exhibition does no credit to those connected with it.

This would be bad enough if the history of the development of higher education in the Soviet Union were a story not worth telling. In fact, there is no story in the history of education in the modern world to equal it. Technical education, in particular, is more advanced in the U.S.S.R. than in any country in the world, both in quality and in the proportion of students to the total population. In the past two years the British government has remodelled and expanded its own programme of higher technical education in frank emulation of the Soviet example; and Admiral Strauss, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, has drawn attention to the efforts which will have to be made if America is not to be left behind in the race for technological advancement.

Little of this can be gleaned from the exhibition. The photograph, for example, of architectural students at work shows a lecture hall dominated by a huge pseudo-classical statue of the kind with which architects of the Stalin



period used to decorate public buildings. We are not told, and no visitor who did not already know could possibly guess, that this extravagant pretentiousness was condemned by Mr. Khrushchev nearly two years ago as ugly, wasteful and unnecessary.

Nor does the visitor get more than a few unsatisfying peeps at the interior of Moscow's new University, which in fact is a city in itself, with first-class facilities for study, living and recreation. When I visited the University sometime ago I was much struck by the neat and economical arrangement of the students' bed-sitting-rooms and bathrooms and by the excellent planning of common rooms and dining-rooms. A lay-out plan would have been of great interest not only to students and professors, but to everyone who wants to see university education in India made more widely available.

It would have been valuable, too, to have had more than a small fistful of facts about developments in the central Asian republics. In Kazakhstan, for example, I had an opportunity to see something of how the introduction of higher education for girls and women was helping to raise the general cultural standard of the whole people. And both there and in Moscow I was able to discuss with girls of school-leaving age one of the primary issues of freedom: namely, the extent to which young people are really able to choose for themselves the professions in which they will spend the greater part of their lives. But this, like all the other controversial questions which people in other parts of the world want to know about, is scarcely touched on anywhere in the exhibition. We are told that students who get satisfactory marks receive stipends to enable them to continue their studies. On the other hand, we see nothing of the interesting and often exciting field-work which students do in their summer vacations — and which in fact I myself learned about only through a chance meeting with two girl geologists with whom I got into conversation when I was crossing Siberia. These are the things that link education to life: and it is life that this exhibition so unforgivably lacks.

Now that Mr. Khrushchev has made candour politically fashionable, can we not hope that what Americans call "the candid camera" may be admitted into the universities and technical institutes of the U.S.S.R. and that the rest of the world may be allowed to see something of Soviet academic life as it really is, with all its achievements, difficulties, failures and unsolved problems? The recent American exhibition of the Family of Man has shown how such things can be done, and Soviet photographers and exhibition designers could learn many revolutionary lessons from it.

MONICA FELTON.



Headlines

Monday July 22: In New Delhi Prime Minister Nehru called for all-round vigilance in face of the increasing intransigence of Pakistan. In Central Java the Communist Party made large gains in the municipal elections. Mr Dulles reported some slight progress in the disarmament talks.

Tuesday July 23: In the Egyptian National Assembly President Nasser pledged support for the Bandung ideals. The U.S.S.R. promised economic aid to Egypt, and trade talks between the U.S.S.R. and West Germany opened in Moscow.

Wednesday July 24: R. A. F. planes bombed Oman. Two British Labour M.P.s tabled a motion of censure against the Speaker of the House of Commons for having refused a debate on the issue. Marshall Bulganin in a letter to Mr Macmillan accused Britain of allowing stockpiling of lethal weapons under cover of the disarmament talks.

Thursday July 25: The Government of India announced the issue of loans for Rs. 100 crores. It was reported from London that the Chinese government had refused Pakistan's offer to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact in exchange for Chinese support in Kashmir.

Friday July 26: The R. A. F. announced the suspension of action against the Oman rebels. Failure of the Prime Minister's effort to avert the proposed strike of postal and telegraph workers was announced from New Delhi. Dr K. I. Singh formed Nepal's sixth government in seven years.

Saturday July 27: A state of siege was proclaimed in Guatamala following the assassination of the President. Nation-wide arrests were reported from Hungary. Southern Japan suffered the worst floods in its history. President Eisenhower ordered Mr Dulles to fly to London.

Sunday July 28: Mr S. K. Patil accused Pakistan of making false statements on the canal waters dispute. North Korean charges of violation of the armistice agreement by U.N. forces were denied by U.S. General, Homer Litzenbery. In Washington Mr Maxwell Gluck, U.S. Ambassador-designate to Ceylon, stated that he could not recall the name of the Ceylonese Prime Minister.

ARMY TO THE TOP IN RUSSIA

U. S. VIEW OF KHRUSHCHEV'S RISE

New York: The massive power of the Red Army has become a potent force in Russian politics—an ominous power which, for the time being at least, is standing behind Communist Party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev.

In any dictatorship the true test of a leader's power can be measured by how many guns he has behind him. If he doesn't have the support of the military he doesn't last long.

It is becoming more and more obvious to observers here that Khrushchev could act with boldness in purging the opponents of his policies in the top command because he had the Red Army behind him on those policies.

Can it be that in keeping a huge post-war army and building up its strength, the Red leaders have created a Frankenstein which could destroy them all if it wished?

This question is suggested because Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov has been raised to membership in the party's ruling Presidium. It is a position of power which the army well may insist on keeping or enlarging in the future, political ambitions of men being what they are. Now that the army has a foot in the door, it seems reasonable to assume that the foot will not be withdrawn.

Khrushchev obviously knew he had the support of the military and a solid majority of the party's hierarchy before he moved to oust such an old-guard Stalinist as V. M. Molotov, and such men as Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shpilov.

Marshal Zhukov hinted at the role of the armed forces when he addressed a mass meeting of the Moscow garrison following the purge and told them: "Our country possesses excellent armed forces solidly standing around the Leninist Central Committee. We are unqualifiedly dedicated to the Fatherland and to the people, and are always ready to give up our lives for the defence of the Soviet State."

But while the "excellent armed forces are now standing solidly around the Leninist Central Committee as its protectors, will this same protection be forthcoming if the military leaders become disenchanted with Khrushchev, it will be interesting to see.

And it is interesting, too, that the Red Army felt impelled through its newspaper to give its seal of approval to the purge by Khrushchev. The statement of approval itself is an indication of how close the military power is to the political scene in Russia.

The nearest parallel in the U.S.A. would be for the Pentagon chiefs to issue a statement of endorsement should President Eisenhower dismiss some members of his Cabinet in an abrupt fashion.

All evidence points to the conclusion that in Russia the military has moved closer to the rest of political power, and now has a direct voice in the high councils which it never had before.

On the whole, the initial reaction of the United States Government to the Moscow purge was a wary one of "Watch and wait."

The general feeling is that Khrushchev has consolidated his own internal position and has become the new Russian strong man even though he does not have the power once wielded by Stalin over his associates.

But in gaining this new position of power, Khrushchev has moved the Red Army into the top councils.

P. G. KRISHNAYYA

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GREAT SERVICE

Sir,—I have been an ardent and active reader of your young and esteemed journal SWARAJYA since its inception. I know very well there are and will always be a good number of letters commending your free and forthright criticism, which should be a model to other critics too, yet I too might add one to say that your editorials are always illuminating, interesting and inspiring. Also other attractive features like 'Sotto Voce' 'Letters to the Editor' and regular contributions by Sri Rajaji and other eminent scholars, which grace your journal, are of utmost importance and usefulness and upto the taste of young and old alike.

During the elections, SWARAJYA played a memorable role with important, timely and appropriate editorials and other articles of vital value to the public, and also discussion at length on the misuse of the funds collected by the party in power and the blunders committed by the Congress hierarchy. After completely going through every issue during the elections, I am constrained to say that the courage and conviction which you inject in your editorials, as well as the letters which you allow for publication in the column 'Letters to the Editor', go to prove that you are undoubtedly a frank, honest and valiant critic and that you measure one and all, big and small, known and unknown, with the same rod. This policy of yours is admirable and should be practised by all. A letter entitled 'Krishna Menon and Kashmir Issue' which you allowed in the issue of 9th March is alone proof of your extreme frankness and your openness to correction of your views, irrespective of your position. Myriad thanks to you, dear Editor.

In fine, I would like to say that your magazine SWARAJYA is really rendering a great service to the nation more than any other journal in India. One easily realizes that SWARAJYA though young in age, is old in wisdom and is playing a very important and cultural role in the interests and betterment of our fellow-citizens.

Eluru. M. S. RAMJEE.

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S. Krishnaswamy, Secretary.

ABUSE OF SATYAGRAHA

Sir,—I am in full agreement with Sri B. Shiva Rao in his article "The Way to Disaster" (SWARAJYA, July 20) in so far as he deprecates abuse of Satyagraha. It is indeed a sad thing that people should resort to such an extreme step. But he has not probed the cause for such an abuse. In a majority of cases, whenever people defy the law it will be found that they have some legitimate grievance that had gone unheeded for too long. It is indeed true that in such cases constitutional methods must be adopted as in U.K. Here, however, the majority do not understand what democracy is. Their ignorance is exploited by vote-catching politicians who are engaged most of the time in far off lands on some work of their own from which people in their constituencies derive little benefit. They are ignorant of the problems and conditions of their constituencies, but with a mighty party behind them, they are at our doors on the eve of the election. To win the election all devices are made use of. It is of course true that the "ballot box has created a revolution in the country". But in cases of extreme injustice, a kind of eruption takes place for which the very politicians who preach democratic means of representation are responsible. If the politicians in our country had been as prudent, unselfish and sane as those of U.K., such abuse of Satyagraha as we now find would not have taken place.

Madras, A. P. GOWRI SHANKAR.

A GRAND FAILURE

Sir,—In the capital of Andhra Pradesh, a Distress Week was conducted from 5th to 12th July. The programme was to wear throughout the week a badge with the inscription "Andhra Pradesh N.G.O. in distress". And on the last but one day of the week, the N.G.Os. were to fast, but come to office and carry out their usual duties without dislocation of the normal office work.

The Distress Week is over and it is quite evident that it has been a grand failure. A few months ago the cycle rickshaw-wallahs of Hyderabad went on a day's strike to get their grievances redressed. We did not find a single rickshaw on the roads that day. It did not matter whether they succeeded in their efforts or not. But their

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discipline, unity and organisation compel admiration. Our N.G.Os., the educated labourers of the State, could not command that much of unity and organisational capacity as the illiterate rickshaw-wallahs.

Despite the fact that the Distress Week was sponsored under the joint auspices of the Andhra and Telengana N.G.O. associations, none of the Telengana staff put on the badge. Why should they? Their position is safeguarded by the conditions guaranteed to them at the time of the integration of Andhra and Telengana.

Just a few months back before elections Sri Sanjeeva Reddi gave the assurance that he will raise the N.G.O.s'pay and consider the cases of other ill-paid State servants. Now the elections are over. The other day he said in the Assembly that N.G.O.s' salaries can be enhanced only if the House is willing either to cut down the developmental plans in the State or to bear some more new taxes. Everyone knows that neither of the two is acceptable. Thus the whole affair is dropped.

It is time the N.G.O.s organise a united and disciplined movement to get their demands fulfilled. No passive action will be of any avail.

Hyderabad. S. KRISHNA.

Political Castles in the Air

Reformers often try to find in foreign countries what they wish for at home; the enthusiasm in Athens for an ideal Sparta, the admiration of Tacitus for the ancient Germans, are familiar instances of this tendency of all peoples to build political castles in the air of countries beyond their own borders. This polemical intention is reinforced by the tendency, natural to the human mind, to find something wonderful and admirable in whatever is strange and foreign.

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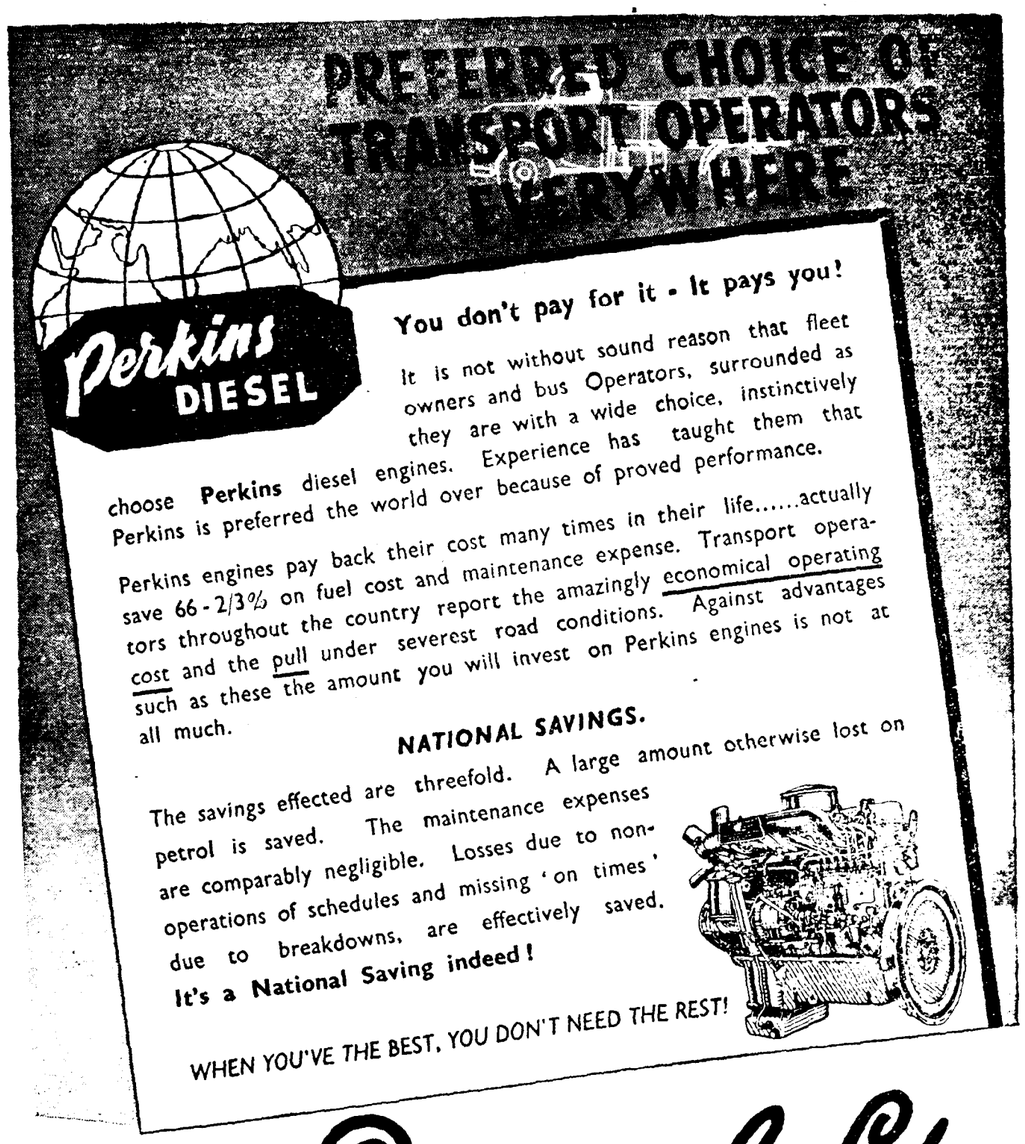
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EMPIRE OVER THE MIND

We see in the Kerala Education Bill the greed for power actuating the policies of the ruling party in the rest of India, carried a step further. It has become the main pre-occupation of the Congress to prevent the possibility of its being dislodged from power. The Socialistic pattern of society has been devised to promote this objective. If it is the test of Socialism that complete economic protection is assured to the entire population, that sort of Socialism is nowhere visible on the horizon of Congress effort. Unemployment and destitution are as rampant now as when the Congress took charge of the government ten year ago. But Socialism has been exploited as a convenient doctrine to enable the ruling party to grab more and more of power. The Five Year Plans themselves constitute a technique for self-perpetuation in authority on the part of the Congress. The success of the Plan for the time being is alleged to be bound up with the continuance of the Congress government; and great play was made of the Plan in Congress propaganda in the recent elections. On the other hand, at no time are we without a Plan. As a new Plan gets going before the old one ends, the Congress goes on pleading that for the sake of the Plan it should continue to be returned to office.

Propaganda apart, actual experience has now revealed that rising prices and other factors have created labour unrest which threatens the whole structure of government-planning. Meanwhile, the one clear fact that has emerged is the relentless pursuit of a policy of more power, more burdens on people, more taxation and more encroachment in the name of the State on the traditional property rights of citizens. In the past ten years the area of individual freedom has been progressively restricted under Congress rule, and the process is still going on. Independence has been robbed of its content and delight and significance by the mishandling of the opportunities afforded by it on the part of the leaders that have come to power. The most unmistakable illustration of this is provided by the diminishing popular enthusiasm with which Independence is greeted as each year advances. Ten years ago the nation went mad with delirious joy in celebration of the Day. Now it has become almost a loboured official function on a background of obstinate public apathy.

Kerala signifies the defeat of Congress tenacity for power in one part of India. The lesson of it seems so far to have been lost on those who have sustained the defeat. They go on in the same old way putting heavier burdens on people, inventing more novel means of extracting money of which the larger part continues still to be consumed by waste, inefficiency and extravagance. But one relief the Congress governments have not yet taken away. Education is still free. There is no curb on the enterprise of people in the matter of starting educational institutions of their own suitable to their needs and tastes. From this stems a potential source of independent thought and judgment which in all circumstances may be looked to as a valuable means of protection for the civil liberties of people. Examining the events of the past decade from the standpoint of their own pursuit of power, Communists in Kerala seem to have become impressed with the dangerous potentialities of freedom of education. They have therefore brought forward legislation enabling them to catch children young and regiment them with suitable indoctrination to subserve their own power-designs.

Just as the Congress, in the name of Socialism, holds aloft the Damocle's sword of annexation over the private sector in industry, so also, the Kerala Communists, in the name of educational reform, hold forth the threat of control over private schools. Their new Bill gives them complete power to appropriate or misappropriate the property and management of any and every school in the State. It is a measure that cannot be sustained under any assumption of good faith. Kerala has been brought to the status of being educationally the most advanced region in India primarily under the impetus of private enterprise in running schools. The results achieved provide a tribute to the efficiency of that enterprise, and there is neither necessity nor juustification for disturbing it. But the proposed legislation is in

(*Continued on page* 15)

THE NEW MENACE

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

Free India has had numerous trials, maladies and problems. Of these, none is graver than the spirit of indiscipline and disloyalty which is rampant amongst the principal sections of State and private employees, these latter being conveniently known as 'labour'. Both have been placated beyond reason, all these years. Salaries have been trebled. Other amenities like housing, sick relief, education and free travel, have been vouchsafed to them to a degree which the common man can never hope to aspire for. In short, the revenues of the nation seem mortgaged for their well-being. What is the return on the part of the beneficiaries? Slackness, inefficiency and worse and a recklessness and readiness to throw up work at the slightest whim or caprice. Strike moves are discussed openly in the course of official duties and strike notices are displayed in the premises themselves. This was unthinkable in the previous regime or under the captainship of able civilians.

It is a law of nature that an employer can pay his employees only according to his means and in proportion to the quantity of work done; and he has a right to dismiss them for proved cause. But that right is as good as extinct today, what with the numerous conciliation boards, tribunals and the like, with the State butting in to bring the recalcitrant employers to book but never the labourer or his trade union leader, even if they be in the wrong.

Trade unionism is a misfit in India; and in view of its role in hampering production and adding to its cost, with the inevitable repercussions on the consuming public, it is a greater menace to our country than even re-armed Pakistan. Its tentacles have spread far and wide, taking in the State personnel also. There is no disciplinary action or withholding of pay or increment or promotion, which is not nowadays contested in the courts,—a phenomenon unknown in the other democracies. No doubt real grievances existed or exist in States where communal discrimination prevails; and the various Public Service Commissions have not acted their part justly, as Dr. Harikishen Mehtab complained recently. Perhaps a statutory provision might be devised disentitling local officials or politicians to man the concerned State's Public Service Commission, to assure public confidence in its integrity and impartiality.

The constitutional safeguards (Art. 311) for the services are however a relic of the old privileges which the British personnel had claimed in return for transfer of power, and have to be abrogated in favour of a few well settled conventions in that regard, which obtain in England and which rescue the wronged official from the flood gates of litigation.

As a general rule, in conflicts between capital and labour, the State as representing the people, should assume a neutral role. Our country with its too limited economy and production, cannot afford the luxury of labour intransigence. In recent years, one finds the industrial laws operating discriminatingly. The employer is always in the dock. Even the pronouncements of the highest courts, which are arrived at after due consideration, are set at naught by frantic legislation within a few weeks.

Trade union leaders should be curbed as and when necessary and the strong arm of law must reach them when untoward consequences ensue. The closure of public undertakings like the Choolai Mills and the Madras Tramways, had affected the people grievously; and in any country those who had brought it all about, would have had their deserts.

A public servant or a labourer would be only worthy of his hire; and hence the salary and allowances paid over to him by the State or private employers must bear some proportion to the amount of efficient work done.

Headlines

Tuesday August 6: In New Delhi the Lok Sabha passed the Essential Services Bill. On the twelfth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima delegations from 28 countries met in Tokyo for the third ... conference against A & H bombs.

Wednesday August 7: In his annual report to the U. N. General Assembly Hammarskjold expressed concern at the lack of public interest in world affairs. Khrushchev and Mikoyan arrived in east Berlin, and much speculation was aroused by Marshall Bulganin's absence from the party. The Government of India banned the strike of P and T workers.

Thursday August 8: P and T workers withdrew strike notices. In the east German parliament Khrushchev said ... German preparations for at... warfare endangered the world. Peking reported the discovery of plots to overthrow the government, and China's best known novelist, Mme Tin Ling, was accused of "anti-party" activities.

Friday August 9: In New Delhi Nehru outlined the government's economy measures. Neil McElroy, multi-millionaire soap-manufacturer, was nominated by President Eisenhower as Defence Secretary in succession to Charles Wilson.

Saturday August 10: It was reported from London that the situation in Oman was worsening and that the R. A. F. had bombed the Imam's stringholds. French sources stated that about 35,000 Algerian nationalists had been killed in the past 33 months.

Sunday August 11: ... forces in Oman capture... Imam's capital. The chairman of the U. S. Special Radiation Committee accused the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission of concealing hazards for political reasons and said that a single big explosion could "overshoot the worry limit."

Monday August 12: The Arab League Council demanded an urgent meeting of the U. N. Security Council to discuss British action on Oman. Local election results in Java show communists now have the largest party. In New Delhi the Essential Services order was revoked, and a man who posed as a member of the Lok Sabha was found to be of unsound mind.



Sotto Voce

Lingua Franca or 'Mass Medium'?

There were very good reasons for the Government bottling up the Kher Commission Report for a whole year. Would that they had never uncorked the bottle. Some high-ups may have had the bright idea that publication of the Report just now, when the 'Save Hindi' campaign in the Punjab has settled down to a slogging contest of wills, might help to soothe the ruffled feelings of the Hindiwalas by reminding them that their argot is after all assured of over-all suzereinty. It was perhaps hoped, too, that after the brief and bad taste they have had of minority status in the Punjab, they would be more wary about pushing Hindi in non-Hindi areas.

* * *

Ambivalent attitudes rarely lead to sensible decisions. The Kher Report is bound to put up the back of the non-Hindi majority in the country. The Commission harps upon Hindi's rightful place as the master language because it is spoken or understood by a larger number of people than any other single language. But it is treading on dangerous ground when it contends that "in the light of the fully democratic basis of the Indian polity it is not possible to envisage English as India's mass medium." On a democratic vote Hindi will any day be found to have fewer supporters in the country than English.

* * *

But what is all this talk about Hindi becoming a "mass medium"? In spite of the Britisher having been on top here for two hundred years English was never that and never aimed to be that. Neither does the Constitution encourage such pretensions in Hindi. It is merely accorded prospective status as the official language of the Central Government and the medium of communication between the Centre and the States. There is undoubtedly a pious hope that in course of time Hindi will serve as a powerful cement of national unity. But it wasn't planted like Aaron's rod, to flourish alone while its rivals withered.

* * *

That, however, is the monopoly which the Kher body designs for Hindi. It describes that parvenu among languages as "the obvious linguistic medium for pan-Indian purposes". It would be patently inapprporiate, says the Commission, to use English "as the principal or general medium of education, administration, public life and the day to day business of the country". The implicit suggestion of course is that Hindi is the predestined multi-purpose vehicle. But this comforting dream is belied by the whole course of linguistic history. In no country which is continental in its size and diversity has any one language been successfully imposed as a 'national' language over regions which had equually or even better developed languages.

* * *

If Russia and China have shown — I don't know that they have — that, linguistically speaking, there can be two kings in Brentford, this fantastic position could have been brought about only by the exercise of the worst absolutism. And even so it cannot last. The Kher Commission has an autocratic element in its make-up. This becomes clear when it violently repudiates the idea that, as a matter of reciprocity, Hindi-speaking people should be compelled to learn a non-Hindi, preferably a South Indian language, even though it wants Hindi to be compulsorily taught throughout the secondary school in non-Hindi areas.

* * *

Will not Hindi-speaking officials ever have to serve in non-Hindi regions? Conversely, is it expected that every Tamil, Telugu or Kannadiga who goes through secondary school will have to confront tasks which would make a knowledge of Hindi indispensable for him? If a smattering of knowledge regarding the culture of other regions is sufficient for the Hindiwala why should not similar scraps of information about Tulsi Das and Sur Das suffice the non-Hindi? Why should we not have more than one official language for the Union Government and the higher judiciary, when we have eminent examples in States like Canada and Switzerland and international bodies like the United Nations?

* * *

Language is pre-eminently a social product; it is bound up with the heart-beats of a well-defined community. It is the most precious of human possessions but also the most fragile. As its hold is on the instinctive life of man, it loses its power when a new environment and new social instincts are developed. A Tamil settler in Delhi is bilingual by necessity; his son is culturally orphaned, having lost his Tamil and not yet fully acquired Hindi; his grandson has become wholly Hindi for better for worse. That in brief is the story of the Maharashtrian Pants in Himachal Pradesh, the Brahman settlers in Bengal and the Dravidas in Hindustan. These individual and group vicissitudes may be Providence's mysterious way of cross-fetilisation. But none of the great Indian languages can be pushed by plan out of existence as Maori was in New Zealand or Cymru nearly was in Wales. Let Hindi megalomaniacs recollect in time that no lingua franca was ever a mass medium.

VIGHNESWARA

We live in a century in which bunk is part of our daily bread.

—VISCOUNT CHANDOS.

SIDELIGHTS : :

Milovan Djilas, formerly an intimate friend of Marshal Tito and Vice-President of Yugoslavia, is now a prisoner in his own country. He knows Communism inside out. And what he knows of it, he has written in a book to which he has given the title, *The New Class*. This book he has had smuggled to England, in instalments, and now he has asked his publisher to publish it immediately, "regardless of what may happen to him". The following are some excerpts from Djilas's book taken from *The Times* (London) of July 27 :

"The Communist regime is a form of civil war between the government and the people. Communist rule is a monopoly and usurpation of power and of the fruits of power by a small clique whose crimes are worse than those charged by Communists against capitalists.

"Communist leadership is simply a new class of exploiters, a class whose power over men is the most complete known to history. The illusory concept of collective ownership simply conceals the fact that the party bureaucracy itself owns everything.

"The new class has views which are false ..... Closely ingrown and in complete authority, the new class must unrealistically evaluate its own role and that of the people around it. Because of its totalitarianism and monopolism the new class finds itself unavoidably at war with everything which it does not administer or handle and must deliberately aspire to destroy or conquer it.

"The new class was called in being by the historical need to industrialize backward and agrarian countries if they were not to perish. This end, and this end only, it has achieved. But having achieved industrialization, the new class can now do nothing more than strengthen its brute force and pillage the people. It ceases to create. Its spiritual heritage is overtaken by darkness .... when the new class leaves the historical scene there will be less sorrow over its passing than there ever was for any other class before it. Smothering everything except what suited its ego, it has condemned itself to failure and shameful ruin."

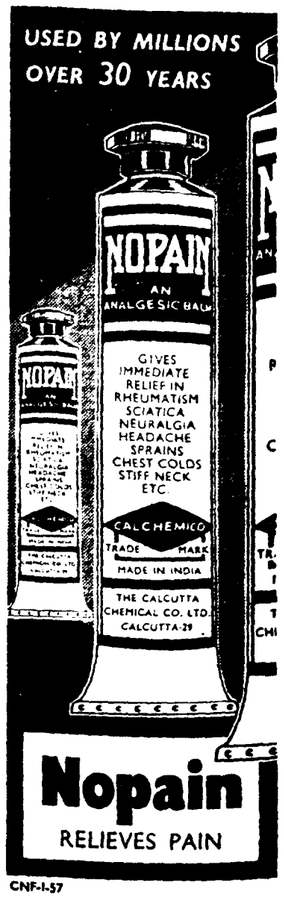
This devastating denunciation of Communism deserves to be carefully studied and pondered over by students of contemporary Indian politics. The Congress architects of the Socialist pattern in India do not think of themselves as Communists. Politically they are at war with Communists. But in practical matters of administration, they have copied all those attributes and all that technique of Communist regimes in Europe which Djilas has so roundly denounced.

We have here, as in any Communist regime, a new class of power-monopolists. While these enjoy the fruits of power, they delight in thrusting heavier burdens on the people. The stage of willing acceptance of these burdens has passed, and a form of civil war between the government and the people has already been reached consequent on the national repugnance roused by the latest taxation proposals. Ten years ago patriotism was measured by resistance to foreign authority. Now it is invoked for protection against the oppressive exaction of the ruling party becoming day by day more and more depredatory.

While Communism and Democracy are recognised as incompatible, Socialism is commended as an advance of democracy towards realisation of the Welfare State. Congress Socialism in India can claim all the sanctity that belongs to a parliamentary foundation. But it has, as it were, contaminated the springs of parliamentary democracy with totalitarian admixtures that have destroyed every possibility of effective opposition, the very pivot on which the democratic character of parliamentary government rests. The ruling party has become a privileged class taking to itself enormous powers not heard of before. These powers are advertised as essential for the sake of the much-bruited Socialist objective. But Socialism in its essential sense of universal care-taking of the whole citizenry is nowhere in the picture of Congress politics.

Thus, here too, as in Yugoslavia, for all the legislative paraphernalia of a seemingly democratic Constitution, the illusory concept of collective ownership simply conceals the fact that the party bureaucracy itself owns everything.

SAKA



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OUR DEMOCRACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The successful working of parliamentary democracy depends on two factors; first, on a broad measure of agreement among all classes of citizens about the objectives of government; secondly, on the existence of a two-party system, in which each of the big political groups possesses effective and continuous leadership and is strong enough to take over the responsibilities of government when the majority of the country's voters wish it. If political opinion does not succeed in crystallising into two fairly evenly balanced groups, the semblance of democracy may survive but real parliamentary democracy will not be there. When one party remains always in power, and dissent is dissipated among unorganised individuals and relatively insignificant groups which do not and cannot coalesce, government will inevitably become totalitarian.

A strong opposition is essential for the health of democratic government. In a democracy based on universal suffrage, government of the majority without an effective opposition is like driving a donkey on whose back you put the whole load in one bundle. The two-party system steadies movement by putting a fairly equal load into each pannier. In the human body, also, two eyes and two ears aid a person to place the objects seen and heard. A single-party democracy soon loses its sense of proportion. It sees, but cannot place things in perspective or apprehend all sides of a question. This is the position in India today.

The domination by the Congress party of the political scene is a product of history rather than of electoral success. Electoral successes are the result of this domination, not its cause. In order to justify the leadership that has resulted from history, the Congress party has swung well to the Left. Left and history have operated cumulatively, and as a result the Right elements are depressed and disorganised, leaving the Congress party in irremovable power. Irremovability in fact makes parliamentary democracy non-existent. In such circumstances it is inevitable that the party should become more important than Parliament. Differences of opinion may exhibit themselves within the party. If the discipline and authority of the party executive does not altogether choke "self-criticism", a two-party pattern may develop within the party itself. The leader will take decisions in accordance with majority opinion in the party. This may be deemed to be a partial alleviation of totalitarianism, but even this may not happen if the leader be an overwhelming force by himself, in which case the party may not be able to divide itself even within closed doors. The mechanics of unadulterated dictatorship would then operate unhindered.

What is wanted to save parliamentary democracy is an opposition that will operate not privately and behind the closed doors of the party meeting, but openly and through the electorate. Many people who would agree with this are divided as to the nature of the opposition that is needed. Without inviting any semantic controversy, let me briefly explain the mechanics of Left and Right. The Left consists of people who demand changes in order to bring about a speedy advance in the welfare of the people and more even distribution of it among all sections. Every change must necessarily produce dislocation, disturbances and distress corresponding to the friction and the jolts and creaks in a machine. But life, individual and collective, is different from a machine. The pain involved in change falls on living human beings, and must be taken into account in any orderly advance. A party on the Right, as it is called, gives expression to these distresses and disturbances, which are not less real or important than the need for change and progress.

Since, as I have said, the Congress party has swung to the Left, what is wanted for the body politic is not an ultra or outer-left, but a strong and articulate Right. The people of India, however docile they may ordinarily appear, are not just clay. Life, not being a mechanical system of forces but full of complex sentiments and feelings, the creaks and jolts caused by change are painful realities that have to be borne by living people in all grades of society, whose patterns of life are the product of long history. The distress is not dissipated into the stratosphere, but strikes at the living, sensitive nerves of men, women and children.

The pain of change is a simple-looking phrase that sums up all that follows from over-taxation, disemployment, high prices, exploitation by the newly-favoured classes and groups, unbalanced family budgets, and the hysteria resulting from all these things in themselves and from the ordinary individual's sense of his own impotence in face of them. Those who suffer these impacts would welcome a parliamentary party that would compel attention to these creaks and jolts and disturbances in life, and which would meet the Left on level terms and, by testing and measuring both proposed legislation and day-to-day administration, would challenge the wisdom of the governing party and compel modification when those in power act in a way which would produce more pain than profit to the community. This is the function of the Right, and there is a widespread demand for such a party. Those who are interested in the conservative aspect of progress should therefore exert themselves to build up such an opposition.

The best elements in the governing party are quite aware of the quasi-totalitarianism implicit in the Congress party's dominant position and of the need for a strong opposition to make parliamentary democracy a reality. But it is not their business to do what is the proper task of those who feel the pain of Leftist change.

A particular ideology, or even a slogan without much precise meaning, may so seize men's minds that people may fail to organise themselves into an effective opposition even though there may be a sizeable volume of opinion to support a contrary view. Although there is today abundant material for a powerful opposition, hypnotic fear and the pressure of individual interests operate to prevent the gathering together of the forces. Day-to-day life cannot be carried on without appeals for favours of all kinds from the government in power, and any effort in the direction of forming an opposition party must involve sacrifice and considerable risk on the part of those who would make such a venture. Sacrifice comes naturally with revolutions but conservative wisdom does not excite a similar emotion. Reason generates fear, and men of experience are inclined to political caution in the personal sense. Distress is accepted with fatalism, not with the spirit of sacrifice which is determined not to allow similar distresses to be inflicted on others. Unless the conservatives realise their duty, throw off their dejection, overcome their fears and unite to build a worthy opposition, parliamentary democracy in India has a dismal future. Parties which are to the left of the Congress can never hope to function as more than prodding ginger-groups, since it is quite unrealistic for them to imagine themselves as alternatives to a government which is itself prepared to go as far to the left as it is possible to do and which has installed itself on the crest of historic success.

There is another factor that must be taken into account in India. The centrifugal force of regional interests cuts across all political issues. In a country of this size, with all the differing conditions prevailing in the various States, regional interests and issues arising from them in the effort to build welfare overshadow other matters. This creates an additional and great obstacle to two-party polarisation in politics. Each regional interest is a solid reality, and this fact tends to impose on Parliament a chequered pattern which in Westminster is only faintly perceptible in Scottish and Welsh nationalism.

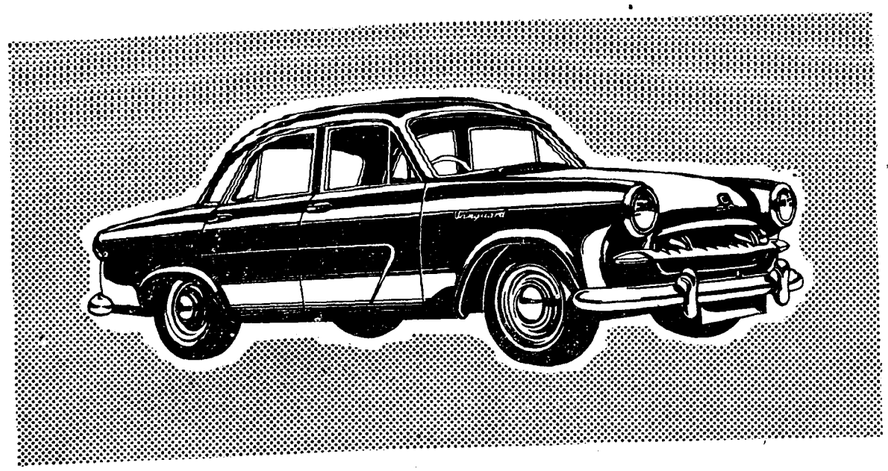
The solution for this problem is not to keep blowing scorn at regional feelings, but to concede greater autonomy to the States, so as to minimise regional thinking and eliminate the pressure of regional interests at the Centre, and to make the Centre an instrument for the broadest policies and not, as now, one for dealing with every tankbund, school, hospital and social service club. This statement about the Centre may seem exaggerated, but it is not. During the last few years the tendency to centralise has grown to proportions which are both ridiculous and alarming.

A Council of State in a truer sense than what is now at Delhi is called for, wherein regional interests could be represented without reference to political parties, and whose powers should be other than those of a mere registering chamber. But the main remedy lies not in the remodelling of the Council of State, but in a much greater autonomy of the States themselves. The legislatures of the States and the administration of their governments should be run on the parliamentary model, while the Centre gradually crystallises into a true Federal authority. Federal powers, on issues other than foreign affairs and defence, should shrink to the barest minimum, while the powers exercised by the States should expand very greatly.

During the period of transition to greater regional autonomy, politics in the States may take a curious course. Conflict of opinion will naturally develop around the issue of division of powers between the States and the Union. The Congress party in all the States during this period is bound to be a Unionist or Centrist party, the opposition being a party pledged to conserve and increase local autonomy. Until a balance is reached, centrists would try to create emotion around slogans of national unity, while provincialists would fight jealously for the interests of the region. These healthy struggles would cut across and minimise caste and sub-caste politics, which in itself would be a great gain for efficiency and integrity in administration. The growth of a vigorous localist party in each State without distinctions arising from caste feeling will save provincial governments from deterioration on account of unchecked power in the hands of a majority.

Whatever may be the political structure, the people want fair and impartial, as well as efficient, administration. In an environment dominated by family and communal loyalties and attachments, parochial authority quickly causes deterioration among officials. All-round progress and the elimination of unhealthy practices would be largely secured if, while the States are given larger powers, the personnel of administration all over India—Federal as well as State—are kept under the strict and independent guardianship of an all-India body, consisting of very senior officials, whose concern would be to maintain professional quality in the various services, and to protect the officials against political pressures and victimisation. This should not interfere with greater devolution of authority to the States. The professional aspect of administration is different from the execution of policy. The defence forces, the police, and the administrative services should be true to their own standards of efficiency and character and be above party politics. They should carry out government policies irrespective of whatever party may be in power. Their discipline must therefore be self-sustained. Efficiency, independence and integrity in officials is necessary both for Federal and State affairs, and the more the services are released from political pressure and temptations to discriminate unfairly on account of political or communal influences, the better it will be for all concerned; for government as well as opposition, and certainly for the people governed. An efficient administrative machine is absolutely necessary if democracy is to result in that general happiness which is our aim.

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KRISHNA MENON—"WORLD'S MOST HATED DIPLOMAT"

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

New York: Close students of the dramatic arts like to argue that today's greatest actor is not Sir Laurence Olivier or Sir John Gielgud but India's chief delegate to the UN, V. K. Krishna Menon.

News that Menon is about to speak invariably fills the UN galleries. Even the most jaded delegates turn in their seats to stare when the gaunt Indian with curley silver hair, worn theatrically long, stalks into the Assembly chamber leaning on his cane. (Menon uses the cane for more than sheer effect; for years he has suffered from arthritis in his back, legs and joints.) People whisper, nudge one another, then sit back in happy anticipation of a brilliant performance. Few delegates leave the room when Menon is speaking, not only because he is a major orator, but because India—in large part as a result of his efforts— has become a major power in the UN and one whose position on any issue is of real importance.

Nobody in the eighty-one-nation UN can put on a show as ably as Menon. He can talk glibly for hours without consulting a note. (A reporter seeing him in the UN Delegates' Lounge studying a manuscript, said: "I thought you were famous for talking off the top of your head." Menon, flashing the infrequent smile that displays his big, glisteningly white teeth, cracked; "One should at least do a text the courtesy of looking at it before throwing it away.") He is celebrated for his snarling manners; yet he can be charming and conciliatory when he chooses. He can switch effortlessly from merciless invective to deliberately legalistic discourse. Usually, however, Menon is insistent, aggressive and notoriously fond of having the last word. Such characteristics, joined by a barely concealed belief that the other diplomats of the world are distinctly his intellectual inferiors, have made Menon the most enthusiastically disliked representative at the UN.

In the Delegates' Lounge, where much of the average day's work is accomplished over drinks and coffee, the controversial Menon is a steady subject of conversation. At one time or another, he has been described as the bad fairy of the UN, a man who eats his young, "the old snake charmer," the "swami," (the phrase most often applied to him by ex-Secretary of State Dean Acheson), a combination of the three witches in Macbeth, and a camel about to spit. One of the more charitable diplomats, desperately thinking of something nice to say about Menon, blurted out: "Well, I guess you could call him an acquired taste."

Menon's bursting vanity, rudeness and superciliousness have also antagonized many of his own countrymen. Large numbers of India's top officials dislike him—some, no doubt, because of envy of what has been called Menon's "Peter and Christ relationship" with India's Prime Minister Nehru. After the Bandung Conference, in which Menon played his usual significant role, an American reporter who covered it was telephoned by G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the United States. "What did you think of Menon?" asked the Ambassador. "I thought he was a remarkable man," said the reporter, "easily the brightest and most impressive at the conference." After a long silence Ambassador Mehta said icily: "Well, I see he has one friend, anyway."

Members of the American delegation to the UN, who must work intimately with Menon, are inclined to take a sympathetic view of him. "Menon isn't difficult just for the hell of it," says one delegate. "It takes somebody like a Menon to accept opprobrium and bully the UN into accepting India as a great power."

Millions of Americans who know Menon only through television or an almost uniformly hostile press think otherwise. Remembering his advocacy of the admission of Red China to the UN, his proposal to ban all hydrogen-bomb tests, his readiness to attack shortcomings of the Western democracies and his reluctance to lash out against the Communist nations, they see him as a fellow-traveller and threat to UN aspirations. Staring on TV at his sharp features and his glowing zealot's eyes, listening to him lash gloathingly at other UN delegates in his clipped British accent, Americans hate and fear him. He is, to them, a Mephistopheles in a Saville Row suit. Even his cane takes on a menacing aspect. "I'm sure he keeps a sword inside it," insists one woman who follows every Menon appearance as avidly as she does a Marlon Brando movie. Says Ellery Sedgwick, the distinguished eighty-five year old ex-editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*: "Why, the man's the devil incarnate! He's got it written all over his face. If he isn't that bad, don't tell me: I have nothing left but my prejudices and I want to keep them."

The American public with its tendency to think of diplomacy in terms of personalities, has come to regard Krishna Menon as an object lesson of what is wrong with India. There is widespread feeling—intensified by Nehru's visit to Washington—that Nehru is "good" and Menon is "bad" and that, if only Nehru could be parted from Menon, India would shed its unhealthy "neutralism" and join the U. S. camp. Americans were delighted by reports from high administration sources that, in the course of Nehru's private talk with President Eisenhower at Gettysburg, the President told Nehru bluntly that Menon had proved a poor representative of his country, and had sowed mischief and resentment in the U.S.

Menon insists that Eisenhower said nothing of the kind. "I certainly would have heard about it from my Prime Minister if he had," Menon claims. "On the face of it, the story is ludicrous. You don't ask a head of state to travel across the world to visit you and then denounce one of his subordinates. By the same token, the Prime Minister could have been guilty of the same discourtesy and told the President quite truthfully that a great many Indians were extremely unhappy with John Foster Dulles. But he didn't."

However unpleasant the fact may be to many Americans, Menon does speak for Nehru. Menon, who has never wavered in his loyalty to Nehru, has the Prime Minister's complete confidence. At one time he lived in Nehru's house, moving across the street in New Delhi only when he became a Cabinet Minister without portfolio. Menon felt he would be taking unfair advantage of his Cabinet colleagues if he maintained a position of such intimacy. Incidentally, Nehru insisted when Menon set up bachelor quarters that he accept the $500 a month Cabinet Minister's salary. Until then, Menon, a man of spartan tastes, had always refused to take a pay-cheque for his government assignments.

No less an authority than Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper, former US Ambassador to India, believes that one valid explanation of Menon's barbed and belligerent personality is that Nehru uses him as a sounding board and as a releaser of trial balloons. "That's true of diplomacy the world over," says Senator Cooper. "Somebody has to draw the fire; and on occasions Dulles has had precisely that role in terms of US policy. If something backfires, the head of state can always smooth things over."

Menon insists he is merely Nehru's lieutenant; "Do you think I'm such a fool as to come to the UN and not represent my government? I assure you, the Prime Minister is much too intelligent and strong-minded to let me do his thinking for him."

Senator Hubert Humphrey adds: "I think Menon quite sincerely thinks of himself as a compromiser working for world peace. He'll admit that he deals with the Russians, sure; but his point is that somebody has to. Otherwise it's the U.S. on one side of the street and the Russians on the other, and what happens to everybody else."

Menon himself is cryptic when asked about his political ambitions. "I think the successor to Nehru is Nehru," he says.

Meantime, one fact is unmistakably clear: as long as Nehru is in power, Menon is an enormously significant force that must be reckoned with, not rejected out of hand, by the U.S. As Senator Cooper says: "We have to live with Menon; we'd better get used to that and start understanding him."

CITIES I HAVE VISITED

BERLIN

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

The recent declaration of the western powers on German unification has again focussed attention on divided Berlin. The forthcoming elections in western Germany will do the same, since the frontiers that run through the city and that cut it off from more than half the country are the supreme symbol of the artificial division of Germany itself and of the threat that this division, as long as it lasts, must continue to be to the peace of Europe and of the world.

Berlin is certainly the unloveliest capital in Europe. But this does not make the tragedy of its division any the less. In fact, it perhaps even increases it by denying to Berliners the sentimental sympathy which would be felt in the rest of the world if Paris or London or Rome were ever cut in two in the same way; and sympathy, however sentimental, is by no means to be ignored as a political factor. Berlin is not only ugly. It is also unloved. People from other parts of Germany, both east and west, speak of it with contempt and dislike, as well as sometimes with a certain amount of envy. Even before the second world war very few people from the rest of the world ever went to Berlin except for business or study or some other pressing purpose. It has never been a city to be visited for pleasure, or in search of history. In fact, it was largely a creation of Frederick the Great and so, as time goes, it has no history to speak of.

It has no geography, either. It lies in a large, flat plain where the monotony of the landscape is relieved only by stretches of grey water and greyish-green forest. The climate is harsh; hot in summer, and with bitter winds tearing across the plain in spring and autumn and driving the snow through the long, dark winter. The wide thoroughfares channel the wind and the rain past the tall new buildings and the still-standing skeletons of ruin.

Berlin was not as completely destroyed as Warsaw. Nevertheless, the destruction was so great and so widespread that it cannot easily be imagined by anyone who has not seen it. I was last in Berlin about a year and a half ago. At that time the western sector of the city had been largely reconstructed, but in the east, where the war damage had been much heavier, there were still huge areas of standing wreckage, of piled rubble, and of cleared sites where re-building had not yet started.

Reconstruction in the west was largely the work of private enterprise, a good deal of it (though it is not possible to estimate how much) American-financed. There were smart new apartment blocks of modern design, offices, shops, restaurants and cinemas. In the east the opera house and some important theatres had been rebuilt, but the main effort of reconstruction had gone into the making of Stalinallee—a new throughfare of enormous width, flanked on either side by tall biscuit-coloured blocks of workers' flats, with shops and restaurants beneath. The architecture was typical of the ornate heaviness of the Stalin period, when cost, convenience and sensible internal planning were all sacrificed to external grandeur. Even

so, the people who were lucky enough to be allotted the new flats were certainly much better housed, and at far lower rents, than workers in similar occupations in the western sector. They, of course, were the privileged minority. For most people, in both east and west, living space is far from being adequate even by pre-war standards.

The dividing line runs through the very centre of the city. In the west the shops are filled with every imaginable variety of food, drink, clothing, household equipment, toys and gadgets of all kinds. Most of these things, though not all, are expensive. In the east basic foods are cheap, but there is little variety, and the imported fruit which people of northern European countries have learned to take for granted were, when I was there, seldom obtainable. On the other hand, cameras, typewriters and even watches and manufactured jewellery were so much cheaper than they were in the western sectors that shoppers were not allowed to buy—or sometimes even to examine—the goods they wanted unless they first showed their identity card in proof of the fact that they lived in the sector.

This may have limited, but could hardly have prevented, the development of a black market between east and west. Travel by car or on foot between the sectors is officially restricted, though in fact one can sit under the trees in Unter den Linden and watch people coming and going through the Brandenburger Tor, the great gate that marks the dividing line. And on the underground many thousands of people come and go in each direction every day. But some sort of official permit is nominally required, and there is always a risk that police will enter a train to examine these permits and to turn back those who do not possess them.

No particular effort of the imagination is needed to understand the effect of this division on people's lives. For twelve years Berliners, and sometimes even members of a single family, have been inhabiting different worlds; and the difference between these worlds continues to grow. The advantages are certainly not all on one side. Though the west offers greater variety of goods and, in many occupations, higher wages, the east has better and more generous educational facilities and social services. A recent census of opinion, quoted by *Time*, taken among those who had escaped from the east as refugees, showed that the majority were in sympathy with the political regime they had left behind them, and stayed in the west only because they were able to earn more. But on both sides there are many people who march in political demonstrations and wave flags in support of their respective governments who, little more than a decade ago, were waving the swastika flag with equal enthusiasm and conviction.

No one who has been in Berlin can doubt that Hitler's ghost still walks. I saw, or, rather, heard it myself less than two years ago. I was attending a committee meeting in the eastern sector, and some friends who discovered that it was my birthday decided to give me a party in the suburb where they lived. We were having dinner when they told me that their house, like all the other houses in the street, had been occupied formerly by a senior S. S. officer and his family. The street, with its houses set back in tree-shaded gardens, had survived the bombing and all its inhabitants were now good Communists and, my host and hostess frankly admitted, privileged as such.

The other guests had not yet arrived, and we went on to talk about art. I remarked that I had read with pleasure that the Hermitage Gallery in Leningrad was at last going to exhibit its collection of modern French paintings, and that I hoped some day to have a chance to see Picasso's early work.

"Picasso!" my host repeated, his fair skin reddening. "That disgusting man! The Russians ought to know better than to allow people to see his pictures."

I said: "He is considered to be a great artist."

"A great swindler! That's what he is. He only paints like that to confuse people and show off his superiority—"

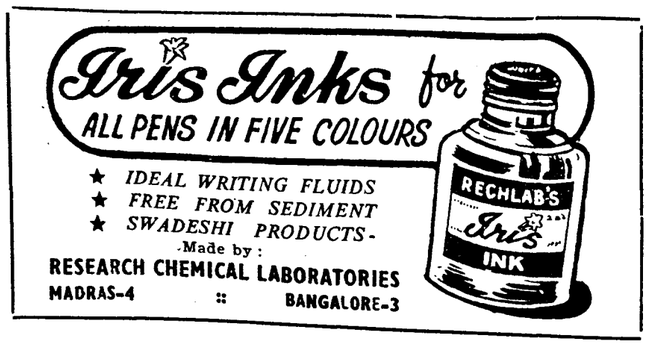
"Oh, really!"

"No, it's no laughing matter, either."

I said: "It's a matter of taste."

"Nothing of the sort! It's wicked—yes, wicked—to call such stuff art!" He looked to his wife for agreement, and waited for her nod. "Picasso ought to be shot for daring to foist such stuff upon the world. And if I had my way there would be no nonsense about a trial. The pictures are evidence enough. Criminal! That's what they are! Criminal!"

The loud angry tones, tones that belonged to Hitler and Rosenberg and to their followers who had once inhabited this house, echoed through the room. I tried to speak, and could not. Then the other arrived, but I could still say nothing, and the party was a failure. Nor was I ever able to explain to the other guests why I had sat silent all the evening; for the man who wanted to shoot Picasso was not a German but one of my own countrymen.



A LIKENESS

By M. KRISHNAN

I see a fundamental likeness
between the young lady at the bus stop,
the elderly, nocturnal shikari
strategically placed above the tiger kill,
the L.D.C.,
and myself.
Diverse as we seem,
there is still a singular agreement between us,
a fundamental likeness,
squatting patiently on its haunches.

*

The young lady at the bus stop
is twenty-three and slim;
she wears a pale blue chiffon sari
that flatters the lines of her figure,
and her coiffure sets off to perfection
the oval of her face.
(The salmon-pink blouse, I concede, is a mistake.)
She is waiting there, at the bus stop,
for her beau to arrive.
Every day, at ten o'clock,
he takes the 11 B;
he looks at her as he passes,
admiringly, lingeringly,
and then he takes the 11 B
and she goes home.
Just a meaningful look —
but it has possibilities.
He looks such a promising young man,
probably in lucrative employment.
Perhaps one day, in due course,
he will buy a motorbike with a sidecar,
or even a trim little car,
and realise the intrinsic uncouthness of buses.
Perhaps he will, but today he is not at the bus stop,
nor will he be tomorrow.
He has been transferred to distant Hyderabad,
the Capital of Andhra Pradesh,
and waits at a strange bus stop
for a strange bus,
with no one to exchange meaningful glances with
to inspire his service.

*

The shikari in the machan
Is a seasoned old hunter.
He knows the wait will be long,
and he might as well be adequately provided.
He has provided himself with rugs,
and a plastic flask of tea,
and sandwiches wrapped up in a handkerchief;
no biscuits, nothing brittle, crunchy, rustly,
nothing to cause the least little trickle of sound —
he knows, being experienced,
how marvellously acute a tiger's sense of hearing is.
Unfortunately the kill
is to the windward side of the machan,
but he bears the stink with fortitude
and waits vigilantly,
silently,
stock-still,
knowing how exquisite is a tiger's ear.
He has screened the front of his machan
with creepers and foliage
cunningly contrived to look naturally epiphytic —
just a mass of creepers growing in a crotch.
The back, naturally,
has been less carefully camouflaged,
and this is unfortunate,
because the tiger has seen him,
his plastic flask of tea hanging down from a twig
and his sandwiches wrapped up in a khaki handkerchief.
The tiger has seen all these
and gone away.
However, he does not know that it has;
unmindful of cramps and cold,
still, silent, vigilant,
with a hand laid reassuringly on his trusty old. 470,
he waits through the long, long night.

*

The L.D.C.,
he waits for better days and promotions,
when he will be free from debts.
Need one say more,
or go into details?
One needn't.
I have written to a Government Department
and await reply.
Each day, at the appropriate hour,
I loiter at my gate,
as the postman comes down my street
with light brown shoes on his feet.
As he approaches,
I turn the other way
pretending to watch a crow,
watching each chestnut footstep
out of the tail of my eye.
He passes me as usual
and as he passes.
this crude and unfeeling man
spreads out his palms in a semi-rotatory gesture
of stark denial.
But next day I am there, at the gate,
waiting again.
Surely it will come today,
it is now seven weeks since I wrote,
yes, today it will come.
As the postman approaches
I count his light brown footsteps
with alternate hope and despair,
it comes, it comes not —
it comes not.

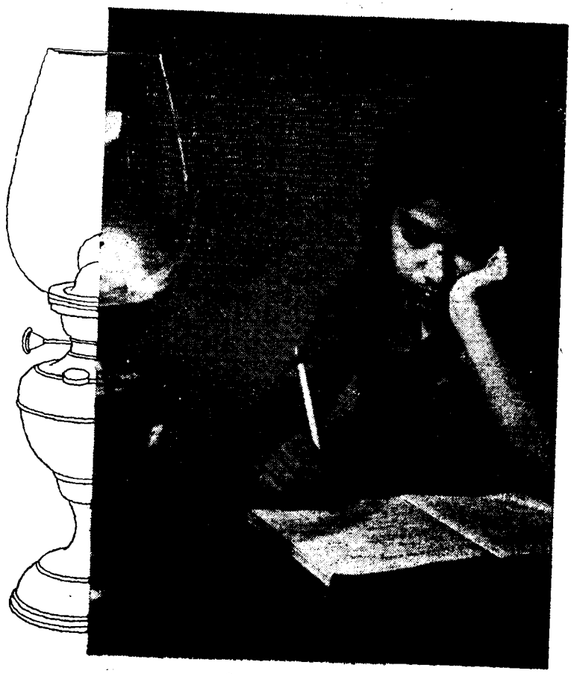
The Middle East is a horrid and gigantic salad of the Arab-Jewish hatreds of thousands of years, saturated with Russian dressing and laced with crude oil.

—MR. STANTON GRIFFITHS, former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt.

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BURMAH-SHELL...

in India's life and part of it

THE NEW POLISH AMBASSADOR

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Meeting Dr. Julius Katz-Suchy, the new Polish Ambassador to India, for the first time the other day I said to myself even as I was addressing him as Excellency: "Here is a man who looks the part and who was born to become an ambassador!"

Tall, broad, spectacled, thinning hair, with a suggestion of the pallor one associates with long hours at the desk and in the study, Dr. Katz-Suchy speaks less, listens more, has no small talk, and when he talks it is to the point. Looking more fifty-five than his real forty-five, Dr. Katz-Suchy has been journalist, economist and lawyer, and Professor of the History of International Relations at Warsaw University. He was well-qualified to be his country's representative at the United Nations, a post which he held for the last five and a half years. For six and half years previous to his appointment as Poland's representative at the UN he had been on various committees of the UN and I learnt that during those twelve years he attended every session of the UN and practically every conference of major importance.

As a bitter opponent of the foreign policy of the pre-war Polish Government he had (like many a Polish patriot before him) to go into exile. First he lived in Czechoslovakia, then in England.

A member of the Foreign Service must go where his country posts him to, but I got the impression in the course of nearly an hour's talk with him that he was most happy in his new assignment. He considers India's role in world affairs as exceeding the Asian arena, as being really a world role. As such he feels that good relations between Poland and India and close co-operation in the field of international affairs are of extreme importance; that there are many features common to the policy of both countries; that both Poland and India are interested in peace, economic development, and in a happier and more prosperous world.

Thus, in his view, Poland and India can see eye to eye on international policy, and the two countries can often act jointly and support each other.

He referred to Poland's great admiration for the many things India has done for lessening international tensions and her hope that India would extend this co-operation.

He said that Poland admires also the culture of India greatly. He deplored the fact that Europeans knew too little of India's culture. Dr. Katz-Suchy hopes to establish some form of regular exchange of men of art and letters, scholars and students between the two countries besides exchange of books and information. He mentioned the Indo-Polish cultural agreement signed last year. It offers a wide field for co-operation between Poland and India in the cultural field. The visits of the Polish Cultural Delegation and the Indian Cultural Delegation to Poland last year are to be regarded as an earnest of closer cultural ties.

Dr. Katz-Suchy, being the economist he is, does not overlook the economic problem which is common to both countries. Both countries are in the process of development—Poland trying to overcome the 'backwardness' of the past, the sad legacy of foreign occupation and exploitation. He believes that the economic interests of the two countries are not contradictory, but complementary. During the last ten years Poland has developed so rapidly that she is today in a position to export machinery, machine tools, industrial plants, besides industrial produce.

Conversely, this development has created a demand in Poland for raw material, various kinds of agricultural produce, as well as consumer goods. There is thus increasingly bright prospect of steady Indo-Polish economic relations.

In shipping, for example, Indo-Polish co-operation can help to increase trade and exchange while helping solve the transport "bottlenecks" of South-East Asia.

Dr. Katz-Suchy is greatly interested in the social and economic changes now taking place in India and has closely studied our Five Year Plans.

"It is my intention" he said, "to work for a better understanding of Indian problems in Poland and of Polish problems in India."

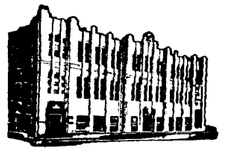
In his opinion both countries have their little problems and their great problems. One of the urgent Polish problems is the security of Poland's frontiers in a peaceful Europe.

Poland, according to Dr. Katz-Suchy, wants to see a United Europe not separated by any curtains, much less walls, each country living in her own way but all co-operating to maintain peace and security. Poland, it was pointed out, is the supporter of an all-Europe security pact which guarantees to all European countries, including West and East Germany independence and security vhich in their turn would bring peace not only to Europe but enable the unification of Germany. Dr. Katz-Suchy does not envisage an immediate fulfilment of this prospect but believe that the ways leading to it are: (1) gradual and controlled disarmament; (2) delimitation zones; (3) withdrawal of armies from foreign bases; and (4) dissolution of military pacts.

"Asia is far from Poland geographically" he said: "But being in India this distance has no meaning in view of the common aims and the existing possibilities of co-operation. It will be my aim to utilise these possibilities and I hope that the many friends I have in this country will help me in this task."

Editor's Note: "Our Democracy" by Sri Rajaji printed on pages 5 and 6 of this issue of SWARAJYA is the text of a speech he was to have delivered at the Independence Day celebration of the Burmah-Shell Club on 14th August. Owing to his unavoidable absence it was arranged that Sri S. K. Parthasarathi read it instead.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

POMP AND CEREMONY

Sir,—Newspaper readers thrilled to the report that a salute of 17 guns was fired to announce the assumption of office by Mr Sachar as Governor of Andhra Pradesh. Bravo! Pomp and ceremony sound ludicrous in our poverty-stricken democracy but how we love them! When Mr Nehru last visited Palghat I was told cutlery for his table was brought from a town 80 miles off! Even our friends the Communists do not seem to be remarkable exceptions. A friend of mine recently observed a Minister arriving for work at the Trivandrum Secretariat. No less than three persons officiated in completing this process: a liveried chauffeur to drive the Minister's car, one chaprasi to open the door of the limousine and another to carry a flask into the sanctum sanctorum.

K. N. SUBRAMANIAN

NEEDLESS HARASSMENT

Sir,—The objects of the proposal requiring income-tax assessees to file affidavits along with their returns of income are stated to be (1) to tighten up the law against tax-evaders and (2) to provide deterrent punishment for them. It is not as though there is no provision in the Income-tax Act to achieve these objects. See Sections 51 and 52 of the Income-tax Act. Apparently the provisions are not invoked freely for obvious reasons. If in specific cases where concealment of income is suspected or tax liability is evaded, proper and efficient investigations are carried out, the guilt of the assessees could be brought home to them and they could be prosecuted under Section 52 of the Act even as it stands at present. Thus there appears to be no need to go to the extent of making every assessee file affidavits, if really the object of the Government is to rope in real tax-evaders.

On the other hand the proposed provision, if carried out, will give room to unnecessary harassment of honest and innocent assessees, especially if the income-tax officer happens to be a mischievous minded person. Further this will create an atmosphere of oppression, intimidation and corruption.

Madras A. VAIDYANATHAN

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS

Sir,—Your forthright editorial on 'Administrative Tribunals' has come not a day too soon. This move if allowed to materialise will pave the way for virtual dictatorship of the ruling party.

Sri K. M. Munshi (former Governor of Uttar Pradesh) has struck a note of warning against the establishment of 'Administrative Tribunals.' Speaking on "Indian Democracy in Action" at a meeting in Bombay (as reported in *Times of India* dated 17th July 1957) Sri Munshi pointed out that the setting up of administrative tribunals outside the supervisory jurisdiction of the High Courts and the Supreme Court would be "a decisive step away from Democracy."

The present move is a blatant attempt to abridge the constitutional jurisdiction of High Courts and should be stoutly resisted by all who wish to safeguard the nation's liberties.

N. V. L. NARASIMHAM
Hyderabad

AMEND THE COMPANY LAW

Sir,—Under the provisions of the Companies Act, 1956, it would appear that limited companies are not permitted to incur any expense for the shareholders, but all the same, they are permitted to distribute their profits as donations to charitable or public causes. This is neither just nor equitable. Charity begins at home. If strangers are to get the benefit of the profits, why not the actual shareholders? Will the authorities please take note and amend the Companies Act suitably, at an early date, in the interests of the public and the shareholders?

P. N. SUBRAMANYAN
Tiruchirapalli

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SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II No. 7 SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1957 15 Naye Paise

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF NEWS PAPERS
8 OCT 1957
MADRAS

THE RAID ON PROPERTY

The changes made by the Select Committee in the Wealth Tax Bill indicate the imperviousness of the present legislative machinery to intrinsic principles of fairplay and justice. The main objection on a moral plane to the wealth and expenditure taxes was voiced by Rajaji in a speech delivered immediately after the Finance Minister's proposal to inflict these taxes on the country was made known. Rajaji emphasised the point that these taxes had the effect of a sort of police action on the whole economy and that they introduced for the first time a policeman into every home to probe into its private domestic affairs held from immemorial times to be entitled to immunity from prying investigations. This criticism, which has been taken up and supported from innumerable platforms, has not been seriously answered by any responsible member of the Government. Others have contended that the wealth tax is potentially of a confiscatory character and that its incidence is bound to prove to be a major cause for the destruction of the spirit of incentive in an important section of the community. Speaking ten days ago at Bombay Mr. R. J. Taraporevala made some breath-taking calculations as to the effect of the wealth tax, in conjunction with the income and the super taxes, on the fortunes of individuals and Hindu joint families. He said :

"If the gross income or yield on wealth is assumed at 6% per annum, an individual having Rs. 5,00,000 wealth and a gross income of Rs. 30,000 will retain about Rs. 22,000 out of his gross unearned income after paying the income tax, the super tax and the wealth tax; an individual having Rs. 15,00,000 wealth and a gross income of Rs. 90,000 will retain about Rs. 32,000; an individual having Rs. 50,00,000 wealth and a gross income of Rs. 3,00,000 will retain about Rs. 16,000 and in individual having Rs. 70,00,000 wealth and a gross income of Rs. 4,20,000 will retain only about Rs. 5,000 after paying these three taxes. An individual having Rs. 80,00,000 wealth and a gross income of Rs. 4,80,000 will have to pay his entire gross income to meet these taxes. Persons possessing wealth in excess of Rs. 80,00,000 will not only have to pay their entire gross income but also varying amounts out of their capital in order to meet their liabilities under these taxes. This negative effect on the amounts left in the hands of assessees with every increase in wealth after paying these three taxes is due to the fact that on wealth of individuals in excess of Rs. 22,00,000, for each additional Rs. 1,00,000 wealth the net income left after paying income tax and super tax is Rs. 960 whereas the wealth tax amounts to Rs. 1,500. Thus the effect of the proposed rates of income tax, super tax and wealth tax is to confiscate wealth of individuals in excess of Rs. 22,00,000 at the rate of 0.54% per annum. The confiscatory nature of these taxes, coupled with the continuous decline in income left after paying taxes with every increase in wealth, will have serious adverse effects on the incentives to save, to invest, to work and to take risks. The rate of capital formation in the Indian economy will be adversely affected as a result of the new taxes proposed by the Finance Minister.

"There is no country in the free world where the burden of taxation on individuals is such that the combined effect of the income tax, the super tax and the wealth tax is to confiscate the entire gross income of certain persons and also a portion of their capital."

The Finance Minister observed some days ago in Parliament that he was disappointed with the obituary columns of newspapers as they disclosed few millionaires capable of enriching the official treasury substantially. For one entrusted with care of the national economy, it is perhaps a pathological condition to bestow so much of attention on the deaths of people and not on their lives filled with productive work as a means for the improvement of Government's resources. As something of this spirit has gone into the formulation of the wealth tax, it is not surprising that its main protagonist should fail to reveal a different outlook under pressure of criticism and should stick to his own. But it is deplorable that the Select Committee should have done no better.

The palliatives they have suggested bring no comfort because the confiscatory character of the new tax, which is the main objection against it, still remains. Nor are we enamoured of the anaemic variety of differentiation as between individuals and companies to which the Select Committee have lent themselves. All freedoms stem from the respect for the individual that the State exemplifies in its policies, and it is on the face of it untenable that any tax relaxed against companies on account of its oppressive or

predatory character can be deemed legitimate if applied to individuals.

With their brute majority the Government are now able to give effect to this tax, as for the time being they can see through Parliament any measure they decide upon in their party conclave. But let them take due warning of the inexorable realities which cannot be altered by propaganda or votes or parliamentary decisions, to which every government has to yield sooner or later. The plain truth of the matter is that the nation has lost faith in the present economic stewardship and has fallen out of the mood of sympathy with its plans, so chokeful of waste, extravagance and inefficiency. A new content is being given to the very concept of patriotism. Ten years ago we hailed the Mahatma as the deliverer of the nation as satisfaction of the nation's hunger for freedom came through his leadership. The present need of the nation is deliverance from oppressive taxation, with quite an unconscionable part of it being sunk in pompous paraphernalia of no particular utililty to the community. The nation will now acclaim as its saviour the leader who will win for it some measure of relief from the prevailing over-burdensome taxation with no corresponding result in social benefit.

Modest Demand

The conference of station masters and assistant station masters that met at the Museum Theatre, Madras on Sunday conducted itself with great dignity. There was no doubt that high prices had brought down the purchasing power of their incomes and made even bare existence to an economic impossibility. To privation was also added the rankling thought that for the higher-ups money was somehow always found for lavish emoluments. Yet the station masters, mindful of the public interest, acted with commend-
aint, merely urging that
should not be lost in
ess of proletarian agita-
their right to be heard
heir own organisation
forthwith recognised without delay. This is so modest a demand that by denying it Government would themselves be proving that only extreme measures count with them and restraint has no effect.

National Life—Three Great Currents

Man is a threefold being composed of will power, emotions and mind. The life of a nation is for him a threefold commonwealth created by economical, political and intellectual and artistic activities.

Economics include the production, distribution and consumption of commodities and the *welfare of the people.*

Politics are the expression of the native psychology of a people and include military as well as political matters.

The intellectual life includes service, education, letters and social services.

Economics must be capable of adapting themselves from day to day to the existing conditions. *must not be hindered by political necessities.*

Political life and administration are by the very nature of a given psychology of a people conservative and *so this nature should be* preserved. This could only be achieved, *if they were run by men with the greatest experience of life*—by the elders of the Nation.

While economics are opportunistic and politics conservative the intellectual current tends towards individualism. *It should be directed* by the greatest men, the most outstanding personalities.

These three primary characteristics of the life of a Nation should be considered as of fundamental importance. Hence the three great currents of national life *must be kept independent of one another.* Each one should be represented by its own legislative assembly and thus the various activities of the Nation would be diirected by *experts only.* The leaders of the three assemblies would meet in a sort of senate whose common problem would be considered and decided upon.—DR. RUDOLF STEINER

Headlines

Tuesday August 13: Cairo denied British statements that the Imam of Oman had surrendered. In Lodz, Poland's second largest city, transport workers struck for higher pay and better conditions. New Delhi reported that the cabinet planned important changes in the Wealth Tax Bill.

Wednesday August 14: It was stated in London that the western powers would reject Soviet proposals at the disarmament talks for an unconditional reduction of military forces. Forty-one Americans who attended the World Youth Congress left Moscow for China, where further plots against the government were reported.

Thursday August 15: Independence Days were celebrated in India, Indonesia, North and South Korea, and in Madras circus animals took part in an independence march. From British Guiana it was reported that Dr Jagan's People's Progressive Party had won 9 out of 14 seats in the Legislative Council.

Friday August 16: In Washington a trade agreement was signed between Poland and U.S.A. The resignation of the Chief of Staff of the Syrian army was announced, and a Communist was appointed as successor.

Saturday August 17: In New Delhi the Select Committee on the Wealth Tax Bill recommended five years' exemption for new manufacturing concerns. The U.S. Senate approved plans for two new atomic power plants at a cost of 55 million dollars.

Sunday August 18: Cairo stated fighting continues in Oman, and in Washington Britain was said to be seeking U.S. support on the issue at the Security Council. Soviet sources stated that on July 29 a U.S. aircraft ferrying arms to Europe dumped nuclear weapons into the sea.

Monday August 19: The Kerala Government announced changes in its Education Bill. In Washington Dulles stated that cuts in the foreign aid programme endangered U. S. security. In Canberra Duncan Sandys announced a speed-up in British production of nuclear weapons.



Sotto Voce

A Pain in the Neck

If Queen Elizabeth's style of speaking is, according to that gallant peer Lord Altrincham, a pain in the neck, how shall we describe the performance of that *corps d'elite* the A.I.R. announcers? One ace personality, whose clipped words and orotund periods suggest the modern tooth-brush moustache and the amplitude of an Ouida character, is never more delicious than when he hauls over the coals uncouth, polysyllabic southern names, such as Venkata Varada Ramanuja Swami. But see how trippingly, in the true accents of Isfahan, come off his tongue those caressing Islamic patronymics with their superabundance of aspirates. And who can withhold sympathy from the lady who seems to suffer from a perpetual head cold—or is it the Virgilian "*sense of tears in things*" that has got into her voice and stayed there?

* * *

One does'nt know which to admire more — the arch rusticity to the neo-pastoralists who present the rural programmes or the delicacy with which they teach grandmothers to suck eggs. As for cultural uplift, here is God's plenty. You can have your choice — from departmental officials delivering themselves of assorted statistics with a nicely calculated air of detachment to those academics who begin with the blackboard and duster deliberation of the class room only to race through their not too racy script in the last five minutes. Listeners will note with tolerable equanimity that general talks are to be cut down from 15 to 10 minutes. If they go the way of the Cheshire cat the public will not be inconsolable.

* * *

We shall have from September Vividha Bharati—which reminds me, however illogically, of Vidhan Soudha. There will be something for every taste here, *olla podrida* if not *multum in parvo*: light music with medicinal doses of classical vintage, skits, news flashes, potted biographies, mushairas in miniature, and so on and so forth—all delicacies prepared in Keskar-guaranteed honest vanaspati. With these sweets tossed into the cardinal directions accompanied by proper incantations the Rakshasa of commercialism let loose by Radio Ceylon is to be exorcised. And *for Punyaha-vachanam* there will be Gandhi Charitram in instalments.

* * *

Another *chef d'oeuvre* the Central Programme Committee has promised is a series of talks on the cultural and social unity of India. This nation-making programme will no doubt be appropriately inaugurated by Maulana Azad with a polished essay on "Indian Culture—why it is not Hindu Culture." No wonder that Dr. Keskar thinks that a public corporation would be quite unequal to the task of looking after A.I.R. which under his fostering care is in the very pink of condition. Apparently all the talent available in the country is already housed in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. But we would ask the Minister to pause and reflect whether he has not done injustice to that exhaustless reservoir of omnicompetence—unemployed Congress veterans who have not yet been found Governorships or have had to make way for other pressing claimants.

* * *

Dr. Keskar went on to argue that if an autonomous public corporation were established the benefits of constant and vigilant parliamentary control which A.I.R. now enjoyed would be lost. I have no doubt that Parliament appreciated the delicate compliment. But the ruling party has never found it difficult to persuade itself that there can be nothing much wrong with a department which the Prime Minister approves. Mr. Nehru's name may appear a score of times in a fifteen-minute news service. What then? Dr. Keskar has his explanation pat — no Minister's speeches are reported "unless some reference is made to matters of international importance." And when did Mr. Nehru make a speech without reminding us of the state of the world?

* * *

The A.I.R. is a monopoly. There may be something to be said for State monopolies in certain commodities, opium for example. But no party government should have a monopoly of the means of drugging the minds of the people, much less a government which believes that it has a God-given mission to remould Indian humanity in its own image. The B.B.C. is by no means an ideal organisation. There are plenty of complaints against it of bias, nepotism etc. But there would be far more if it were to become, as it was in the beginning, a government department. And though it has been sharply criticised as stodgy, unadventurous and so on, it is, compared to our starveling effort, Hyperion to a satyr.

* * *

India is too poor to indulge the luxury of making broadcasting free for all, a competing commercial service, as in America. But it is absurd to suggest that the precious egg will be addled if Keskar the mother-hen does not continue to sit on it. A competent body of independent persons of authority can be found to run A.I.R. as the B.B.C. is run. I am entirely at one with Dr. Keskar in thinking that sponsored programmes would be wholly evil, at all events while our radio remains a monopoly. But the only way of weaning the young from the imbecilities of Radio Ceylon is to give some chance for the creative talent in the country to break through the crust of officialism.

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS : :

There was much less enthusiasm for Independence Day celebrations in India this year than in any previous year in the decade since the British left. The Government, of course, spared no effort to collect crowds, which is their way of securing the *imprimatur* of national status to their demonstrations. The Director of Publicity strove with might and main to attract the largest gathering of people to this year's festivities with promises of free cinema shows, and I am credibly informed that not less than a million and a half responded to his technique. He artfully introduced a few documentaries to lend a patriotic colour to the occasion and infuse a purposeful character into functions that might otherwise stand out as the unalloyed exhilaration of the cinema. The outlay on sweets too to attract school children was, it is reported, prodigious. So far as externals go, many meetings attended by hundreds of thousands were addressed in spirited accents by Ministers and other leaders, and reports of the proceedings received generous allotment of space in the newspapers ; and what with the flags and festoons and the congregational trend that a holiday normally induces, Independence Day went off with as much magnification of its importance as it is possible to produce with the fullest use of all the means and resources at their disposal by the persons in authority.

Yet, for all the gigantic labour that went into the impressive ceremonials, or may be, perhaps, because of it, the whole thing had the aspect of a stage-managed affair. Ten years ago, there was a delirious quality in the spontaneous exhibitions of joy that filled the streets, as people, unable to stay in their homes, went round and round and roamed about, with the hope and ecstacy of a new life through realised freedom, spread radiantly over their faces. It was not the result of organised contrivance, and nobody in fact could have contrived it. It was the spectacle of the nation's consciousness of identity with its leaders, those who had won for it freedom by dedicating themselves to its service, setting at nought the minor gratifications of personal ambition and family interests.

The secret of the Mahatma's power lay in just one principle of action from which he never deviated. He held the national interest supreme over all other interests, and the love and affection which ordinary people give to their own families, he gave to his fellowmen. His followers in national leadership have set this one great principle of Gandhian politics in reverse gear. They began to use the power which the Mahatma won for the whole nation in directions profitable to themelves and to limited sections of beneficiaries in whom they were interested. In the past ten years, we have witnessed a progressive appropriation of the political power that has come with freedom for purposes less directly connected with national welfare than with individual and party selfishness.

Last week, the following letter appeared in *Kalki*; or rather, this is an English translation of a letter printed in that journal. The writer is Sri M. M. Muthiah Pillai of Ambalacheri. He wrote :

> "In the last election rich men, capitalists, industrialists and bus owners gave money (to Congress). The result of it is that poor men are now put to suffering. In order to help the bus owners who had helped with money during the election, even trains are stopped. One of the trains from Tiruchendur to Tinnevelly has been cancelled. In addition to this, they have increased the running time also. The distance between Tiruchendur and Tinnevelly is only 38 miles. To cover this distance of 38 miles the railways of our democratic government take 4 hours. The buses owned by private individuals cover the distance in 1½ hours. What is the object of this? Is it not to help the bus owners? The same thing happens in every instance. What will be the result if this is allowed to continue?
>
> If the present Government wants to prove that it is not under obligation to the capitalists, this must be done immediately. They must run more trains between Tiruchendur and Tinnevelly as before and also cut down the running time to 2 hours."

Sri Muthiah Pillai's letter is symbolic and illustrative. It discloses one particular example in a little corner, of a drift towards administrative deterioration that has infected all departments and most leaders in power and has become a general index of the prevailing standards. Gandhi unified the country by making love and brotherhood the guiding inspiration in the conduct of public affairs. The present leaders who have come into the Gandhian heritage, have become responsible, most of them, for disintegration of national life with selfish misuse of national power and resources to their own ends. Hence it is that much laboured official effort is nowadays required to draw people into semblance of enthusiasm in Independence Day celebrations. These functions have ceased to be national and popular and become official.

SAKA

The Burden of Self

Throughout life, we realise as we look back, we should have been infinitely happier if we had cared less about ourselves. And so this easing in old age of the temptation to centre our lives upon self brings an unlooked-for refreshment, an added serenity, happiness of a quite new kind.

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GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AND STRIKES

By N. RAGHUNATHA AIYAR

We give below the text of a written speech sent by Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar to the conference of station masters and assistant station masters of the South Zone that met at the Museum Theatre, Madras, on Sunday 18th August, as it contains not only sound advice but a regular philosophy of life with reference to industrial relations.

Let me first congratulate the station masters and assistant station masters on their wise decision to reconsider the idea of a strike. I trust the conference will definitely decide against it. There is no point in considering whether in any conceivable circumstances it would be permissible for any body of workers to strike or not. But it seems to me clear that for any body like the station masters and assistant station masters, the strike weapon, far from being successful, is one that might turn in their hands. The Railways are a great non-profit-making public utility service, owned by the nation. With their careful and efficient service is bound up the safety of millions of lives and the prosperity of the country. The relations between the Government which controls them and the employees who run them can obviously not be patterned after the employer-employee relations that prevail among the ordinary run of commercial and industrial undertakings. Even among these the right to strike, like the corresponding right to lock out, has come to be regarded, in all countries where *laissez faire* is no longer the prevailing philosophy, as neither paramount nor indefeasible. Whatever may have been the truth in 19th century England it is no longer true in mid-20th century India that the poor have nothing but their labour to sell and are thus pitted in an unequal contest against hard-faced employers out to pile up profits.

Hardly less demoded is the notion that 'workers' of any and every conceivable variety are all parts of one huge, homogeneous class whose interests are identical and sharply divergent from those of 'employers', whether these are the Government, public corporations, huge private cartels or small private firms. There are any number of divergences and even conflicts of interest between different classes of occupation and different categories of workers in the same industry as there are divisions between the employers. Clearly those among workers who exercise responsible authority and disciplinary jurisdiction, however limited, over other workers, have a moral obligation to the organisation whose authority they represent no less than the duty they owe to themselves to seek by all legitimate means to secure their just rights or the sympathy which they are bound to feel for their fellow-employees, both as human beings and as comrades in a common adventure.

Workers again have as consumers and often as producers in subsidiary occupations, and above all as members of society, interests which may be at variance with what they regard as their class interest; and these differences are apt to come to the surface when collective action by workers to enforce their demands results in putting up prices inducing artificial scarcity of essential commodities or causing delay and waste.

Collective bargaining, depending for its success on strength of numbers, has in practice come to mean that in any workers' movement those sections have the largest pull which have the largest numerical strength, and in the industrial tug of war the interests of those sections are apt to be overlooked or perfunctorily safeguarded, who are small in numbers, however important the work they do or the element of knowledge and constructive ability they represent. I believe that it was as a result of discovering this to their cost that the station masters and assistant station masters withdrew their affiliation to the trade union comprising all sections of railway employees and formed their own organisation. In doing this they have acted not only in their own interest but in that of the railways and the country itself. They represent a point of view and a contribution in quality which is different in kind from those of other employees; and though they have been derided by opportunist politicians as white-collar workers they have at least as much claim to sympathetic attention and prompt redress of grievances at the hands of the Government as any other class of employees. Their organisation should be accorded recognition without delay and the station masters have every right to press for this. The facile excuse for not doing this that the Government give is that there should be not more than one union for one industry. But this is not only belied by the existence of two big rival unions for railway workers. The idea of one industry one union is, as I have tried to show, unrealistic as the interests of the different classes of workers in the same industry are by no means identical.

Even in an egalitarian society such as Russia claims to have established, there are accepted and sharp differences in emoluments and amenities which are proportioned to the intellectual and educational equipment of the employee, the specialised training he has undergone, the responsibility he is called upon to shoulder and the special qualities that the kind of work he is engaged in calls for. Skilled work is paid better than unskilled, the superviser better than the machine-minder, the man who has to co-ordinate a number of departments better than the man who is concerned with running one. Judged by all these criteria, station masters deserve far more than they get. Actually they get far less than what certain other categories who do less onerous work get. In fact some of their own subordinates



get more and are therefore unwilling to be promoted! Though theirs may not be technical work, narrowly regarded, they have to function in many capacities, to deal with many different classes of people and to bring to their task such qualities as patience, tact, good humour and unremitting vigilance which come only with experience and which call for education and good breeding.

They could be a powerful factor in putting down corruption and leakage of revenues. It seems to me that the menace of ticketless travel can never be satisfactorily tackled except with their active co-operation. I have no doubt that the Railways will be losing far more money than they do today under this one item alone but for the high sense of duty in the face of every discouragement, shown by this hard-working class. If it is remembered that the station master and the assistant station master are the linchpin of the entire railway system and not only represent the authority of the Government in their area of jurisdiction but are the residuary legatees of all the trouble if anything should go wrong, the need for treating their claims with sympathy and imagination should be obvious.

If strikes and lock outs are to be ruled out as obviously unsuitable for Government departments and Government-controlled industries it follows as a logical corollary that some permanent machinery should be established at every appropriate level for the harmonious adjustment of employer-employee relations by conciliation and in the last resort arbitration by an independent body. But while that long-term solutions might take time, it seems to me that here is a class of public employees to which some such machinery as that represented by the Whitley Councils in England can be made without delay. The station masters and their assistants must have some assurance that their just claims would not be neglected because, being comparatively small in numbers, they are unable or unwilling to resort to strikes.

DEVADAS GANDHI AS SEEN BY HIS SON

Devadas Gandhi, my father, was born in Durban, South Africa, the fourth and last child of Mahatma Gandhi, in the first year of this century. He spent the first 15 years of his life in South Africa. They were difficult but exciting years. Appa, as we called him, remembered the hardships and the tension of the time but the stories he was fond of relating were about wide open spaces, luscious fruits and a gay yet disciplined life in Bapuji's ashram there.

There was one incident which he often described with a big chuckle. Fasts, full-day or half-day, were normal in life, even for children, and at one point Appa—he must have been about 10—found he could no longer resist examining a sack containing crisp, delicious monkeynuts. His hand had hardly gone in a few inches when Bapuji caught him. I don't know what happened afterwards, but I suspect an extra fast was part of the penance!

He played, he told us, cricket and football in his South Africa days, but the cricket matches usually were with tennis ball, sticks for bats and a tin bucket for stumps. This interest in sports he carried all his life, and year after year in the last decade he took parties of friends to the Willingdon Pavilion in New Delhi whenever a Test match was on. He would often tell us of the volley-ball sessions that were a happy feature of many jail sentences he served. Among fellow prisoners Jawaharlalji and Tandonji were evidently good players. Arguments were common on and off the field. One point which Jawaharlalji and Tandonji debated fairly strongly was whether Appa, who was then 20, should allow a moustache and a beard to grow, or be clean-shaven. Jawaharlalji won.

Bapuji placed great trust in Appa. When he was only 19 he was sent by Bapuji to talk with Sri Aurobindo in Pondicherry on violence and non-violence. The two had a long chat and Bapuji received from Appa a detailed report on Aurobindo's views.

With others in Bapuji's large "family," Appa threw himself into the arena of the national struggle. Deciding that he ought to fight shoulder to shoulder with his father and others, he did not take any paid job for a long time, but taught Hindi and spinning and helped on campaign journals in different parts of the country. He was unostentatious and preferred to remain in the background. But he did not believe in the false humility which holds a man back and is based on a fear of making mistakes.

Wherever he went he won the hearts of many people. He won my mother's heart, and gave her his, many years before they married in 1933. Prior to that they submitted themselves to a rigorous test of purity of motive. My father and mother had 24 years of perfect companionship, and how devoted they were to each other. We four children got the very best from Appa. He gave us training in the real points of life, which was what he had received from his father. He urged us to live truth and purity, and to heed our conscience.

HAPPY FAMILY LIFE

Many, many tributes to Appa have poured in. Those who have referred to his happy family life have made, I think, an important point. We children are far from the ideal of perfect unity of hearts in minds and wills, but we have a great amount of it, and we owe this to our father and mother. On one point my father was absolutely clear: a family cannot be united for the sake of its own exclusive comfort. "Let the world go to blazes but we in the family will have a fine life of unity"—this philosophy never works.

Appa was gentle and kind to everyone. Everyone everywhere was a royal soul to him, meriting attention and care. This too he must have got from his father, who bestowed deep and unstinting care on every individual.

Many things commanded his devotion and time, but first and foremost he was a journalist. From his childhood years in South Africa when he composed printing matter, worked the hand-press and bound copies of *Indian Opinion*, to the day he died as editor of the *Hindustan Times*, journalism was his major love. He did his work entirely in the open and many people had the chance to study how he worked. I was one of them, and I often wondered at the detailed knowledge he revealed of every side of newspaper work. He did not write very frequently, but what he wrote was balanced, fair and well-written. His headings and captions were choicest, and few words deceived him in meaning or spelling.

"Can you spell doughnut?" he once asked me when I was a child. Flying back from America on getting the news of Appa's death, a doughnut with coffee was the first refreshment offered to me on the plane. A flood of memories gushed through my mind as I suddenly remembered the past.

Political differences apart, he loved America, which he had thrice visited, and her people. Two weeks ago I was in the U.S.A. working with the world force of Moral Re-Armament. At four in the morning when I got the news on the phone that Appa had died, my room mate who gave me solace and courage and faith was a white South African, an Afrikaaner. Last year he had been the president of all the Afrikaaner students of South Africa, and was a champion of white nationalism. On the fateful day and for some months until then he and I had been fighting for a new world order based on moral values. I know that my father's spirit must have got deep satisfaction from that.

My father was fully aware of the world-wide onrush of materialism, blocking progress and the growth of civilization. He knew that the answer lay not in loud preaching or big talking but in a

(*Continued on Page* 13)

STRANGERS AND FRIENDS

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

I am discovering what a lot can be learned about life in Madras merely by waiting at a bus stop.

One day last week as I walked down the road I saw a bus, but not the one I wanted, already at the stop. It was so crowded that not even a cat could have got inside, and on the pavement below a tiny girl, hardly bigger than a kitten, stood looking up at the windows, wailing: "Mummy! Mummy! Mummy!"

Her tone was so agonised that for a moment I imagined that her mother had got on to the bus and deserted her. Then I saw that she was begging, and that a woman, whom I guessed to be her mother, was lying in the shadow of a tree a few yards further on. One of the passengers tossed a coin out of the window. The child, who certainly could not have been more than three, bent to pick it up. Then she turned and saw me. Her big round eyes, made bigger than ever by the doll-like roundness of her face, registered astonishment and fear as she watched me open my bag. Then she turned again and ran to drop the two coins into the aluminium cup which stood on the ground beside her mother.

The mother lifted her right hand, signalling towards me. At first I did not understand, and then I realised that she was inviting me to sit down on the bench that was on the other side of the tree. I saw, too, that she was a young woman, and that she was beautiful and very ill. I moved nearer, looking down at the delicately carved aquiline features, at the skeleton-thinness of the body beneath the folds of the coarse sari, and the eyes narrowed by pain and yet full of intelligence and tenderness. I sat down beside her, ashamed that I had not given the child more, and was about to open my bag for a second time when the mother spoke, pointing to my walking stick and enquiring, partly in English and partly in words whose meaning I could only guess, whether I, too, was ill and in pain.

I tried to explain that I was really quite well and, glancing round to make sure that I was not seen, put some more money into her hand. She took it beautifully, accepting it as a gesture of friendship, and without any servile excess of gratitude. Then she told me, partly in words and partly in gestures, that she had had an operation and then, when she was discharged from hospital, her husband had left her. As she talked, spasms of pain seized her, and she shook her head and smiled, as if bidding them be gone. The child stood a few yards away, staring at me, hypnotised by fear at my foreignness. I smiled, and beckoned her nearer. It was a mistake, and she shook her head and turned away. Then her mother called her, and putting her thin arms around the child, whispered a few words. The child, still very solemn and with her round eyes rounder still, moved slowly around her mother's body and, as the bus I was waiting for came into sight, began very gently to stroke my fingers and then, finding the sensation less strange than their appearance had led her to imagine, to pinch them with such vigour that I winced and cried out for mercy.

I said good-bye, but all that day I could not get the mother's face out of my mind. I never saw her again, but at the same bus stop a few days later a young man jumped off his bicycle, parked it in the ditch and came and stood beside me. Three children, almost naked, and with glowing dark skins and brilliant eyes, were playing in the ditch. At the sight of me they burst into shrieks of delighted amusement, their laughter spilling, clear and loud as a mountain stream, into the still air.

"That," said the young man, addressing me in precise, rather school-masterish English, "is the wrong attitude towards foreigners. In children it is excusable, but far too many grown-up people think that India is superior to every other country, and southerners think that they are far superior to northerners."

I said: "That is true of other countries besides India."

"Of course it is. I used to be like that myself before I saw something of the world. Then I travelled and I discovered that there are good things to be discovered in every way of living. I used to believe that only southern dishes were worth eating, but when I went to the north I found that one can eat very well there, too. This is what I mean by tolerance. Although I am a Brahmin, I am by no means narrow-minded, and I believe that all the people of the world should learn to respect each other and become friends...." He smiled, but a little tensely. "To tell you the truth, I got off the bus to see whether there was anything I could do to help you. Is there?"

I thanked him and said that there was not.

"But perhaps there may be at some other time. Life has not favoured me. I was given a good upbringing, and perhaps endowed with a certain amount of brains, but I had no powerful relatives to help me to get into a good position in life. All the same, one should not complain. I earn a reasonable income, and I have a very pretty wife, who is also intelligent, and two very nice children. We should be so delighted if you would come and have a meal with us one evening....."

He was still writing down his address when the bus came. I climbed into it, feeling very much in love with the world and all the people in it. When I got off again, in Mount Road, four of the beggar children whom by this time I know quite well, rushed up and surrounded me. Three were very wild and merry and sparkling, and the fourth a solemn little boy with a face too ordinary to be remembered. The four thrust out their hands, but before they could speak I started

(Continued on Page 13)

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

OUR PRIMITIVE CULTURE



Since a knowledge of the English language (or even an Indian language) has little to do with the culture of the soil in our country, it is possible that some readers may not know what this picture shows. On second thoughts I realize that for another reason many may fail to recognize the familiar rural scene that it depicts — my photograph should have been more contrasty and less crowded with fine detail to reproduce successfully on this paper. Perhaps it would be just as well, in the circumstances, to explain the picture: it shows paddy being threshed in a South Indian village. The straw is spread out in a circle on the hard earth, and the cattle driven round and round the circle, so that the grain separates from the straw under their trampling hooves. That is how paddy, still attached to the straw, is threshed out in our villages.

However you can see one thing clearly from the picture, after this explanation. It is easy to see, by comparing the heights of the beasts and the men, that the bullocks are remarkably small. They are just over waist-high at the hump, say, about 3 to 3½ feet in height. In short (how apt is the cliche here!), they are the typical scrub cattle of the Southern countryside, undersized, light-boned and light-footed.

Generations of Englishmen in India, and Indians with a university 'education', have wondered why these mean little beasts are kept in such numbers in our villages. They just cannot understand why such stunted cattle should be maintained when, with a little more trouble, milch-breeds can be kept.

The answer to that, of course, is that with a little more trouble milch-breeds cannot be kept. May be with lots more trouble, and then only with the bother and expense of stall-feeding, they can be — the big, heavy-boned milch and draught breeds need plenty of pasture and unstinted stall-feeding. Scrub cattle, on the other hand, can find their own sustenance in the spiky grey scrub around the villages. True that they do not yield milk, but they yield something equally valued in our rural economy — dung. They convert the scrub into precious, soil-enriching dung, and they cost nothing to keep. And, at a pinch, they can be used to drag a light plough in the rice fields, or to thresh grain. I may add that traditionally, only such small, light beasts seem to have been used in our rice fields. Obviously heavier breeds will find their weight no advantage in the mire. Somewhere in the *Kamba Ramayanam*, I think, there is a passage bearing this out; however, I am not too sure of this reference.

Many highly educated people find the traditional methods of cultivation in the country crude and antediluvian. The rustic does not see things that way. What was good enough for his father and grandfather is good enough for him. He is apt to remember a fact that we, in our modern wisdom, find so hard to explain and so inconveniently in the way of progress, that we never bother to remember it — the fact that in his father's days rice was selling at 8 measures per rupee.

However, that does not prevent us from finding the culture of the soil, or at least its cultivation, so horribly crude. 'How quaint and primitive!' exclaimed an Englishwoman recently, when we were discussing the rural economy of India, and for once she used her language much worse than I did. Quaint they may be, but our tranditional modes and methods of life are not primitive. It is the tractor that is primitive, not the plough — the tractor, and all your modern, newfangled ways of life. They are primitive because they are so recent and raw in their origin, so altogether primitive. Of course I know that the word 'primitive' also connotes, in a broader sense, something aboriginal and old-fashioned, but

I doubt if you can call anything tried out over countless generations, tried, modified and stabilized over centuries, 'primitive'. Whereas there can be not the shadow of a doubt about the academic propriety of the word when we say that our modern science, especially the most recent and popular science, is primitive. And if you insist that the word must, in its most proper sense, also connote a lower level of civilization than what we are used to, a measure of savage atavism in addition to mere nearness of origin — well, what *can* be more primitive than that climax of Western science and culture, the atom bomb ?

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OMAN AND MUSCAT

By ARTLOVER

Muscat, the little Sultanate at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, has assumed international significance due to the recent tribal revolt in its territory of Oman, and the suspected Anglo-American discord behind it. Though *prima facie* it is an internal uprising, the fact that British military aid was sought and given, and the dispute that has existed over the control of the oil-rich Buraimi oasis between the little Sultan and the "Lord of Arabia", and the conflicting British and American sympathies in the case give it more than a local colour. India has had long contacts with Muscat and a three thousand strong Indian trading community flourishes on the coastal region of the Sultanate. Many of the princes of Muscat and rich men have had their education in India and the Sultan himself was, on a goodwill visit to Delhi a few years back. A study of the peculiar political, geographical and economic set-up of the State as a traveller saw it in 1945 should therefore be of interest to readers.

Endowed with a beautiful natural harbour surrounded by high rocky hills, and deep enough for ships to reach within a few yards of the shore, Muscat has the making of a great naval base at the entrance to the Persian Gulf States. But Britain has been the only power that has for long recognised the strategic situation of this kingdom. Though the Sultan of Muscat and Oman, claiming Turkish descent, has always assumed an independent status, politically, in contrast to the other Sheikhs of Persian Gulf, he has kept himself away from alliances, military or otherwise. Britain has maintained very cordial relations with him, and has ever been ready to be of help to him, without injuring his sovereignty or self-respect. Though the Sultan has never recognised Britain's suzereinty and has called the British Political Agent there a Consul, Britain has had considerable influence over him and gained concessions from him for establishing aerodromes at Masira and Ras-al-hadd. The British have been advising him on matters of administration, whenever wanted.

Britain had a post office and a branch of the Cable and Wireless Company Ltd. established there, and thus gave the little town of Muscat postal and telegraph communication with the rest of the world. Britain lent an experienced officer of the then Indian Government and helped Muscat to organise her Customs and Finance deparments. Britain gave Muscat a military adviser to organise an armed force. All the years of the war, it was India, under the Crown, that supplied the Sultanate with all its essential requirements. It is therefore perhaps just in the normal course of affairs that Britain has stepped in to the aid of the Sultan, at a time when his control over the first oil find in his domain is questioned, and a tribal revolt has taken place demanding the Sultan's abdication and also withdrawal from the area of British oil-prospecting teams.

Muscat has been a poor State in comparison with other Arab sheikhdoms like Bahrain and Kuwait which have flourished administratively and commercially under British protection and supervision. The Sultan's Government has a very feeble administrative system and Muscat is the only town and the Sultan's palace the only building worth mentioning. The central government seem to have very poor contacts with the townlets on the Oman coast and desert. There is no proper transport system on land. There is no regular tax structure and the exchequer is dependent on the Customs revenues from the ports, which are touched by the countrycraft and 'dhows' from India, Iran and East Africa, and steamers on the Basrah-Bombay route. Dates and fish are the only exports.

Muscat town is elcetrified but the only medical arrangements are the American Mission's hospital and the British Agency's dispensary, both of which provide free medical aid. The legal and judicial system seemed primitive and a law prohibited anybody going out in the streets three hours after sunset, without a permanent oil lamp (not a torch light). The present writer was told on enquiry that the curfew had been imposed some decades ago, when a Chinaman had been murdered in darkness. He saw no good hotel or restaurant, or any place of evening resort, except the British Consulate's sports club, and the Gujerati traders' gymkhana. Apart from the Arab schools, there was only a primary school run by the Indian merchants. Drinking of liquor by Muscat's Moslem citizens is strictly prohibited and even the foreigners are not allowed to drink in public. The women observe strict *purdah* and the social fabric is conservatively Muslim.

Climatically Muscat has one of the world's worst climates. It is a veritable cauldron in summer, with the heat radiated from the hills and the temperature going up to 114 degrees. Rainfall is poor and water is scarce and the very humid and hot summer permits no vegetable life, though the bulk of Muscat's Gujerati and Sindhi merchants are strictly vegetarian. Even animals are few and mutton and beef are luxuries. In the hot season when even grass is unavailable, Muscat's cows are said to eat fish! The people eat dates, fish and bread, and drink milk and a special type of spiced coffee which the Arabs make without milk.

I saw no industry there and no banking except the private hundi system of the banias, and the Indian Treasury which used to function in the British Agency. Indian currency was tender where the Indian merchants traded, but a large silver dollar with the figure of Maria Theresa was the only currency accepted all over the State. This Maria Theresa dollar was said to have come into use centuries ago, and its value changed with the price of silver in the world market. The prices of commodities also fluctuated due to the inconsistency in the value of the dollar and its rate of exchange with the rupee.

Maybe, the tapping of her oil wealth will change the face of Muscat and Oman, and a great era of economic prosperity and modernisation of life is awaiting this primitive State, to which nature has not been very kind, and whose people have seen nothing that life in this century can offer. It is clear that the Sultanate, completely lacking in natural resources and technical talent, or even manpower, has to depend on foreign help to tap the oil wealth and chalk out development programmes. The Sultan has only fallen in line with the other sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf in seeking British protection and aid in this regard.

Atomic Debris

The problem of how to get rid of atomic debris is forcing engineers to devise all sorts of expensive expedients. Under the Hamford atomic plant at Richland, Washington, for example, there is a tunnel. When worn out plant equipment is too radioactively 'hot' to be repaired and too heavy to be easily moved, it is loaded into a flat-car and rolled into the tunnel. When the car stops, a concrete water-filled radiation barrier gate clangs shut, safely sealing off the contaminated equipment underground. Less heavy equipment that becomes contaminated and worn-out is crated and hauled to a desert burial site.—From the *Atlantic* monthly.

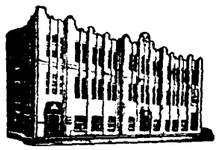




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THE THEATRE IN AMERICA

By S. V. RAJAGOPAL DAS

Contemporary American drama is a vital living force. The theatre there compares admirably with the best of the theatres of today elsewhere—the fun-and-fantasy French theatre, the competent, German theatre with its courageous craftsmanship or the classical theatres of Russia and England. It is not aggressively highbrow or pretentiously exuberant. Its whole concern is with the common problems of common American characters. "Deep are the roots" is the title of an American play and it can as well stand as the distinctive label of a whole series of them. Most of the plays sprout out of the American landscape and have their grass roots in the American soil.

For about a hundred years the American theatre was not marked by a dramatist worthy of that appellation. The 1930s are considered a milestone in modern American drama. A chronicler records of the 1935-36 season that it "has been the most exciting and the most satisfying of any that New York has enjoyed since the years preceding the crash of '29. It would be possible to go back even farther without coming upon a record of plays more worthy of enthusiastic endorsement." Among the galaxy of brilliant talent at work in the theatre of the 30s were Robert E. Sherwood, John Van Druten and Maxwell Anderson. (And there was the giant, Eugene O'Neill). Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset" became the first prize play of the New York Drama Critics Circle, which was organised in 1935. (The Circle prize plays from 1935-55 have been published under the title of Critics' Choice by Arco Publishers Limited of London).

It is clear from a study of Anderson's two plays in Critics' Choice that his weakness as a dramatist is due to his slow unexciting beginnings and rambling discursive scenes. In good drama the interludes must fit into an integrated emotional pattern and strike a note of happy harmony.

Nevertheless the rewards of patience are bountiful in the work of Anderson. He combines within himself, at his best, the qualities of some of the best American dramatists. He always bites into his theme like John Steinbeck and is a marvellous master of moods like Arthur Miller. He creates mighty and memorable characters like Tennessee Williams.

John Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men" got the Circle prize in 1938. As the citation mentioned, the play is remarkable for its "direct force and perception" in handling a genuinely American theme. The characters are common American men and women and they come out alive from the pages. The dramatist brilliantly works up a powerful climax of this somewhat comic tragedy.

No such comic undercurrents run through the tragedies of Arthur Miller. His tragedies are too too tragic. They are all of a piece. His first play was "The Man who had All the Luck." "All My Sons," his second play was the "Critics' Choice" and the award-winner of 1947. "Death of a Salesman," probably his best work to date, is a bitter, chilling, poignant tour de force. Most moving of all the lightning-swift scenes of the play is the one in the restaurant where the salesman's wastrel sons desert the wretched father amidst the ruins of his world of Dream and Hope and Faith and Tomorow.

With this play in 1948-49, Arthur Miller matched Tennessee Williams and Maxwell Anderson as a two-time Circle winner.

An English dramatic critic observes: "Arthur Miller consistently gives the impression of pitching his emotional key beyond the range of his characters. Not the combined genius of Shakespeare, Molliere, Chekov and Ibsen could have made a tragic figure out of Willy Loman—except, of course, by treating him as a comic character."

Tennessee Williams was the first three-time winner of the Critics' Circle prize with "Cat out of a Hot Tin Roof" ("Streetcar" 1947-48, "Glass Menagerie" 1945. His "Streetcar" and "Cat" won Pulitzer's prizes also.)

In Tennessee Williams there may be "occasional outbursts of fancy speech"—after all dramatic narrative depends for the most part on dialogue since stage action has its limits—but they seldom impede the flow of the happenings. His plays are effective not because of the technique but because of the content, the central core of life and human nature. And some of his scenes are unforgettable.

"Big" is the word for American drama, like everything else American. Production keeps pace with consumption. Quality is as 'tops' as quantity. The dramatic pulse beats strongly because four-figure performances of plays are not an infrequent phenomenon.

INDIA'S MAN OF DESTINY

Sri Aurobindo was born in Calcutta on 15th August 1872. His father Dr. K. D. Ghose was a man of great ability, strong personality and wide munificence. Srimathi Swarnalatha his mother was the daughter of Rishi Rajanarayana Basu. In his seventh year Sri Aurobindo was taken to England for study. He was placed with an English family with strict instructions that he should not be allowed to make the acquaintance of any Indian or undergo any Indian influence. And so Sri Aurobindo grew up in entire ignorance of India, her people, her religion, and her culture.

Before the age of eleven Sri Aurobindo attained proficiency in Latin, English, Greek and French. He also learned Italian, German and Spanish. At the age of eleven Sri Aurobindo had already received strongly the impression that he himself was destined to play a part in the upheaval and revolutionary changes that were to come and the idea of liberation of his own country engrossed his mind.

In 1905 Sri Aurobindo wrote to his wife, Mrinalini; "Others know their country as a material thing, as fields, plains, forests, mountains, rivers: I know my country as Mother. I offer my devotions, my worship. If a monster sits upon her breast and prepares to suck her blood, what does her child do? Does he quietly sit down to his meal.... or rush to her rescue? I know I have in me the power to accomplish the deliverance of my fallen country. It is the power of knowledge, *Brahmatej* founded in *Jnana*. This feeling is not new to me, not of the present day; with this feeling I was born; it is in the narrow of my bones. God has sent me to earth to do this work, the seed of which first germinated when I was fourteen and it took deep root in me when I was eighteen."

Thus Sri Aurobindo was conscious of his life's mission when he was only a child living in a foreign land. He also knew that there was a work of God for him to do and that work was India's liberation. During his stay at Cambridge he was preoccupied with political activities. They consisted mainly of making fiery speeches pointing out the evils of British rule in India and the need for strong and revolutionary action to bring about the liberation of the country. It may seem strange that all this happened despite the care his father took to keep him away from anything Indian.

In 1893, after a period of fourteen years, Sri Aurobindo left England for India. 1893 was a landmark in the long history of his spiritual life. By strange coincidence this was the year when Swami Vivekananda went to the West and Sri Aurobindo came to the East: The one to illumine the West with the light of the East, the other to liberate the Mother and through her to liberate the world. As Sri Aurobindo set foot on Indian soil at Apollo Bunder in Bombay, he felt a deep calm and silence, within him and without, pervading and enveloping his whole being. Years later he recognised and realised it as Brahmic calm. Thus blessed, Sri Aurobindo declared complete independence to be the goal of India.

SRI AUROBINDO STUDY CIRCLE

Devadas Gandhi As Seen By His Son

(*Continued from Page 7*)

force that actually had the power to change the motives of men's lives. His ideal, and his father's vision for the country, will be realized only if we give our maximum to build such a force.

—*Hindustan Times*
RAJMOHAN GANDHI

Strangers And Friends

(*Continued from Page 8*)

to recite to them the whining appeal which all the Mount Road kids seem to have learned: "No mummy. No daddy. No sister. No brother."

The three gay kids burst into delighted shrieks. The biggest, who might have been ten, threw back his handsome head, tossing his curls and begging me to say it again. I repeated: "No mummy. No daddy. No sister. No brother."

The solemn little boy became more solemn still. He stopped moving, pulled the front of his torn shirt from out of the top of his shorts, untied a knot in the hem, and pulled out a one anna-piece and offered it to me.

I took it, to see whether he really meant to give it to me. He did, so I gave it back.

"No baksheesh!" the others roared merrily. "No baksheesh! Next time! Next time!"

Foreign Policy

A country's foreign policy is dictated by her geographical position. The same problem can look very different, according to whether you see it from London, or Delhi—or even Moscow.

—MR. NEHRU

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

STRIKES: THREATS AND APPEASEMENTS

Sir,—The recent wave of strike notices by organised unions of Central Government servants and the way they are being dealt with both by Government authorities as well as by public opinion gives one the feeling that the fundamentals of the problem are lost sight of while side issues of little importance are being debated *ad infinitum*. The case for the sponsors of the strike is that the salaries of the servants concerned which were fixed ten years ago have lost their then purchasing power.

It is true that all wages in India are low and every attempt at raising them must have the support of all right-thinking men. But when it comes to the case of Government servants and Central Government servants in particular, one has to remember that till the other day (and even now to a large extent) they were a privileged class of the community. Because of their implicit obligation to be faithful to the foreign rulers of the country they were maintained in a scale of comfort out of proportion either to the requirements of their jobs or to the scale of living of corresponding classes in other strata of the community. It is therefore absurd to suggest that for every rise in the cost of living they must receive additional remuneration sufficient to offset the rise in the cost of living.

People like Pandit Nehru and Sri T. T. Krishnamachari as politicians and prospective vote-canvassers for their party cannot afford to tell any large class of the community (like the Government servants) that they are being paid more than they are worth, which is the fact and both Pandit Nehru and T.T.K. ought to know it well.

I cannot understand why Government wanted any legislation declaring that strikes in these services were illegal. What is a strike from the point of view of the individual striker? It is, pure and simple, a termination at his initiative of his existing contract of service with his employer. The striker by the simple act of going on strike automatically renounces all the privileges and all the financial claims on his employer to which his continuity of service otherwise entitles him. That is why a strike while it may be a very effective weapon in the hands of wage earners on short term contracts with their employers or no contract at all and day to day wages, is a very treacherous instrument to use for any employees or class of employees who have long term contracts with their employers specifying progressive improvement in their terms and conditions of service. At the end of the strike their service with their employer if resumed just starts *ab initio*. Once an employee of his own volition has struck work and thereby repudiated his service agreement with the Government, the Government has a perfect right to take the employee at his word and treat the contract of service as cancelled at the moment of the strike, and after the strike is settled treat the employee on the same basis as a fresh entrant to the service. If Government servants realise this and know also that the representatives of Government who handle their cases will take this action in their cases if they go on strike, strike ballots will receive very few affirmative votes. Union leaders, of course, take care to assure their followers that the Government dare not go against them, that they need only to be united to achieve their aims and they have nothing to lose even if the strike fails. In other words the strike threat by Government service unions is a huge bluff and is not a strike threat in the normal sense of the term.

The real lesson will be learnt only when a strike materialises in one big department and the Government for once make up their mind that a lesson is required and without fear or favour enforce their obvious rights against all the strikers without any discrimination. Once that is done on a reasonably large scale and the action published for the benefit of all Government employees of all grades, there will not be a strike threat again in any Government office for an indefinite time to come. Until then this game of threats and appeasements, major and minor, is bound to go on.

S. NARAYANA AIYAR.

Madras.

DENIAL OF OPPORTUNITY

Sir,—Many aspiring adults are grateful to you for your editorial "Retrograde". In spite of the views of many of our educationists that university degrees should not be the criterion for government service, the Government prefer degree-holders for many of their posts. Hence there is clamour to sit for university examinations under private study.

While an S.S.L.C. who goes to Delhi and gets a job at the Central Secretariat becomes a graduate within three or four years, his friend in Madras remains a S.S.L.C. and so he is a lower division clerk in government service for ever. Thus opportunity to get degree after private study is denied to the "aspiring adult" in Madras State.

On behalf of these 'adults' I thank you for your editorial.

Madras. S. NARAYANASWAMI

NEW SLUMS

Sir,—Nobody would grudge the assignment of house sites for the poor. But the poor folks take the law into their own hands and encroach upon the porambokes. This is as good as stealing money from the treasury. The encroachments are done generally with the connivance of the village officers. Huts rise up indiscriminately without any observance of town-planning rules. This can be seen along the Nellore Trunk Road between Basin Bridge and Red Hills and at other places. These encroachers have a novel procedure to get these sites assigned to them. First they encroach by putting some fence. Then they erect sheds. The Revenue department levies a penalty for such encroachments, which is taken as a licence for encroaching. After two years, eviction orders are issued fixing a date for eviction. On the eve of the day of eviction these encroachers seek the help of some influential men of the locality to get a stay order from the Government. This is how slums come up. The Government must take serious notice of these procedures to circumvent the rules.

It is suggested that the Government must assign their porambokes only if they do not require them. Even if it takes 50 years to make use of such lands it does not matter.

A TOWN PLANNER

REGIONALISM IN PLANNING

Sir,—The agitation in Assam over the location of the oil refinery has helped to emphasise the need for a correct policy in relation to regional planning in India.

One of the avowed objectives of our Second Plan is to reduce inequalities. While measures to reduce the inequalities in individual incomes deal with one aspect of the problem, balanced economic development to overcome regional disparities is another important, though inadequately realized aspect.

Economic development in our country has not been even either in its pace or in its regional distribution. Highly industrialized pockets co-exist with out-moded agrarian relations and struggling cottage industries. The level of economic development in the former princely States has been lagging behind the relatively advanced areas which were being administered by the British. Even now, while the income of an industrial worker is highest in Bombay, in Orissa a worker gets the lowest wage in the country. Again, while the agricultural labourer in West Bengal gets the highest wages, his counterpart in Orissa stands lowest in the list.

There has been a definite trend for industries to get concentrated around a few already well-established centres, thus leading to overcrowding of cities and increasing the pressure on the transport system. This calls for a reorientation in our attitude towards the further growth of these industrial centres. At the same time, there are certain pockets where unemployment is acute and the mobility of labour to other regions is not perfect and this underlines the need for organized location of industries.

But the clamour from various States for the location of big projects and industrial plants in their respective regions on the ground that they are relatively backward, tends to cloud the real issues involved in deciding the location of industries. Every State in our country is not well suited for every kind of industry. Any one who has an understanding of the nature of resources available in Kerala State must agree that the availability of certain raw materials, the vast scope for generating cheap electric power and the pressure of population demand an orientation there towards light and medium industries calling for intensive labour. Heavy industries are least suited for such a State.

On analysing the case of Tamil Nad for steel plant, the non-availability of coal in this region leaves the entire scheme resting delicately on the possibility of getting supplies of lignite from Neiveli. Moreover the cost of structure must be carefully studied before a decision can be taken.

Ultimately what should decide the merits of each region for a particular industry is not the present level of economic development alone. More than the allocation of resources for each region, the channels into which the resources are diverted are of greater significance.

LEELA M. RAM.

WHITHER, "ASIAN DESTINY?"

Sir,—I am a college student of history. I respect your independence and fearless expression of views. SWARAJYA breathes your spirit (as did *Swatantra*) and is always welcome at my study.

You refer to the Suez crisis as 'European conspiracy' and you speak of 'Asian destiny'. Concerning nuclear tests you endorse the Asian sentiment, or rather, the Asian concern voiced by *Ananda Vikatan*.

Historicaly speaking,—history enters the living present—both the problems are fundamentally *human*. The Suez crisis arose on account of the failure of the parties concerned to grasp the historical destiny or necessity, that is, to think, and to calculate in terms of a new dimension, the world dimension. Nascent Egyptian nationalism, with bitter memories of past enslavement, was audacious. On the other hand, British imperial conceit was hurt and Britain grew intolerant. However, in spite of the war, they cannot and do not live independent of each other. A world organisation mobilised the human conscience in a human way. This is the lesson of history. Whither, then, "Asian destiny"?

Take the nuclear issue. The world as a whole is threatened by the anomalous relation between Russia and America. To take sides on this issue is easier but to maintain independence and join the intellectuals all over the world to meet the fanatics with unfanatic zeal, intolerance with tolerance, is difficult.

Politicians, partisans as they are, are in conflict with simple, natural and sensible solutions. Let not journalists, who owe an intellectual obligation to understand the world in which they live—and particularly you, join the politicians.

Asianism is not humanism.

Bombay. V. MAHADEVAN.

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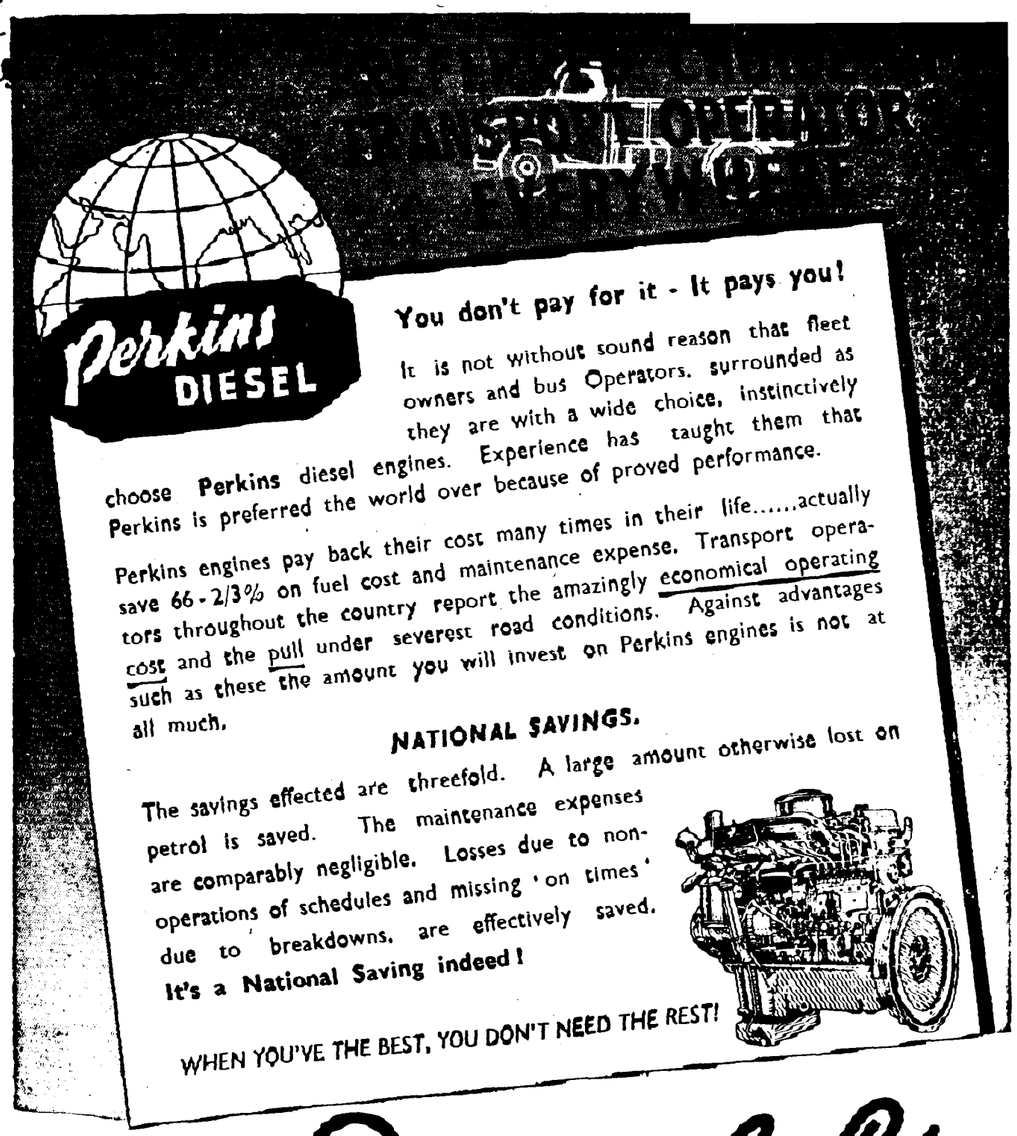
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INVASION ON POWER OF COURTS

Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Labour Minister, told the Lok Sabha last week that he was thinking of setting up a special machinery in his Ministry to evaluate periodically the extent of actual implementation of labour legislation in different fields. Labour legislation, like every other kind of legislation, should be left to the courts for determination of the extent to which it is actually implemented. If official machinery is to usurp the function of the courts by taking upon itself the task of delivering judgments which the courts only are competent to perform, judicial power will be added to executive power in the hands of Ministers and their deputies, and a great safeguard of the Constitution for avoiding administrative tyranny would be neutralised, and in some cases totally nullified. The United States Constitution lays great emphasis on checks and balances as beween the three great powers of the State, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary as indispensable for the protection of the individual citizen's rights. In the British system of democracy, the executive is not in a competitive relation to the legislature as a repository of power—it is itself an instrument of the legislature holding office as long as it retains the confidence of the legislature, and resigning when it has forfeited it. But in both the British and the American systems the paramountcy of the authority of the judiciary is recognised and the history of constitutional freedom in those countries has centred round the actions of bold and strong-willed judges who in their times upheld their independence according to their own lights, refusing to be over-awed by the pressures of the executive.

In India, in these ten years of freedom, there has been a considerable encroachment of executive power into spheres previously reserved for the jurisdiction of the courts. Many matters that used to be disposed of by judicial process are now determined by agencies set up departmentally by the Ministries. This trend is still going on and a further substantial acceleration of it is evidently to be expected, judging from the hint thrown out by the Finance Minister the other day of his intention to set up administrative tribunals on the French model in his department. Apart from direct invasion of the traditional area of judicial jurisdiction, the executive's attack on the power of the judges has taken other forms also in recent years. Formerly only the most distinguished luminaries of the Bar used to be elevated to the Bench. That tradition has been replaced for some time now by a new method permitting the Chief Minister of a State to recommend for high judicial honour some favourite of his own irrespective of his standing at the Bar. Latter-day innovations of drafting retired judges to Governor's posts and permitting them to set up practice afresh at the Bar, have also had their psychological repercussions on the disinterested pursuit of duty unaffected by considerations of personal career, on the part of judicial personnel.

Ministers of the Government have not been very mindful of the importance of an independent judiciary of unassailable power and authority as a bulwark of civil liberties under the Constitution, and often judicial verdicts have been defeated by immediate amendments of the Constitution facilitating the legalisation of the previously illegal. It is not therefore surprising that something of the attitude of a superdemigod with no consciousness of the binding nature of Supreme Court judgments should actuate the Labour Minister when he announced in the Lok Sabha his intention to create a special machinery to look to the implementation of labour laws. For he said:

> "If the Supreme Court thinks that the intentions of Parliament have not been fulfilled properly in the language of the laws that we make, then we are free—the Supreme Court does not stop us from doing it—to come back to Parliament and set it right and have a new Act so that whatever we intended to do we are able to carry out".

Is the Supreme Court to take into account the intentions of the legislature and not the language of the law if its judgments are not to be confronted by new amendments of the law expressly devised to defeat their validity? Such a conception as this gives no

room to any judicial verdict not in accordance with the Minister's wish—a most daring and dangerous implication in the set-up and circumstances of our time.

Many of these so-called special machineries are attempts in disguise to take disputed matters out of the purview of judicial protection. They enable the Government to invade the precincts of the private sector exerting control and influence over the establishments there, with the result that official favour or disfavour makes all the difference between peace and conflict. We owe to this the strange mentality of the Labour Minister when he places resort to a court on a par with a labour strike. We owe to this also the state of mind that has impelled many an industrialist to donate lavishly to Congress funds without any sort of political loyalty accompanying the act. The threat to the integrity of courts in multifarious forms of disguised executive encroachment on judicial functions as unfolded in recent years of Congress rule, has been most disastrous both as a provocation to unrest and as a factor undermining justice and security for individuals and institutions.

Kalakshetra

Kalakshetra was founded over 20 years ago by Srimathi Rukmini Devi. Its sole purpose, as explained by her in an appeal just issued, was to "resuscitate in modern India a recognition of the priceless artistic traditions of our country and of imparting to the young the true spirit of art, devoid of vulgarity and commercialism." Without any personal appropriation of the profits of talent, and without the shadow of the box office influencing artistic tradition, she has built Kalakshetra into a centre of culture radiating a wide eductaional activity. It is the distinction of this institution that it strives to hitch music and dancing and other arts exemplifying beauty into the general culture itself of modern life. By this effort it has won renown and the active goodwill and support of distinguished leaders of the community like Pandit Nehru and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Kalakshetra was housed till now in rented land and buildings. An attempt is now being made to secure for it a habitation of its own in grounds near by, of some 85 acres in extent, bought bit by bit by Srimathi Rukmini Devi over a series of years. The building scheme is to be inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore this Saturday. There is no cause worthier of generous support from the enlightened public than this great educational and artistic work to which Srimathi Rukmini Devi has dedicated her energies and exceptional talents.

THE ESSENTIAL FOR PROGRESS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Once the core of faith is lost, Satan must triumph and the forces of evil overwhelm mankind", wrote Jacob Sloan in a preface to a recent book of Isaac Singer. How true it is and how well and sadly demonstrated in our own body politic! What can freedom achieve if there be no God in the hearts of men?

We got freedom through the genius and the efforts of a man of God. He found a way to confound the then most powerful imperialist Power on earth and made it yield India her full freedom. Every moment of his life he depended on God. But after him, we who inherited freedom have found God troublesome and left Him unrecognised. Result, we are in a morass of disunion, corruption, carcerist individualism, greed and dishonesty which have made all laws and plans for progress nearly futile.

At the base, the rising structure of progress demands Faith in God. We cannot arrive at Him by enquiry and experiment or argumentation. For He is a mystery beyond sense-proof. Man needs God, although He cannot be got at through argument or enquiry even as he needs air though he cannot see it. What we need we must have, whatever be the difficulty of proof. The proof is in the need itself. No baby knows of what or how it was itself made or how a mother came to be, but it needs the mother and cleaves to her. No one can 'prove' the mother for the baby, yet there is no greater love or proof or nutrition than mother to baby. Without Him we shall fail in individual as well as national life. Civilization is founded on Him. If we reject Him, we shall reject civilization for this rests not on 'material' progress but spiritual endeavour and self-control and honest co-operation, all which depend on Faith in a Supreme Power. Let us get back to the path from which we have strayed and therefore find ourselves beset with all sorts of problems, difficulties and darkness. Let us no longer trust in the will-o'-the-wisp of material desires given the name of progress. Let us hold fast to the well-tried lamp of Faith and keep to the old road. The broken atom is not God. It will lead us to destruction. Science will help only if we keep in our hearts, God the mystery behind all Science, He that is smaller than the atom and bigger than the visible universe.

What the public needs to know

Recently, newspapers in Burma printed reports of negotiations in the Sino-Burmese border dispute, but without sanction of the government: the Prime Minister, U Nu, spoke sharply about this at a press conference.

At the appropriate time, he said, the government would release to the press everyhing the public needs to know.

Burma and U Nu aside, is not such a remark, whoever makes it, tinctured with the character of tyranny? It assumes a govern-

(Continued on Page 15)



Sotto Voce

The Bad Steward

The Patriarch of Self-Respect takes a puckish delight in pulling the leg—and exposing the Achilles heel—of the Ministry which he so capriciously loves. As one of the first pilgrims to the Mecca of Marx-Lenin he has naturally turned to Comrade Kruschev for inspiration for his next crusade which is to demote the Mahatma. Sir Valiant proposes to do battle against the cult of personality and 'de-Stalinize' Indian politics by burning Gandhi portraits. And that is what gets the goat of Minister Bhaktavatsalam.

* * *

The Minister sternly warns E. V. R. that he will have to reckon not with dead Stalins, whether of the Sattwic or of the Tamasic breed, but with the demure Stalin who has Law and Order as well as Hindu Religious Endowments in his safe keeping. The Constitution, he points out, gives the Government ample powers "to prevent and punish provocative actions that might wound the feelings and susceptibilities of people". A press correspondent asked why these powers were kept in cold storage when the idols of Vighneswara were being broken by E. V. R's cohorts. The Minister blandly blamed the apathy of the people in the face of disrespect shown to the god; as popular indignation had not been at white heat the Government could do nothing.

* * *

We didn't hear anything about the preventive powers when Vighneswara was under the hammer. Did the Ministers know by divination that no affront to our umpteen gods would bring public resentment to the boil and so they might peacefully go to sleep? Or have we here a policy statement and a discreet hint to the patriotic 'First Citizen' and 'Second Citizen' to come out of the slums of our Rome on the Cooum with their staves and slings against would-be-desecrators of Mahatmic ikons, thus making it easy for Minister Bhaktavatsalam to lodge the sacrilegious crew in quod? The Mahatma who was nothing if not a humorist, would have been hardly amused by such exalted piety.

* * *

No wonder that with a Ministry in office which, if it rates Gandhiji above Ganesa, rates its own continued existence above everything else, old-fashioned people are uneasy at the rumours that the Hindu Religious Endowments Act is again to be amended. The ostensible object is to give the officials of the Board power to apply at their discretion surplus funds of temples to "religious, educational or charitable purposes." These purposes are now more or less defined in the Act. This apparently hampers the Board's (or, what comes to the same thing, the Ministry's) style, when they start playing at universal benevolence.

* * *

Most of the temples are chronically insolvent. Even those few which have endowments of a sort find their incomes steadily dwindling. The pious benefactors of antiquity were not, as numerous inscriptions with their meticulous detailing of the objects of individual charities show, given to scattering careless largesse. Even in the service of Deity they gave with the humble and circumspect frugality that they themselves practised in their lives. "Enough is as good as a feast." They relied on the good steward to see that there was no waste, misfeasance or malfeasance.

* * *

But, alas, the bandicoots have been busy for centuries. Conscienceless tenants of endowed lands, middle-men farmers of revenue, peculators of every sort dipped their hands into the loot.

Meanwhile pseudo-reformers scrapped essential services on the strange plea of morality. Thus Raja Raja's magnificent endowments for the fostering of music, art and dance disappeared into the capacious maws of Holy Willies. Temples with thousand-'velis' like the one at Tiruppugaloor in the heart of the Tanjore granary are in such chronic want that their 'prakaras' look like primeval jungle.

* * *

On top of this we have now soaring prices and the exactions of the H. R. E. Board. Those devout souls Mani Iyer and Sadasiva Iyer didn't know what they were letting the temples in for when they invoked Government intervention in the affairs of the Hindu community. The temple trustees have perforce had to reduce the traditional 'dittam' to a mere simulacrum. It is hideous mockery in the circumstances to speak of 'surpluses'. It would be gross spoliage to divert any such exiguous funds at some functionary's pleasure for the upkeep, shall we say, of Christian orphanages (on the bright reasoning that most of the orphans are the discarded offspring of 'Hindu' parents!) or pinjarapoles for tyagis.

* * *

The maintenance of social services is the business of the State. It cannot be allowed to default on this under the blanket excuse that the Plan must be saved. Nor can the Government be allowed to unload its primary responsibilities on temples which have not enough for their own requirements which are co-terminous with the spiritual and cultural needs of the Hindu community of which the temple is the nerve-centre. Fundamental rights of religious communities and denominations apply as much to endowments that existed before the Constitution came into force as to those that came after. Hinduism has its rights which it must defe vigorously against sec aggressors ensconced in

SIDELIGHTS : :

The other day I had an interesting insight into the reconstituted mind of the Indian citizen of 1957 under the impetus of the new taxation proposals. A friend who had a choice between a higher and a lower income deliberately chose the lower because, he said, it would leave him more after the taxes were deducted. Here was tax evasion beginning where no agent of the Finance Minister could deal with it and its net effect on the national economy will not be far different from killing the goose laying the golden eggs.

* * *

The Prime Minister in his latest speech to the Congress Parliamentary Party said that the Socialist pattern meant maximum production. He wanted hard work. He drew the analogy of France and Germany and said that "what we needed was not the intellect of France but the hard work of Germany". The intellect of France may not be with us all right. The negative aspiration of non-intellectuality is being assiduously promoted by a host of changes tending comprehensively to the discouragement of talent. So as to leave nothing to chance, the drive against the intellect begins in the school and goes right up to the university. From there the influence spreads to politics and public life invading more and more the various branches of the administration. No effort in fact is being spared to see to it that we do not excel intellectually in the affairs of the world.

* * *

This success has not attended the other half of the Prime Minister's definition of what the nation needs. Most recent labour legislation is of a sort rendering it illegal to work hard. More people are now needed to do an amount of work for which a lesser number sufficed previously. Go-slow tactics, evasion and stalling have become distinctive features of the Indian labour world to a degree not noticeable elsewhere, certainly not in Germany. In the public sector, the stern disciplinary measures to which the Government resorted when confronted with the threat of strike in the P. and T. department, give some indication of the eventual force needed to rectify a degenerating situation. But no such resource is possible to the private sector. In this sector aggravation of indiscipline under arrangements assuring large powers of intervention to Government, has become normal. The cultivated influence of Government over labour in industrial disputes has become a sort of stick to beat the industrialists with. To what effect this stick could be brandished at election time to garner unlimited donations to Congress party funds is now common knowledge.

* * *

The plain fact of the economic situation is increased expensiveness and proportionately reduced out-turn in practically every sort of work going on. This has given rise to an impression of official inefficiency. It is sought to be made up with greater collection of money, but people are in no mood to pay more. The new taxes posit a crisis in the emotional attitude of people to Government levies of taxation. The wealth tax reverses for the first time the very basis of reasonableness in taxation. Static substance is not taxable wealth. Only the conversion of energy into some form of currency valuable to life is the real meaning of wealth as a taxable asset. The crudities of the new forms of taxation come into play by leaving with people less and less of incentives to earn, to keep accounts straight and stick to honesty and fair dealing. A provocation to the whole nation to elude the unwanted policeman installed in every home to collect these taxes is their main achievement. In the future the limitations of the policeman's authority will enter into the Government's experience of tax-collection, undermining the voluntary popular cooperation that has been its main asset hitherto.

* *

The Plan is already dead, as its indispensable requisite, the willing enthusiasm of a responsive people, has already been destroyed by over-exaction. Not much by way of additional resources can be looked to from the wealth and the expenditure taxes, though they have spoiled the atmosphere for the success of the Plan. The next step the Finance Minister contemplates is a visit to the U. S. A. for a loan or gift. Here, it may be, fortune will favour him. For the State Department is just now agog over the gall poured on its cherished plans by the Soviet offer of aid to Turkey in the wake of its own refusal. We may stimulate American generosity by playing on prospective Russian consideration for our needs, and T. T. K's plea for U. S. aid may be considerably assisted by advertisement of Soviet readiness to meet the cost of India's Second Five Year Plan. How far will the doctrine of "aid without strings" be served by the tactic of playing one power bloc against another ?

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SOAP POWDER

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ?

COOKED FIGURES, AND PERFORMANCE ONLY ON PAPER

There has been so much undeserved publicity about the achievements of our Community Projects, and so much praise of them by the Prime Minister that it will still take a little time before their failure is fully exposed. Mr. Dey is however taking no chances and has already gone on record as saying that "we have failed in getting the people's representatives associated with the programme." Since the effective mobilisation of the people's own resources and enthusiasms was the main justification for this costly experiment, this statement constitutes a pretty frank confession of defeat. We therefore need not be side-tracked by the "distinctions," "second classes" and "mere passes" which the Ministry of Community Development claims to have secured in other fields, except perhaps to notice that the blitheness with which these "results" have been announced would have been excusable had not the issue been of such vital import to the nation.

The matter is one of extreme seriousness, not only because Mr. Nehru swears by these Projects and sincerely considers them to be a uniquely indigenous means of bringing about a revolution in our villages, and keeping Communism at bay, but also because they consume a great deal of money which could be spent to greater advantage in other ways. What, however, is even more alarming is the cheerful manner in which it has been reiterated by Mr. Dey that the Projects and Blocks will continue to be multiplied till they have covered the last village in India, and his lack of appreciation of the basic weaknesses of the organization. The steps which he has promised to take in order to energise the movement (if it can be called by that name any longer) are in entire conformity with the large-hearted and naively spectacular approach which has paid such rich dividends in the past. To be precise, Mr. Dey has undertaken to compile the entire Lok Sabha debate on the subject "into a booklet and circulate it to various States, as well as to the village level workers, so that they might know what the members thought about their work." He has also promised to open in Delhi a Central Institute of study, research and training in community development, and to run camps in every gram sevak circle to create village leadership. Amen.

As a people, hard-headedness is not one of our strong points and it is therefore possible that these tricks of showmanship and these sleights of hand might pass muster for yet awhile. It would, however, do nobody any harm if the real causes of the admitted failure of the programme were to be set down at this point of time by one who has had some opportunity of observing it at close quarters.

One. It is a profound error to believe, and to make others believe, that Village Level Workers (V.L.W.s for short) and other N.E.S. officials will work like inspired missionaries, instead of like the ordinary bureaucrats which they are.

Two. The average V.L.W. is painfully ill-equipped for the task he is expected to perform, which is nothing less than the moral and material uplift of about 7,000 souls spread over about ten villages. This poorly-paid, modestly-educated, and very often politically-recruited official is supposed to impart to lethargic and ignorant villagers the know-how on such diverse subjects as applied agriculture, livestock, poultry and fish breeding, cooperation, fruit-growing, sanitary living, cottage industries and a host of other subjects. Needless to say, he is an almost completely useless functionary, and by no means the man of destiny which the Minister for Community Development sees in him, in his quest for the much-vaunted "Destination Man".

Three. A revolution in the outlook of the people and the creation of mass enthusiasm among them is the function of a vital and properly-led political party, and not of an army of petty officials, whatever be the name by which you may call them. It is dishonest on the part of the ruling party to connive in an arrangement which involves the expenditure of large sums of public money in the promised achievement of results for which it is ready to take credit, but which should

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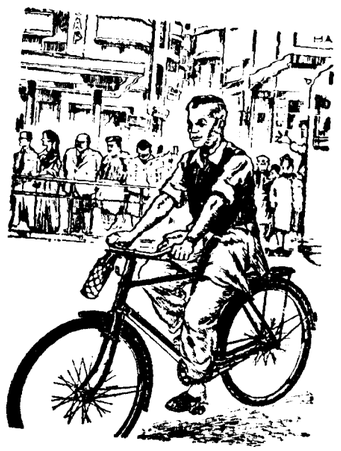
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rightly have been the object of its own unaided efforts, without involving any cost to the State.

Four. There is too much politics in the day-to-day working of the Blocks to enable them to function effectively. Not only do many of the V.L.W.s and Block Development Officers owe their jobs to their political pulls and affiliations, and not to considerations of merit, but all of them are constantly subject to political influence in the performance of their routine duties. Thus, areas in which members of the Block Advisory Committees are personally interested are attended to first. Similarly, in granting loans and other forms of monetary help, the nominees of influential and loud-spoken local politicians obtain preference over applicants who may be more deserving of help but have nobody to back them. Again, the Block is always willing to provide audiences and a platform (complete with shamiana and loudspeaker arrangements) to the local political bosses, under cover, of course, of rural *melas* and public relations. Also, Block jeeps come in handy for visits to constituents, particularly before and during the Elections. No wonder the Projects have been unsuccessful in enlisting the enthusiastic support of the ordinary villager.

Five. The programme is too multifarious in nature and too ambitious to be capable of attainment with the limited resources of men and money at our command. To expect to progress simultaneously on a dozen and more fronts in the difficult conditions which obtain today is to court disappointment and to fritter away our resources to no purpose. It is of the utmost importance that the present confusion should be ended and only a limited number of objectives, carefully chosen and arranged in order of priority, should be aimed at. First things should come first. Things like literacy classes, sewing and embroidery schools, and new community buildings may be spectacular evidence of progress, and useful to take V.I.P.s round, but we cannot really afford them just yet, and should wait.

Six. A ridiculously high proportion of the budget of the Block is taken up by establishment costs. The model budget prescribed by the Ministry provides for a total expenditure, in three years, of Rs. 4.50 lakhs. Out of this, Rs. 1 lakh represents recoverable expenditure in the form of loans. Of the balance of Rs. 3.5 lakhs, as much as Rs. 1.5 lakhs is earmarked for the cost of staff, transport, equipment, and office. This represents 42.9%.

Seven. Thanks to the insistence, natural enough in the circumstances, on reports and returns, a great deal of the work done by the Blocks and Projects exists only on paper. Cooked figures are the order of the day, and no opportunity is lost of inflating figures of performance in a dishonest way. For instance, wells which the villagers dig of their own accord and entirely with their own resources, as their forefathers have been doing for thousands of years, find their way into Block returns as something for which the Block and therefore Mr. Dey's Ministry are responsible. As a wag put it, the number of items on which statistical reports are due to be sent by the Blocks is so large and the list so comprehensive, that the only activity for which the Block does not claim responsibility is the birth of babies in its area!

Eight. The villager needs the help of specialists in their own lines, and not of morale-boosters, which is about the best that the B.D.O., the S.E.O. (Social Education Organizer), the Lady S.E.O., and the V.L.W.s can claim to be. Commonsense demands that instead of wasting money on these jacks of all trades, and, in the process, handing over the organization to the local politicians on a platter, as it were, all available resources should be utilised for the training and recruitment of really qualified scientists in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, public health and engineering. Mr. Dey's Ministry, however, is doing just the opposite. It is neglecting and in fact starving the specialist departments of money, the while it is building up a monstrous, country-wide organization of politician-ridden amateurs good for little else except providing patronage to their masters.

BAROO

Headlines

Tuesday August 20: The U.N. Security Council rejected Iraq's proposal for consideration of the Oman affair, and it was reported from Muscat that the Imam was in flight. U.S. and U.K. governments were stated to disagree on policy towards Syria. In New Delhi Pandit Pant said police firing would stop if political parties practised non-violence.

Wednesday August 21: Eisenhower stated that 'the old Soviet pattern' was being repeated in Syria. Units of the U. S. Sixth fleet were reported to have left French ports for the eastern Mediterranean. Mr Morarji Desai told the Lok Sabha that India's foreign exchange difficulties should not cause alarm.

Thursday August 22: India protested to the U. N. Security Council against the Pakistan government's Mangala Dam scheme. The U.S.S.R. granted a loan of 60 million dollars to Afghanistan, and the King of Afghanistan accepted an invitation to visit India.

Friday August 23: U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. again tested nuclear weapons, and Ormsby Gore stated at the London disarmament talks that isolated suspension of tests would do nothing to halt the nuclear arms race.

Saturday August 24: It was stated in Damascus that the government of Syria would protest to the U.N. against American interference in its internal affairs. Mr T. T. Krishnamachari announced that aid from abroad would be needed to fulfil the 5-year plan.

Sunday August 25: New Delhi denied allegations by the Pakistan government that Soviet planes had landed in Kashmir. The U. S. Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee reported that continued testing of weapons would endanger world population, and that any amount of radiation increased genetic mutations. A Soviet loan to Turkey was stated to have caused alarm in the West.

Monday August 26: Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha that India was not now protesting to the U.N. against the Mangla Dam project. Soviet warships were reported to have entered the Mediterranean en route for Albania. In Rangoon 15 Communists were charged with high treason.

MILITARY REALITIES OF THE PRESENT TIME

Excerpts from a speech by the Rt. Hon'ble Philip Noel-Baker in the course of the Disarmament debate in the House of Commons on 23rd July, 1957 :

Several times since Christmas, the Minister of Defence has asked us to face the military realities of the present time. The most important and the least observed of those military realities are the vast sums now being spent on military research. It was £6 million a year in 1938 on the eve of Hitler's war. It was £80 million in 1951 ; £100 million in 1953 : and close on £200 million last year. These are fantastic sums, but the United States is spending ten times as much—£1,900 million this year, more than our total defence budget, and an increase of £500 million on 1956. Russia, no doubt, is spending much the same.

These vast resources of human genius and research equipment are given to the making of weapons more deadly, more powerful, and more certain to penetrate defence. We are all getting what we pay for. There is hardly a weapon that was used in the Second World War that would be used for training a raw recruit today. Lancasters and Flying Fortresses carried 10 tons of bombs 1,000 miles : they are now outmoded by the Vulcan and the 200-ton B.52, which will carry a 15-megaton bomb to any target in the world and return to its base in the United States under cover of night.

The Schnorkel submarine was a great advance : it is outmoded by the atomic Nautilus, which has done 60,000 miles without refueiling, which can go round the world under water, which can cruise at 25 knots, faster than any convoy, and which soon will launch nuclear guided missiles without even coming to the surface at all.

The other day, the United States Government published a new Handbook on the Effects of Nuclear Weapons, and they took as their yardstick, or measuring factor, the casualties caused and the damage done by the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, in 1945. At Hiroshima 100,000 people were killed in an instant of time, another 100,000 wounded, hideously burned, struck by radiation sickness, many of them dying after weeks or months of agonising pain. Even now the bomb's work is not ended. About 90,000 of the survivors are still under medical supervision. 6,000 must have constant clinical treatment all their lives, and some are still dying of cancer, leukæmia and other delayed effects.

The Minister of Defence told the House the other day that "atomic weapons of the power of the Hiroshima bomb are now regarded as primarily suitable for tactical use by troops in the field." If that is true, the general staffs must have lost all contact with reality. Consider his use of the word "tactical", in the light of the simple facts of 1945. The casualties were three times the total number of our Army of the Rhine ; a mighty empire brought to instant and unconditional surrender ; two bombs the substitute for a planned campaign, which was expected to last 18 months, conducted by millions of men by land and sea and air.

When I was at the Air Ministry, ten years ago, the experts told me that as few as 30 Hiroshima bombs might end Britain's ability to wage war. Last year, the United States Air Force and Army conducted a joint exercise in Louisiana and tried out Hiroshima bombs in tactical support of troops in the field. They decided how many were required to knock out the tactical enemy targets they were given. It came to a total of 70. Louisiana is 48,000 square miles in area, which is a little less than England and Wales. When the exercise was over, the referees decided that all life in the whole State was extinct.

Hon. Members will recall the words used by Lord Teddar, not long ago :

> "To believe that there will be tactical atomic weapons which could be used without leading to the use of the so-called strategic weapons is to live in a fool's paradise."

Of course, the Hiroshima bomb cannot be tactical : it destroys so much too much. The Minister's experts simply mis-apply the word, because they now have other weapons, so much more powerful, at their command, which they like to call strategic.

By 1952, atomic fission bombs had already been made ten times as powerful as the first, and some people believe that now they are twenty times as powerful. In that year, a rudimentary hydrogen device blew an island out of the Pacific : we called it a "low yield" weapon. Two years later, there was the 15-megaton explosion, 750 Hiroshimas in one, with the deadly fall-out which covered 10,000 square miles of open sea. It had an outer sheath of uranium 238, which made the poison fall-out, which is so dangerously cheap, and which, besides the fall-out, gives a megaton, a million tons of blast and fire for £5,000.

Now, we are getting rid of the uranium sheath, and we are getting "clean" hydrogen bombs instead. I wonder whether that is not the most sinister development of all. A "clean" 10-megaton bomb, so a Home Office manual informs us, would finish London, where in an inner circle seven miles across, everything would be pulverised to dust, and in an outer circle, 20 miles across, everything and everybody would be inexorably consumed in flames. "Clean" bombs are weapons of indiscriminate mass destruction which an aggressor could use without the risk of radioactive fall-out on his own territory or his own troops.

Vast stocks of nuclear weapons now exist. Dr. Lapp, an ex-member of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States, said in 1955 that the United States stockpile was equivalent to several tons of T.N.T. for every inhabitant of the globe. Most of Hitler's bombs on London carried less than a single ton.

Some experts believe that gas and bacteria are as dangerous as nuclear weapons, and more likely to be used. In the First World War the primitive gases then employed caused, ton for ton, four times as many casualties as high explosive. Now we have the nerve gases, which the Nazis called Tabun. One cannot see Tabun. One cannot feel it. One cannot smell it. It penetrates the clothing. Three drops on the nose or throat, or skin will drive one mad before one dies.

Major-General Chisholm, the very able and, indeed, famous chief of the Canadian R.A.M.C. throughout the Second World War, himself then in charge of bacterial weapons, said in 1949 that "one bacterial weapon developed late in that war could wipe out all human life in a given area within six hours and yet leave the area habitable afterwards." He added:

> "Hundreds of millions of human beings could be killed in a few hours."

Do hon. Members think that the progress of invention will be less in the next five years than it has been in the past ? Let them contemplate the guided missile. The development costs of guided missiles in the United States will be just double those of the atomic bomb. The major purpose is the I.C.B.M., Atlas and Thor, intercontinental missiles which are projected hundreds of miles—600, 800 miles—into the stratosphere, which travel 5,000 miles in 20 minutes, and which are guided to their targets at 20 times the speed of sound. One Atlas test that failed cost a million dollars. One launching site will cost £30 million.

What kind of war is it we are preparing for today ? What has happened to the moral standards of mankind ? We all remember the storm of indignation that was aroused when the Communists accused the United Nations forces of using bacteria in Korea in 1951. But in 1955 the United States Secretary for War approved the report of an advisory committee of eminent civilians who urged that

> "gas and germ weapons are inherently less horrifying than nuclear weapons"

and that

> "new and uninhibited research should be undertaken to develop a complete family of chemical, biological and radiological weapons for actual use."

The Committee pointed to

> "the advantages of these weapons in subduing an enemy without destroying property which the victor might wish to save."

The report was approved, the commands appointed and the money voted. These "special purpose weapons"—note the phrase—are no longer listed in "the mass destruction category."

Of course, Russia and other nations are doing the same. I do not blame the United States Secretary for War. That is how the arms race works. But, remembering our anger at the stories of "infected spiders" in Korea a few years ago, I find it hard to stomach when bacteria and gas are described as "special purpose weapons." It fills me with resentment and despair when Government handbooks describe the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima as the "nominal" bomb—"nominal" of all the words in the world to choose—and when they call a bomb that equals 200,000 of the 10-ton block busters which devastated Berlin a "low yield thermonuclear device". The man who thought up these nauseating euphemisms ought to be made President of the Escapers' Club. He is a very master of the semantics of hypocrisy and self-deception.

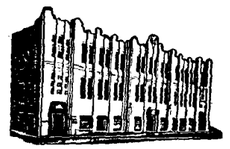
The public are being fed with terrible ideas. The day after the first Christmas Island test a London daily newspaper printed an article by a General who was Controller of Atomic Weapons until last year. He said that our H-bomb would be useless unless we were resolved to use it first. He said :

> "People must be made to realise this about the hydrogen bomb : if we are not the first to use it we shall never use it at all."

I wonder what the Russians made of that.

There have been these immense developments in weapons in the last few years, and weapons now matter far more than men. And yet, even after the recent reductions, there are probably about three times as many armed men in the world today as ever before in time of peace. The world expenditure on armaments is perhaps four or five times that of 1938.

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CITIES I HAVE VISITED

PEKING

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

Most people know the story of the farm labourer who, when a passing motorist stopped to ask the way to a nearby town, cogitated for sometime and then replied: "Well, if I were going there I wouldn't start from here."

If you are going to Peking you should not, if you can possibly help it, start from here, either. The airlines from Bombay and Delhi and Calcutta will take you by way of Rangoon and Kunming, or else to Hongkong where you catch a train to the frontier. The places you will visit on the way will be worth all the time you can spare for them. And when you arrive Peking will be, if not the loveliest, certainly the most magical of the world's great cities. But you will have missed the supreme shock of delight which comes to those who take the route followed by the invaders, across the Gobi Desert and over the Great Wall.

The desert undulates like a heaving sheet of brown paper, and strong stomachs are needed to bear the row-boat motions of the plane. Yet even poor travellers forget their sufferings when, after five or six hours, the earth below rises suddenly into green and sharp-edged mountains, with tiny villages scattered like uncut jewels along the valley bottoms. Then, as the plane loses height, the Wall appears, running sometimes along the crest of the mountains and sometimes curving a little below, the fresh cream colour so pure against the brilliant green of earth and the pale, translucent sky, that one seems to be entering a world in which time has come to a stop, in which decay and change are words that have no meaning.

Then suddenly the mountains are left behind, and the plane circles to land in a neat little airport that seems scarcely cut off from the neat little fields that surround it. The world looks small, bright and unimaginably orderly, as if every green blade, every leaf had been lovingly brushed and combed and patted into place. If you are an expected guest the men and women who have come to meet you, and the children who run forward to push bouquets into your hands, will be as serene and smiling as the landscape. There will be no extravagant display of emotion, but old friends will show their excitement by the possessive way in which they tuck their arms into yours, and, as they lead you into the airport building, take up the conversation from the precise point at which you left off last time. Soon you will be sitting at a long, blue-covered table, and a girl dressed in trousers and jacket of the same tone and texture as the tablecloth and with long plaits swinging over her shoulders, will place a cup of clear, honey-pale tea in front of you. By the time you have driven ten miles or so to the centre of the city you will have realised that the exquisitely ordered neatness of the scene into which you landed is as much a part of the pattern of life in Peking as the blue trousers and jackets of the men and women walking in the streets, and the clear, light blue of the sky, higher and clearer than any sky you have ever seen.

Peking lies in a level plain but the Western Hills dominate the landscape beyond the grey ramparts, broken at intervals by high-towered and massive gates, that mark the boundaries of the old city. It was in the hills that Peking Man, the oldest authenticated remains of *homo sapiens*, was discovered in the early years of this century. The skull, like many other pre-historic and historic treasures, disappeared during the Japanese occupation, but the spot where it was found has become a place of pilgrimage, and an imaginative visitor to the site can, thanks to recent archaeological excavations, picture a good many details of the life of his remotest known ancestor. Though Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are of course far older than the most ancient ruins, to have been discovered in north-east China, Peking can claim the longest continuous human occupation of any place on earth.

The oldest historically recorded Peking laid down a pattern of physical development which shaped the city as it is today. The Imperial Palace — the once Forbidden City — was built facing south. Main roads, compass-straight, run past the red walls or turn from them at right-angles. Between these roads are narrow lanes flanked on either side by forbidding grey walls which, except for an occasional wooden gateway painted in brilliant Chinese-red, give no notion of what is to be found behind them. In fact, the walls conceal the honey-comb of court-yards and pavilions that make up the traditional Chinese house. The pavilions are single-storied, with heavy, tiled roofs that curve out sharply at the eaves to give a foothold for small ceramic figures who stand at each corner to ward off devils and other evil spirits.

In old China each of these elaborate honey-combs was occupied by a single, though often very large, family. Today some are used as offices, and others have a

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family in each pavilion, where the once huge rooms are divided by screens and partitions to separate living-rooms, bedrooms and kitchens, and the courtyards are shared by all the neighbours in common. Inspite of rather obvious inconveniences, many people, given a choice, prefer these graceful traditional dwellings to the new blocks of flats which are now being erected in many parts of the city.

The great palaces, though built on a vastly larger scale and with roofs that glitter like gold against the sky-line, follow the same pattern as private dwellings. When Peking was liberated in 1949 many of them were in a dangerous state of decay, but now skilled craftsmanship has restored much of their original beauty—a beauty derived from the combination of an almost primitive simplicity of design with extreme richness of colour and detail in decoration. The walls of the Imperial Palace with the Tien An-min Gate — the Gate of Heavenly Peace — at the centre of the South side, is the focal point of the city's life. It is here that the great parades on May Day and October 1st take place. But all the year round, and all day long, people stroll in the shadows of the walls, or go through the northern gateway to visit pavilions which are now used as museums to house recent archaeological discoveries as well as some of the imperial treasures. One pavilion within the palace walls has a refreshment counter, where visitors can buy tea and coloured drinks and sesame cakes, peanuts and melon seeds. There are no notices begging people to be tidy, and no police stand about to keep order. But no litter is thrown about, and peasants from nearby villages who bring their families into the city for a day's holiday sit on benches in the imperial gardens, looking as much at ease as if they were in their own backyards.

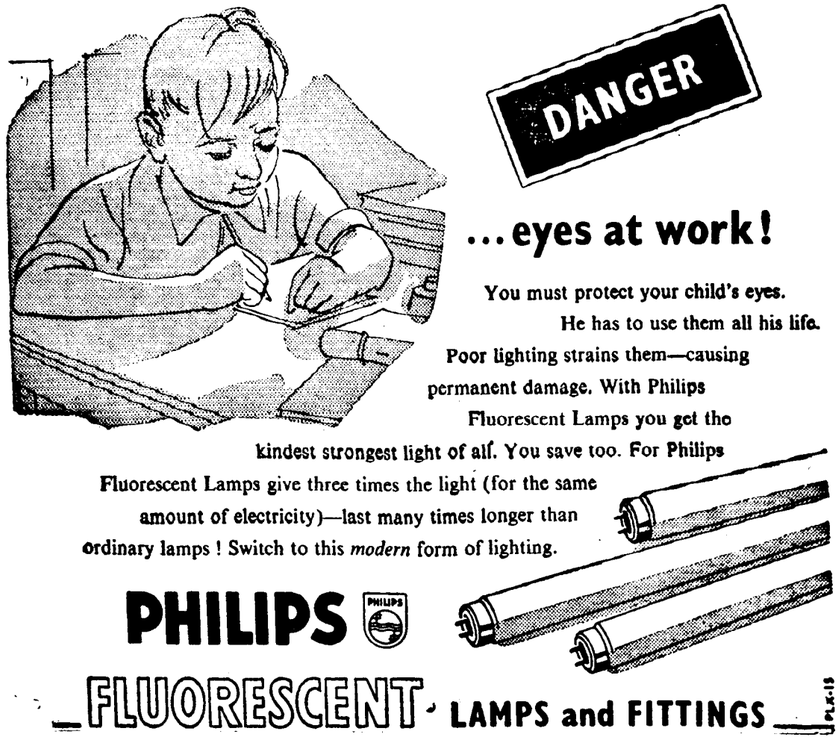
The city-dwellers, however, prefer the parks. Though Peking is a hard-working city there seems to be no hour of the day when there are not people with leisure to stroll among the flower-beds and the tanks of exotic gold-fish, to swim or row on one of the artificial lakes, or to sit at one of the lake-side cafes or join a study-group sitting beneath the trees. In the parks no foreign visitor can be alone for long. Young children, old women, and people of all ages between, will ask where you come from, comment on your appearance, and answer almost any question that you yourself choose to ask. Nobody begs. A child who is offered a sweet will have to be coaxed into acceptance, and boys and girls after five minutes' conversation will probably make you a present of whatever badge they happen to be wearing, or will take off the red scarf worn by members of the young pioneers' organisation and tie it around your neck as a souvenir.

You will meet the same friendliness when you go shopping. In the big markets, which are crammed with clothes, toys, crockery, and knick-knacks of all kinds, you can stroll about for hours without being asked to buy. When you do make a purchase there is no question, any more than there is in the shops or in the big new department store, of striking a bargain. Prices are fixed, and are the same everywhere, and by Indian or British standards most things are not expensive. Books are almost unbelievably cheap, and men and women who are still learning to read crowd into the bookshops to make their choice among picture-books with a minimum of simplified text.

Wherever you go you will find people studying, discussing, singing together, playing together, or strolling alone or in pairs with a conscious and lively interest in the world around them. Although their outlook is serious, most Chinese people have a natural gaiety of spirit, and their quiet enjoyment does nothing to destroy, but rather enhances, the beauty of places designed for solitude or for the pleasures of a privileged few. The Summer Palace, the most famous of all the beauties of Peking, is thronged with visitors everyday. Students come early in the morning and after classes to swim in the lake, and some of the buildings have been turned into a rest-home for workers; but when I stayed for a week or so in a courtyard that had once been occupied by the dowager empress, no sound ever reached me but the singing of the birds and the clicking of my own typewriter. And the great stone-flagged parapet that runs from end to end of the superb Temple of Heaven looks down upon the earth as quietly as it did when the emperors were first worshipped there, eight hundred years ago.

My friend Huang Shang and I paid the temple a farewell visit on the morning before I left Peking last September. It was as silent as it always is, but there were more people about than usual, and many of those who

(*Continued on Page* 15)



ENGLISH NOVEL — THE WAY IT IS GOING

By KENNETH YOUNG

Any consideration of the English novel in 1957 must start not in the critic's study but in the publisher's accounts department. Twenty years ago most new novels cost 7s. 6d. and about 5,000 copies had to be sold to cover all cost, printing, binding, publisher's overheads and author's advances. Today new novels vary in price from 13s. 6d. to 18s.—though the costs of production have gone up by much more than double—and some 6,000 have to be sold before any profit is made. Yet, for the time being at least, roughly the same number of new novels appear every year: it works out at about 20-25 a week.

Now in fact only a small proportion of new novels sell 6,000 copies or anything like it, and it is obvious that many publishers are losing on their fiction lists. Some of them do not much mind since what they lose on fiction they gain on such works as popular biography, travel or autobiography. They continue to print fiction because, while they naturally continue to hope for a "winner", they believe that the novelists, whose works they print, have something special to say and a good way of saying it. Moreover they hope that novelists who have *success d'estime* will, with subsequent books, create a following; in other words, that they will pay off in time.

Other publishers, and probably the majority, do not have the financial backing to stay such a course; they want an immediate hit and a hit today can be made, except in most unusual circumstances, only if a novel is bought for filming. Thus, many novels are written and published with an eye to filming, and that does not make generally for the highest quality of writing. And as the film companies are retrenching and cinemas are closing as audiences fall away, even this bait may not long exist. Television may eventually take its place, but meanwhile it seems likely that the total number of novels published may well decline, perhaps never to return to its present level.

Many people may regard this as a good thing; certainly too many are published today—at least too many without much literary quality or even contemporary significance. But the present situation is bad in itself since there is this split between the novel of esteem and the novel that seeks above all to be popular—bad, briefly, because the tendency is for the one to become anaemic and obscure and the other to lack thought and art.

It is, therefore, an event when a novel—a first novel at that—appears which is both praised by the best critics and sells like hot cakes. This happened just over two months ago with John Braine's *Room at the Top* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 15s.); it was acclaimed by critics of the eminence of C.P. Snow, Walter Allen and G. S. Fraser; and within two months it sold some 15,000 copies and is still being reprinted; it is being filmed; and the author, a village librarian of 35, has already received some £8,000.

Now, quite apart from the book's merits and defects, it is significant that the only other comparable success—successs, that is, with the "intellectuals" and the general public—in recent years had an almost precisely similar theme; Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* had a main character who, like Braine's John Lampton, decides that ideals, idealism, political action, noble thoughts and the "intellectual" life are stuff and nonsense: all that matters is to get on, not by crooked methods but by at least ethically doubtful ones, because what really counts in the present world is the possession of plenty of money. Money seems to these "heroes" to be entirely able to bring all that seems to them desirable—expensive cars, clothes and holidays and life free from petty restrictions and petty authority.

The theme is not of couurse new, but it is new for young, intelligent writers and its success proves that it expresses something very much in line with the desires and thoughts of large numbers of their contemporaries. Perhaps only a sociologist could properly discuss its meaning; certainly only a critic in 1987 will be able, more certainly, to evaluate these two novels.

It may well be—it has happened before—that some young novelist who has yet scarcely caused a ripple on the critical waters will loom infinitely larger in that future critical eye. Iris Murdoch, for instance, whose third novel just out, *The Sandcastle* (Chatto & Windus, 15s.) confirmed for many readers the impression that here is something very new—and a technical equipment capable of the very highest achievement. She writes about a middle-aged schoolmaster falling in love with a young girl painter; her view of contemporary English life is both highly intelligent and absolutely right in mood, tone and observation. But her real giift is for making us aware of man's double image, one foot here, one foot in eternity, and her almost magical ability to suffuse a scene with a strange, rather disturbing, enchantment.

Miss Murdoch loves words; she loves seeing what new thing, new effect, they can create; she carries on the line of technical experiment in the novel, whose father was Flaubert and whose most outstanding sons were James, Ford and Conrad, and with her march such novelists of her own generation as Chapman Mortimer, John Rosenberg and Olivia Manning.

It may, therefore, be assumed that *The Sandcastle*, unlike *Room at the Top*, will not sell 15,000 copies in the next two months. It was always thus; Dickens, who is Mr. Braine's ultimate ancestor, made a fortune; Henry James luckily had a small private income....Nevertheless, I am sure Messrs Chatto and Windus are storing up treasure for themselves around 2,000 A.D.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NO FURTHER TAXATION

Sir,—Our country cannot stand the strain of any further taxation and the vote of the people is for greater economy and efficiency in administration rather than waste and pomp.

V. RAMASWAMY

THE COMMON SCRIPT

Sir,—With the publication of the Report of the Official Languages Commission, the question of the common script comes to the forefront for discussion. The Roman script is being advocated in certain quarters, as enabling people to become familiar with Western languages and help international intercourse and study of scientific subjects.

The partiality for the Roman script is due to the fear that the Devanagari script, like the Sanskrit and the Hindi languages, is difficult to learn. The Roman script is not phonetic, has only 5 vowels and 21 consonants, and has to be reinforced by a plethora of special signs, symbols and multiplications of letters. Rationally argued, the Roman script cannot be an adequate vehicle for the learning of either the national official language or the other Indian languages.

Gandhiji has referred to this question repeatedly in the pages of "Young India" and "Harijan". In July 1927, he wrote: "We must have an easily adaptable universal script for all India, and there is nothing so adaptable and ready-made as the Devanagari script." In February 1947, the Mahatma wrote: "I am not prejudiced against the Roman script. I am against anything or anybody usurping a place not belonging to it or to him. The Roman script has come to stay in India. But it cannot take the place of the Indian scripts. It must not displace the Devanagari script which is the parent of most provincial languages. The Roman script has its own unique place. It need not aspire after a greater. Time-saving devices are good up to a certain point. But they take the form of a mania when they destroy human relations and desirable restraints. Let the provincial Governments *beware* of the lure of the Roman script. Let it not be said of India that it is so degraded as to become the blotting-sheet of civilisation." Again in March 1947, Gandhiji reverted to this topic and said: "The replacing would be a fatal blunder; and we would find ourselves in the fire out of the frying pan."

Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the eminent scholar said, so early as in 1905: "The Roman character is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. The suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous." I fail to see why the unphonetic script should be thought of in preference to a more highly phonetic script. It is well that we consider also the moral and spiritual aspects of the question stressed by Gandhiji.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Coimbatore

THE WHITE CAP

Sir,—The white cap which we put on the heads of Bulganin and Khruschev was, in origin, a convict's cap. Gandhiji dignified it, but has he beautified it?

It may sit well on the heads of our great President and our inimitable Prime Minister. But when I look at it—from any angle—I find it angular and ugly.

Is not the splendid turban our national head-dress? The chiselled faces of our kings and maharajahs whom the people loved shone with grace and splendour, framed in crowns and multi-coloured jewelled folds.

All that however is "not suited to the times". Make roundheads even of kings, put the awful cap on the blank tops, send them to live in smaller houses, cut from meagre salaries a further five percent, and we have the typical puritan grindstone at work.

My Indian heart longs for the Restoration, kings and queens, princes and princesses, nobles, warriors and statesmen. I am tired of the democratic multitude, all declared to be "kings" and so directed to destroy themselves with king's idleness.

I am hoping that the Lok Sabha would provide for a magnificent, jewelled turban for the President of India, another slightly less ornate for the Prime Minister, and a third grade for the Governors.

Let us throw away the cap, make our lives beautiful.

DEVI DASS

Palni

FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS

Sir,—Now that India is facing a difficult situation with regard to foreign exchange, it is not at all clear why the Government permit the import of foreign publications which come in an unrestricted quantity completely duty-free. Many of them are cheap fiction pictorial magazines and propaganda literature, and they do not serve any purpose except corrupting the public taste. Apart from that, they compete with Indian publications which are badly in need of public support.

V. A. VIJAYA SARATHY.

Madras.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

Sir,—It has been reported that the Home Minister of Madras told a press correspondent at Tanjore that Government "would come down with a heavy hand" if the proposed campaign of the Dravida Kahzagam to destroy the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi materialised, as Government could not tolerate such a "calculated attempt to wound the public's feelings." On the correspondent asking why the Government had failed to take similar action against the kazhagam in the past, the Minister is reported to have said that Government could not play its part because the people failed to mobilise public opinion against the activities of the D. K. This is rather extraordinary, to say the least of it. If people did not express themselves against the iconoclastic activities of the D. K., it was not because they supported them. They expected a democratic government to rise to the occasion when popular sentiments were outraged. Now the truth is out from the horse's mouth that the Government had given the benefit of the doubt to the iconoclasts.

Anyone who knows anything of mass psychology in Tamil Nad to-day, will realise with dismay the unfortunate truth that even if Gandhiji's portraits are burnt, people will take it calmly unless the Government create an atmosphere that will compel people to see the tragic and comic aspects of the thing. That apart, public opinion is always shy and if our Government cares to wait till public opinion crystallises itself for or against any particular thing, then woe unto all our plans.

Let Government realise that the soul of the Mahatma will not at all be agitated at the 'harm' done to his portraits. It must have suffered the greatest of all shocks when picures of Rama were burnt in holy Bharat. If only our Government had effectively suppressed that, that might have given him greater satisfaction than the protection now promised for his portraits.

As the Government did nothing till now to prevent the "calculated attempts to wound the public's feelings", let them not now add insult to injury by shifting the blame on the poor public and saying that the latter had failed in its duty.

R. KRISHNASWAMY

What the public needs to know

(*Continued from Page 2*)

ment's right to reveal or disclose, as it wishes: somebody up there always knows what it best for the masses.

But governments exist on sufferance: they are elevated for a time. No right inheres in any president, minister or politburo to withhold or parcel out scantily information by which public judgments must be formed, including the judgment whether the government is or is not fit to rule.

This is no defence of premature debate on policies still half-formulated, or the wild surmise that is useful merely for gossip and a day's headlines.

But the duty of the press is to root out, disclose and publish so that people can exercise the power that belongs to them. "What the public needs to know", in every land, is, Everything.

JOHN E. FRAZER

Peking

(*Continued from Page 13*)

climbed the parapet slope walked straight across to go down on the other side. Then we saw a notice announcing that an exhibition of canned and preserved foods from all over China was being held in the garden down below.

"Let's go and look," Huang Shang suggested, for like almost all Chinese people she believes that the necessities of life should as far as possible be treated as pleasures, and that any animal or vegetable that is not poisonous can be made into a delicacy.

I agreed and followed her; but what we saw at the bottom is a subject by itself, for in Peking food is a topic of endless interest, and one about which a whole book will someday be written: but not, think, by me.



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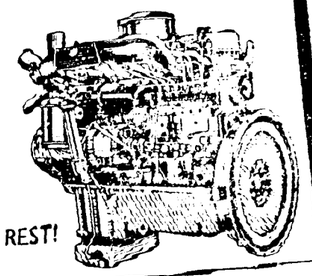
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INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION

In introducing the Expenditure Tax Bill in the Lok Sabha, the Union Finance Minister said: "I will say I will not be sorry if the revenue from this measure is not large. I will not be sorry even if it becomes *nil* because to the extent the revenue from this measure is less, to that extent it would have fulfilled its primary objective of putting an effective check on personal expenditure and diverting the surplus towards savings and productive investment". This seems to be an example of the intellectual confusion with which Mr. Masani charged the framers of the Bill a little later in the debate. In one breath they uphold the expenditure tax as a device to discover additional resources for the Plan. Almost in the same breath, the principal author of the innovation is found proclaiming that even if the new tax brings *nil* revenue, it would have justified itself, as thereby another objective would have been gained, namely, checking expenditure, saving, and application of the amount saved in productive investment. If two contradictory purposes are alleged to justify a proposed measure, the one cancels out the other leaving the dialectician without a shred of credibility. This is the pitiable position to which the Finance Minister has reduced himself by his over-clever parliamentary performance. If the expenditure tax is objectionable as a revenue measure, as a device of coercion for compelling saving and investment, it becomes the emblem of a tyrannical philosophy reducing to complete nonsense the oft-repeated appeals of the Prime Minister and other members of Government for voluntary spontaneous public co-operation in the implementation of the Plan.

In fact the coercive nature of the official philosophy underlying the Plan received jubilant endorsement from the Communist M.P., Professor Hiren Mukerjee. He argued with great gusto that "when the country had opted for the Socialist form of society, a certain amount of harassment and even inquisitorial legislation was inevitable and it could not be made sure that it was kept to the minimum or it fell only on the presently affluent sections of the society". Thus we find Government and Opposition playing into each other's hands to usher in an era of harassment and of inquisitorial legislation under the banner of the Socialistic pattern. And it is done with no apologies or reservations. On the other hand, as a pledge of further ripening of Socialism in the land, the prospect is distinctly held out that the present dose of harassment and inquisitorial legislation will by no means be the last. In simple terms, this means that the Government will not trust people to stand by the Plan as free agents moved by the patriotic appeals that are so vociferously broadcasted by its architects, from the Prime Minister downwards. They will be left with no option and compelled to do with their incomes and savings just what the Government wish them to do and nothing else. And yet Pandit Nehru is able to tell the A.I.C.C. in connection with another aspect of the Plan, "Of course there should be no element of compulsion"! He finds it possible to make a distinction between planning in the democracy that is India and planning in "authoritarian regimes". The authoritarian regimes in the world have been outdistanced in the matter of harassment and inquisitorial economic pressures to an extent delighting the hearts of India's Communist leaders by our Prime Minister and his fellow-guardians of the Socialist economy.

The philosophy of compulsory investment of savings is in a way an outrage on the traditional forms of meritorious living that have survived in the country to the present day from time immemorial. On the last day of every year Dr. Annie Besant gave away whatever was left out of her earnings in the previous twelve months to numerous good causes, endowing for the benefit of posterity invaluable institutions of abiding worth. Others less distinguished have responded in their different ways to the wisdom of the sages by paying greater attention to giving than saving. The only comfort that the poor and the unemployed in this poverty-stricken country have ever found came from the charity of their better placed fellow-citizens. This immense reservoir is now attempted to be dried up, without any substitute arrangement to take its place, by our purblind planners who

extravagances and wastefulness are more impressive than their out-turn of social service. With their thoughtless monkeying and facile talk of Socialism, they spread only repugnance among the people while they pile up disaster for the days ahead.

Ravages of Napotism

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has taken on himself an imperative public duty evaded by most leaders for the sake of soft-sailing —he has suggested a get-together of all political parties to explore the possibility of acceptable practices to check the ravages of nepotism. In a public statement issued from Hyderabad, he has complained with frank brutality that "money-grabbing and pleasure-seeking, even with murder thrown in, are beginning to be the supreme and exclusive objectives after ten years of freedom". Referring to the wasteful effect on the national economy of relatives of powerful patronage-wielders occupying high offices, he expresses the view that unless "politics were purified of similar corrupting influences there was no future for the country". Dr. Lohia's statement is not propagandist in its aim. It is actuated by public spirit and an earnest desire to set right blemishes traceable to defects of character in the nation's ruling leaders. It is clear from what he has said that a large proportion of national resources is going down the drain of corruption and inefficiency and there is no excuse whatever for placing further burdens on the people without first ensuring honest and economic administration. Recently in the Lok Sabha the Union Finance Minister expressed the wish to tear the veil of secrecy covering records, documents and books in order to expose the iniquities of tax-evaders. If the protective veil of secrecy could be thus torn, it would perhaps be found that against none could more sensational disclosures be unearthed than those who have had in their keeping the disposal of the nation's finances and its administrative policies.

Congress Affairs

It is doubtful if the changes now effected in the Congress Constitution will serve their intended purpose. Looking back, it is clear that to a large extent the deterioration in Congress prestige that has taken place in recent years is due to a certain benami character that has crept into its titular leadership. The major responsibility for this belongs indubitably to the Prime Minister. When he decided to separate the Presidentship of the Congress from the leadership of the Congress Parliamental Party, he did not leave the Congress electoral machinery to play its part in unfettered freedom to fill the post of President that he had vacated. Instead he imposed on the Congress a President of his own choice and nomination, who would not have had a ghost of a chance of reaching that distinction otherwise. In this way he downgraded the importance of the Congress Presidentship and reduced the holder of that august honour to the indignity of becoming a mouthpiece of the Prime Minister. Much the same has happened in some of the States also. In Madras, Sri Kamaraj has relinquished the Presidentship of the Pradesh Congress Committee after strategically taking care that only a faithful adherent of his, dependable for promoting every political move of his, is installed in the place ostentatiously abandoned by him. This habit of the supreme wielders of the power of office in the country of establishing by secondhand means subservient instruments of their own in the organisational leadership of the Congress, while professing to divorce the party organisation from its parliamentary branch and governmental side, has cost the Congress the service of Presidents of eminence such as those that had distinguished Congress annals before Pandit Nehru thrust Sri Dhebar on the organisation as virtually its permanent President.

Real Welfare

A correspondent (Sri D. Pitchumani, Postal Department, Usalampatti) writes:

While commenting editorially on the then impending P. & T. strike, you wrote as follows: "....how can any section of people in the same country hope for isolated happiness for themselves without reference to the needs and welfare of their fellow-citizens much worse off than themselves?"

Barely three weeks after, you are advocating the demands of the station masters and assistant station masters (another section of Central Government servants) for increase of pay etc as *modest*.

Are not your comments inconsistent? Is this the mission announced in the first number for which SWARAJYA stands? I deeply regret that a great champion of working classes, a leading journalist of your calibre and one who shares the views of our Rajarishi Rajaji, should have commented adversely on the just demand of a section of the working class.

The demand of the station masters characterised as *modest* (SWARAJYA, August 24) was the right to be heard through their own organisation. Here is the relevant sentence: "Yet the station masters, mindful of the public interest, acted with commendable restraint, merely urging that their case should not be lost in the vastness of proletarian agitation, and their right to be heard through their own organisation should be forthwith recognised without delay". In this or in any other connection there is no question of SWARAJYA having commented adversely on the just demand of any section of the working class. Our view that no section of people can hope for isolated happiness for themselves without reference to the needs and welfare of their fellow-citizens much worse off than themselves holds good for all times and countries. It only means that the welfare of the working classes should be fitted into a general scheme of welfare for all citizens, and cannot be created or sustained in isolation from it — an axiomatic proposition to which we still adhere without apology or penitence.



Sotto Voce

Divers in Strange Seas

A language lives and renews itself in its poets as the plantain does in its shoots. The chafferers in the market-place and the honest citizenry whose reading is confined to the newspapers sport like minnows on the surface. Use and wont deface the verbal currency; which is, on the other hand, also enriched by occasional drafts from the folk-mind. But it is the poet who delves into the depths and brings up strange and fascinating cargo which humanity appropriates to itself, after a little staring and shying, because there is spiritual sustenance in it.

* * * *

From the days of Dirgha-Tamas down to our own Samskrit has never lacked poets; which gives the lie to the stupid libel that it is a dead language. And at least since Bharavi and Dandin the South has been a nest of singing birds. Indeed after Harsha, the muse, frightened by the clash of arms and creeds, seems to have fled to the green pastures of the Kaveri and the Tamraparni and the sylvan retreats of Kerala. It was therefore in the fitness of things that at Kanchi the other day an authentic poet of our time Sri Mahalinga Sastri should have been blessed with the title of honour Kavi-Sarvabhauma by the gracious saint with the heart of a poet who so eminently adorns the *Sarvajna-peetha* of Sankara.

* * * *

I have liked Mahalingam for his engaging frankness and simple charm, and admired his fidelity to his daemon ever since we were brought together by chance and the good offices of that connoisseur of rare minds, K. S. Venkatramani. He was in his college classes then, I had just launched on the Dead Sea waters of the Secretariat. Music, astrology, the star-splendours of Kalidasa, the magnificent procession



Sri Mahalinga Sastri

of the seasons in Shakespeare — these and a hundred other enthusiasms we debated endlessly. And occasionally Mahalingam could be prevailed upon to play a little on the flute.

* * * *

It was then he read out to me snatches of his *Vana-Lata*. With the luxuriant imagery and cloying sweetness of the Keats of "Endymion" this Spenserian lyric in five cantos voices the rapture of the young and ardent mind which is in love with life. Rosalind's whimsical "Let me see; what think you of falling in love?" represents its romantic mood to a nicety. In *Bhramara-Sandesa* he plays the sedulous ape to Kalidasa; the result is gain in clarity, discipline and the power of suggestion. The fifty short lyrics of the *Kinkini-mala* have the witchery of song.

* * * *

But Mahalingam's is by no means a one-stringed lute. Nor is his traditionalism a cramping influence. He has written drama as well as farce, devotional poems as well as sparkling examples in that peculiar genre, the *anyapadesa*. His *Vyajokti-ratnavali* is that rare thing, civilised poetry. For delicate irony and rich penumbra of suggestion you will have to go to his great forbear Nilakanta Dikshita to find the like of stanza 27; the as yet maneless lion-cub, whom the dog, the jackal and the donkey impress by their loud vaunt, is *abashed* to see the fawn put to flight by his mere appearance on the scene! To the other harmony of prose Mahalingam has made a notable contribution in his retelling of the Bhasa dramas with which he fell in love at first sight. So long as there is a community of *sahrdayas*, however small in numbers, to sustain the commerce of true minds, there will be poets in Samskrit fed on honey-dew.

* * * *

The Indian who writes poetry in English is looked upon as a rather different kind of odd fish. But I learnt to see his point of view when, on complimenting a young man on his remarkable virtuosity with the *bulbul tara* and diffidently suggesting that he might perhaps have found greater satisfaction if he had given his days and nights to the veena or the violin, he replied with simple modesty, "But, sir, I found that this just suited my limitations". He was truly a child of his time. So are our 'English' poets. The tortured sensibilities of men caught in the clash of cultures seem best to express themselves in a consciously acquired medium.

* * * *

Manjeri Iswaran, another Venkatramani find, has been writing English verse for a quarter of a century. The dons were first amused, then infuriated and at last reduced to silence. Perhaps they dimly saw that there could be many ways of non-conformity. The age of Pound and Elliot had definitely room for aliens who could hear elfin music through English sea-shells. Iswaran's latest volume *The Neem is a Lady* is thin in bulk like the rest. But his style has gained in ease and assurance. The tenderness of 'A woman of Malabar' rings no less true than the sardonic wit of 'Leo'. A recent B.B.C. discussion suggested that English poetry was suffering from the creeping paralysis of provincialism; might it not profit by a discreet exoticism?

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS : :

It is now a familiar argument advanced in connection with Government's new taxation proposals like the wealth tax and the expenditure tax that the persons affected by them are small in number. The implication is that the individual is entitled to consideration precisely in proportion to the numerical strength he is able to muster round himself as the member of a class. E.V.R.'s philosophy of anti-Brahmin intimidation is also based on some such implication as this. If the Brahmins had not been numerically negligible his campaign of browbeating that community to do his bidding in the name of social reform would have been unthinkable. In Kerala the suspension of protection for owners in the plantations is another exhibition of the doctrine of sovereignty of the numerically impressive. The supremacy of the proletariat of Communist conception is in essence a form of withdrawal of justice and other rights of the citizen from minorities of no significant voting strength. All those that are given to applying different standards of treatment to people differently constituted in the matter of numerical strength are tarred with the same brush, whether they call themselves Congressmen, Communists or the Dravida Kazhagam. Their common characteristic is the substitution of the quantitative for the qualitative standard as the determining factor in arriving at judgments as to what is right and what is wrong in any given situation.

There is little difference between Kerala under Communist rule and the rest of India under Congress rule so far as the utilisation of governmental power for the liquidation of minority interests is concerned. Democracy is just the reverse of this — it is the protection of the individual against every form of organised majority tyranny so that the sense of safety and security is experienced by all without reference to the voting strength that can be mobilised in support of it. We have assiduously cultivated the forms of democratic government but the spirit of the administration actually in operation is Communist and authoritarian. Kerala is only an advance signal of prospective Congress power-monopolism. Only, the Congress rulers cannot tolerate the idea of the monopoly of power passing to other hands except their own. It is only when members of Government desist on principle from inflictions of sectional injury arguing "Oh, it is only a small section" that they earn the right to be regarded as honest exemplars of democracy in reality and not merely in name. For in constitutional status democracy recognises no difference between citizen and citizen. And to make any plans that depend on such difference is to admit abuses which to that extent violate the requirements of democratic government, even if the plans may be sanctioned by Pandit Nehru.

* * * *

Addressing a conference of Vidarbha journalists at Akola, Sri Mahajani said that trade unionism would destroy the high moral ethics on which present-day journals functioned. As if in illustration of the prophetic virtue of his prediction, one reads on the same page of the newspaper printing it a resolution of the Bombay Union of Journalists calling upon the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Minister of the State to perform some good office towards implementation of the Wage Board's decisions. This is on all fours with the habit that is now becoming too common, of representatives of journalists' unions making a bee line to a Minister when something has gone wrong in the internal administration of a newspaper office which they wish to see set right. Judicial processes set up by law for protection of professional rights are not the same as a Minister's patronage or intervention with executive authority. The one can be had without loss of dignity. The other cannot be enjoyed without going in for some measure of servility, or at any rate, receptivity to outside suggestion or executive pressure. It will involve susceptibility of newspaper staffs over the head of the editor to Ministerial wishes if not commands, and it will not be conducive to preservation of the freedom of the press. The better sort of journalist will do all his fighting for improved conditions of service and redress of grievances on his own strength without any alliances with officialdom. For in this profession it is a basic condition of integrity not to be beholden to government agency or to be too closely associated with it, since independence of judgment in all matters turning on the administration is the very pivot of its utility and public purpose.

* * * *

The Maharaja of Mysore inaugurated the building scheme of the Kalakshetra at its new site near Thiruvanmiyur last Saturday. He was all praise for Srimathi Rukmini Devi who had founded this unique institution to redeem the arts of the country from vulgarity and commercialism and the box office mentality, who had restored them to the purity of their classic traditions, and most difficult feat of all, turned them to account as a method of education for the young. It is likely that her ambitious building project, estimated to cost Rs. 15 lakhs, received its original impetus from a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs promised to the Kalakshetra by the Government of India. It was a cruel blow that the grant should since have been withdrawn. Under such a blow, a less intrepid spirit would have quailed. But she has learned from the devotion of dedication unwearying enthusiasm, which has drawn into active support of her mission stalwarts of the stature of Sir C. P. These have already made a good nucleus of contributions for the building fund. It is to be hoped, however, that the Government of India would not rest content with merely breaking a plighted word. As their difficulty is said to be a technical one connected with the legalities of sanction, it should not be beyond their resources to reroute their aid in a permissible form.

(Continued on Page 13)

HOMECOMING

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

It was stated in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on Monday that seventy-three Chinese nationals, including children, were repatriated to China up to August 1 last with the assistance of Indian missions in the U.S.A. Behind these statistics are seventy-three personal stories, which someday ought to be collected as a part of the social history of our time. When I was in China last year I managed, partly by accident and partly by luck, to collect half-a-dozen of them. Here is one.

It was in May, when I was delayed in Kunming by the illness of my interpreter, that I met Mrs. Liu. She was agelessly elegant, in the way in which well-to-do Chinese women often are. Before we met I was told that she was one of the leading capitalists of the city, and had recently been made chairman of the board of directors of the joint state and private enterprise which ran the cinemas and other businesses which she had formerly owned. Knowing this, it was not difficult to picture her as a business woman, inspite of her leisured and detached air. She was tall, graceful, calm, but with a tension beneath the calmness that seemed to hint at anxiety and even, perhaps, grief. She talked very little, but enough to arouse my curiosity, and when she invited me to dine at her house I accepted with pleasure.

Before the evening was over she had told me her story. She had been widowed twenty-five years ago and left with three daughters. The youngest, who was a baby when her father died, became deaf and dumb as the result of a childish illness. But she was, like her sisters, an intelligent girl, and after the war, when it seemed that the Communists would overrun south-west China, Mrs. Liu decided to send all three daughters abroad for safety. The two older girls went to Ameriea, and the youngest to Paris, to study painting. Then in 1949, a fortnight before the Communists entered Kunming, Mrs. Liu herself escaped, leaving her businesses in the hands of trustees. She went first to Japan, then to the U.S.A., which she had visualised as the free and competitive democracy of her dreams.

She was shocked to find colour prejudice, and social inequalities which seemed to her as great as those she had left behind. But now the Communists were in power, and she was afraid to go home. She went to England and then to France, taking her second daughter with her. Meanwhile contradictory reports reached her as to what was happening in China. Some friends urged her to return, others advised her to stay away. But since her property was in China and since, too, her one concern was for the future of her daughters, she decided after sometime to go back and, as she put it, decide whether her own country was fit for her daughters to live in.

Before she left the West she and her daughters agreed on a code. Her letters, she was sure, would be censored, and she would probably be ordered to urge her daughters to return. If she wanted them to ignore her pleadings and to stay where they were, the letters would be signed "Mama." But if the good things she said about China were true and she really believed that her daughters could be happy at home the letters would be signed "Mother."

For five years the letters were signed "Mama." For her they were years of doubt and hesitation. But her business prospered. She saw life around her improving and began, too, to take some part in public affairs. At last her mind was made up, and at the beginning of 1956 she sent letters to Paris and to Chicago — where her eldest daughter was married and already had a child — signed "Mother", telling her daughters that it was time for them to come home.

"But the tragedy," she added, "is that I made my decision too late."

"They refused to come back?"

She shook her head. "Margaret and Marion came from Paris. They are in Peking now — and when you go there I hope you will meet them. But my eldest daughter in Chicago refuses to believe what I write, and often does not even answer my letters."

I suggested that it was possible that the letters did not reach their destination; and since I was going to be in London within a fortnight, I offered to take a letter from Mrs. Liu back with me and to post it with a covering note of my own. She agreed, and when I left Kunming to fly to Canton she was at the airport with a letter in her hand and tried, perhaps because she had so little faith in my word, to make me take some money to pay for the postage.

It was because of Mrs. Liu that, when I got to Canton, I sought out four people who had returned from America two months earlier. Their stories are too long to tell here, but they had met Margaret and Marion Liu in Peking, and told me that I would enjoy meeting them.

I did. Margaret, who had become engaged to marry a young man whom she had known before she left China, was sparkling, looking forward to teaching French in a new institute of foreign languages in Shanghai, and astonished that she had been free to choose a job instead of being, as she had been warned in Paris that she would be, directed to work that was unrelated to her training or personal interests. Marion, living in her ivory tower of silence, had enjoyed a great success in Paris, but could not believe that Peking would like her

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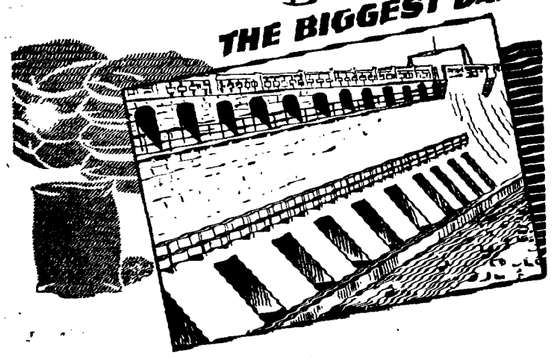
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painting, too. Neither of them was much interested in politics, but they were enchanted by Peking, and still bubbling with excitement at small details of life that contradicted all that they had been led to imagine. Even I was different from what their mother had led them to expect, and in their astonishment at my ordinariness we soon became friends.

Mrs. Liu's letter, with a short note from me, was posted in London. A few weeks later I flew to Tokyo and then, on my way to India, returned to Kunming to convalescence after an illness. Mrs. Liu was at the airport to meet me, but even at first glance I could see that in the past four months she had changed, and in a way that I could not have expected. She was eager, excited and gay as she rushed forward to take my hands and to welcome me. Then, when we arrived at the house where I was to stay she pulled out of her bag a letter which Margaret had sent to be delivered to me. "I wish," Margaret wrote, "that you could come to my wedding. But I must tell you that I am not getting married to the man to whom I was engaged ..... Perhaps people will criticise me for being frivolous and changeable, but there are some things in life that are inevitable, and when they happen one must ignore public opinion....."

Mrs. Liu laughed as I put the letter down, and told me what she knew of her future son-in-law. Then she left, but next day she came to see me again. "Now," she said, "I want to tell you my real news. My oldest daughter has written from Chicago to say that she and her husband are coming home, and that the Indian embassy is helping them to arrange everything..... I can thank you for posting my letter for me, but how am I ever to thank the Government of India for making the dream of my life come true?"

"Beauty without love is like a poisonous flower, beautiful to look at, but dangerous to life."

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

'.... OVER A. I. R.'

By M. KRISHNAN

Having something of real importance to discuss, I shall not refer to any August broadcast of A.I.R. here. The important thing I mention is, of course, Dr. B. V. Keskar's protest to the Ceylonese Minister for Information and Broadcasting regarding the Commercial Service of Radio Ceylon. I think this protest, or rather its basis, is a matter of vital interest to every Indian who values his personal liberty, irrespective of his cultural attainments and the extent to which he listens to the radio, whether of India or Ceylon —but to my surprise the press in our country has been content merely to report the protest and its consequences.

Certain things should be clarified in a preliminary way before the implications of Dr. Keskar's protest can be fully appreciated, or even my criticism of it. In protesting against the 'beaming' of 'light' or cinematic music at India by the Commercial Service of Radio Ceylon, Dr. Keskar alleged (as per newspaper reports) that these programmes "tended to lower the moral and cultural values of the Indian people and also ran counter to the broadcasting policy of the Indian Government", besides offending the provisions of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Convention. Naturally, Dr. Keskar would be well within his rights in making a protest under some convention which enables him to do so, and I realize that even otherwise he can protest if he feels he must, as the representative of a neighbouring country. Nor am I concerned with the Ceylon Government's response to this protest.

Dr. Keskar said that while most listeners in India were loyal to the programmes of A.I.R., some people, mainly in the cities of Bombay and Delhi (or did he say Calcutta?) were much given to the 'light music' broadcasts of the Commercial Service of Radio Ceylon. I may add that it is also true, however lamentable the truth may be, that these programmes of Radio Ceylon are immensely popular all over South India.

The open manner and strong language of Dr. Keskar's protest are clear proof of his sincerity. There is not the slightest doubt that he thinks what he is doing is both right and necessary. However, this, by itself, is no proof of the soundness of his judgment or action. Intending no sort of analogy and only wishing to make my point unmistakable with an example, I may add that it is probably historically true that Tughlak believed passionately in the rightness of the things he did.

Finally, I must add that I have no sort of interest in Radio Ceylon, or even in Ceylon, generally speaking.

The fact, however one seeks to sugar-coat it with culture, is that Dr. Keskar and the Government of India feel they have the right to decide what sort of radio programmes the citizens of India should listen to. Why, they actually feel a responsibility in the matter — they not only seek to guide and educate the tastes of the vulgar public, but also watch anxiously over the "moral and cultural values" of Indian listeners, so that those values may be preserved intact.

Now, isn't that pure and noble of them, and shouldn't we feel grateful to our vigilant government for the fond care it takes of our morals and tastes! If that is democracy, I should like to know in what nebulous particular our new-found democracy differs from the most totalitarian form of government.

We pay taxes with democratic impartiality, the rich and the poor alike, we pay entertainment tax and education tax, radio license and library cess. And this is not enough. Our personal liberty is also taxed, our tastes are to be educated, censored, supervised.

A dozen years ago, when there were any number of princely states all over the country, more than the arbitrary despotism and occasional injustice that went hand in hand with princely rule in those states, what the subjects resented was the constant guidance of their tastes and culture by the whims and fancies of their rulers. I know something of those princely states at first hand. In many of them the ruler was not an intentional tyrant — often he was an educated, 'cultured' man, perfect in his table manners and possibly quite expert at polo; he was painfully conscious (frequently so needlessly) of his responsibilities towards his subjects, and recklessly generous, especially in the maintenance of his palace and status. But often, too often, all culture in his state was hopelessly circumscribed by the extent to which H.H. honoured traditions, and H.H's personal attainments and tastes. Are we going to have the same thing in our liberated country, with the substitution of Rajas by Mantris?

This presumption of superior cultural attainments by the government is insufferable — and wholly undemocratic. There is no despotism that is so vexing and unbearable as the "benevolent despotism" that concedes the right to those in power to inflict their tastes on the people. All India Radio, being a government institution, has every right to stick to its own values, to use its own tastes and judgment (or even those of a few of its appointed masterminds) in determining its standards. Nor are those standards poor. I, for one, can honestly say that I have greatly enjoyed many A.I.R. programmes and that in the past year or two the quality of the broadcasts (especially the broad-

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casts of classical music) has improved noticeably. But that does not mean that we, the radio-licensees, cannot go by our own tastes in deciding what sort of 'light music' we would like.

I may assure Dr. Keskar that it is only because the ponderous 'light music' provided by A.I.R. is so third-rate, and so very much inferior in quality to the wholly Indian cine-music featured by Radio Ceylon, that so many people listen to that service. The Commercial Service broadcasts of Radio Ceylon are so wonderfully clear (unlike most Indian stations) and the fare provided consists mainly of a selection of the most popular film-songs from the Indian, Hindi screen — frequently the best Indian classical music is also featured in this service.

The Government of India should wholly ignore the tastes and preferences of the people, in organizing its broadcasts. Nothing prevents A.I.R. from broadcasting those same cine-songs in its programmes of 'light music'. If A.I.R. feels (as it does) that such music is not good enough, why, it can certainly broadcast any other brand of light music that it favours — though I must say that I feel convinced, after months of careful listening, that A.I.R's own brand is only a rather poor imitation of "fillumigeet".

By what dictatorial right can A.I.R. object to the listener switching on to Radio Ceylon or Radio Pakistan, which broadcast the kind of film music that he likes, or insist on Radio Ceylon ceasing to broadcast 'light music' that is wholly Indian in origin? The government should realize that this protest to Ceylon by its Minister for Information and Broadcasting (and other representatives) is not purely a diplomatic communication between two neighbouring countries: it is something that also touches the personal liberty of the citizens of India.

"Public affairs are only the sum-total of private lives."

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

REPORT ON KASHMIR

By K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM

Thanks to the Government of India, I have had the opportunity of visiting Kashmir recently as a member of a press party. The seven-day tour in Kashmir helped me to understand the basic trends in the valley.

Kashmir has not merely acceded to India but it has also been completely integrated with India and become part and parcel of India. The correspondents of foreign newspapers have testified to the tremendous hold Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed has on the populace of Kashmir and the remarkable progress achieved by the people of Kashmir under his leadership. The Special Representative of the *Sunday Times*, London, wrote that "the Prime Minister (Mr. Bakshi) moved unescorted among crowds who garlanded him and peasants showered lumps of sugar, signifying sweet welcome, on his car." Recording his impressions in a similar vein, the Special Correspondent of the *Economist*, London, says that Kashmir is "booming" and he emphasises that this boom would not have been possible without political stability. And one may add that political stability is not possible unless the people at large have come to regard the future of the State as having been settled once and for all. The political and economic integration of the State with India and the proved benefits it has conferred on the people could not have been possible had the people harboured secret or open hostility to the pro-Indian Government. It could not have been possible for the Government of Jammu and Kashmir to implement successfully a 13-crore development programme in three years — about 75 per cent of this programme falls under the Central sector — unless the present rulers of Kashmir enjoyed the willing and hearty co-operation of the people of the State.

No less striking is the way Kashmir is being administered. I have heard it said by many in Kashmir that Mr. Bakshi has toned up the administration considerably though admittedly much remains to be done to eradicate corruption. The position was worse when Bakshi took over the reins of administration four years ago. A certain amount of demoralisation seemed to have set in as a result of the haughtiness said to have been displayed by Sheikh Abdullah toward the end of his tenure of office as Prime Minister of Kashmir. People recall with indignation a revealing incident which occurred in Gulmarg at that time. When people complained about the deteriorating food situation at a public meeting, Sheikh Abdullah, it seems, peremptorily asked them to eat grass. It is also said that this recipe which he gave to the starving people was in sad contrast to the moghul luxury towards which Sheikh Abdullah was drifting. It is possible there is an element of exaggeration in these reports. But there is a strong impression that Sheikh Abdullah betrayed tendencies, political as well as personal, that created a gulf between the people and the administration besides causing grave anxiety to those having the highest interests of the State at heart. Bakshi not only rescued the administration from this mess but also set up new standards of democratic rule. This has been done smoothly and successfully because Bakshi has all along been the real and silent force behind the National Conference. Bakshi is a man of prodigious energy, ever strong and resourceful to meet any situation. He has a firm grip over the party machinery, and by virtue of the democratic instinct which he shows at every step, he has earned the goodwill of a vast majority of the people of the State. His relations with the people are direct and intimate. He goes into their midst three days in a week, meets them right in their surroundings, talks to them in a manner characterised by downright simplicity and frank intimacy, and receives petitions, oral and written, even from the humblest of the citizens. Incidentally, in Kashmir the police never make a nuisance of themselves at places visited by Ministers as in other parts of India. In addition to these tours in the districts, Bakshi Saheb, as he is popularly called, holds a durbar at his residence in the mornings where anyone can meet him in an atmosphere of complete informality and present his or her grievances. On-the-spot decisions are given. Let me cite a concrete example here. At a place called Gulmarg, a beauty spot in Kashmir, a pony guide told a journalist of our party that he was badly in need of a job. Our journalist friend noted down his address and represented the matter to Bakshi Saheb at a dinner given to us by him. Bakshi Saheb noted the name and address and assured our friend that the man would get his job the very next day. This is the sort of promptness with which people's grievances are attended to in Kashmir. There is no redtape.



Inauguration of the Diploma in Child Health Course at Waltair by Sri N. Sanjiva Reddy, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Dr. P. Thirumala Rao (facing C. M. in the picture) is in charge of this Course.

Another impressive feature of Kashmir is that things appear to be more orderly there than elsewhere in the country. Everything is controlled in Srinagar — the hotel rates, rice sales, boat charges, even tonga fare. The ryots get a statutory price for their produce through a co-operative society and the consumers get four seers of rice per rupee. Some varieties of rice, I am told, are sold at even six seers a rupee. Hotel rates are fixed reasonably high so as to prevent malpractices, and we found people generally conforming to them though at house boats one encounters all manner of hawkers out to cheat the visitors. The abolition of landlordism, the fixation of the ceiling on individual land holdings at 22½ acres, and organisation of relief and help to the needy, the imparting of education free of charge right up to the university have helped to create in the average Kashmiri the strong feeling that the administration cares for him. Anyway, there is no denying the fact that on the face of every Kashmiri the feeling is written large that he is economically better off than ever before and that still better days are ahead. This sense of economic and social security is very impressive indeed. In fact the people recognise that it is only as part of India that they could achieve so much progress and stability.

The beauty of Kashmir does not consist merely in the natural scenery one finds everywhere but also in the harmonious relations that exist between the various sections of the people inhabiting the State. One has to strain hard to find any tension of a communal nature anywhere in the State. Religion has not created barriers between one section and another section of the people. It is not a factor at all in politics or in social circles. There is absolutely no consciousnes of that kind. On the contrary, the propaganda launched by Pakistan on a communal basis is bitterly hated.

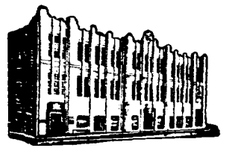
North Vs South in Development Plans

The problem before us today is whether we should develop industries according to the availability of raw-materials and other conveniences, even if it means concentration at one place, or we should distribute them evenly among all the States, even if it means overlooking certain better localities for certain industries.

India is sharply divided into two major regions—the Indo-Aryan North and the Dravidian South, (the latter comprising the Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalee regions). The North is better equipped for industrial development, whereas the South is predominantly agrarian in character. As such, any agrarian development means the development of the South, and any industrial development means the betterment of the North.

The First Five Year Plan was called agrarian; but strangely enough, there was little of the South in it. Instead of agriculturally developing the South by tapping the four great rivers, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Pennar and the Kaveri, the India Government took up four great river valley schemes in areas far more suited for industrial development. They are the Hirakud in Orissa, the Damodar in Bengal, the Kosi in Bihar and the Bakra-Nangal in the Punjab, — all far more suited for industrial development. When the South protested against this injustice the reply was that these projects were given priority as flood-control projects and that the South will have its share in

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the Second Plan.

But when the Second Five Year Plan came, it was labelled 'industrial'! But when the South raised its claims for consideration, up go a number of voices crying hoarse that the industries should be located according to the availability of raw materials and other conveniences. But the same voices were quiet when in the first Plan the agrarian South was neglected. The South appears to have lost its chances in the First Plan under priorities, and in the Second Plan under paucity of raw materials.

What is it that has actually happened? The G.O.I. long ago decided to develop the Orissa-Bengal-Bihar-M.P. region industrially, and also the regions round Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. For this they needed power. It would take the First Plan period to provide these regions with power and the Second Plan to instal the plants. Thus it would take nearly three Five Year Plans to complete this industrialisation of the that region. But would all other States agree to this? No. So the G.O.I. contrived to get along with its first phase under the guise of flood-controls and agriculture-planning. The next phase it is managing under the guise of availability of raw materials and other conveniences. I am certain that the third phase of this industrialisation will be carried on under emergency, urgency and expediency. The only regions that are likely to challenge the exclusive development of the North, viz: Bombay, Calcutta and Madras received partial attention and swallowed their protests. The rest of the country goes unattended to.

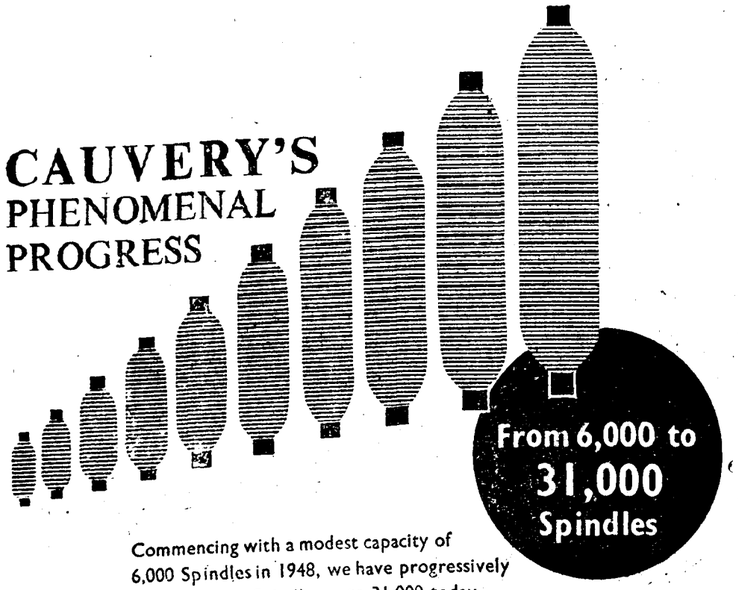
This is the fate of any organisation, composed of diverse elements, wherein certain groups have advantages and opportunities of exploiting others. It gets mismanaged, malhandled, begins to crack and finally collapses. In a democracy what should decide the merit of each region for a particular development is the sovereign government of the region. Till then there can be no parity in regional development.

B. SATYANANDAM.

Headlines

Tuesday August 27: *Tass* announced that U.S.S.R. had successfully tested an inter-continental ballistic missile. Dulles said east-west military balance would not be affected. British sources were reported as stating that the claim should not be taken as gospel.
Wednesday August 28: In New Delhi Nehru said immediate agreement on disarmament was imperative. The British Air Ministry denied that gas or napalm bombs were being used on Oman. It was announced from Damascus that Bulganin and Khrushchev would visit Syria before the end of the year.
Thursday August 29: The Lok Sabha passed the Wealth Tax Bill and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari accused the Communist Party of trying to subvert the national economy and the constitution. The U.S. agreed to send tanks to Jordan, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff urged that the U.S. should become a full member of the Baghdad pact. Moscow denied that B. and K. would go to Syria.
Friday August 30: Malaya becomes independent, and Tengku Abdul Rahman announced there would be freedom of worship, association, movement, and freedom from want. Amendments to the Congress constitution were proposed at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in New Delhi, including a recommendation for a ban on strikes.
Saturday August 31: The Lok Sabha passed a bill taxing railway travel. Moscow announced the appointment of Molotov as ambassador to Mongolia. In Italy a requiem mass was held for Mussolini and his body was given to his widow.
Sunday September 1: Nehru denied there was a crisis in India's economy and deplored loose talk. In British Guiana Dr Cheddi Jagan said the government would develop the Indian pattern of economy. Resolutions to the British Labour Party Conference included a demand from the Amalgamated Engineering Union that Britain should stop all further H-bomb tests.
Monday September 2: The Lok Sabha unanimously approved the government's foreign policy. Mr. Nehru stated that radio-activity caused by atomic tests was below danger level. The World Federation of Scientific Workers appealed to all governments to make available scientific data so that more certain assessment of the danger of tests could be made.

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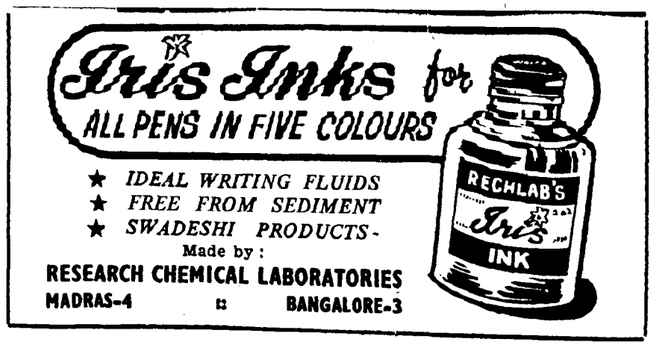
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FREEDOM FOR MALAYA

THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER

On August 31 the Federation of Malaya became a sovereign nation within the Commonwealth.

The new nation brings together the nine Malay States of the Malay Peninsula and the two British Settlements of Penang and Malacca, which have been associated in the Federation since 1948. The Settlements become States in the independent Federation of Malaya (Persekutuan Tanah Malayu).

Malaya lies close to the Equator and, covering some 50,690 square miles, is about the size of England proper, or about twice that of Ceylon. About four-fifths of the area are covered by dense tropical jungle. Concentrated in the fifth of the country which has been cleared are the rubber plantations and smallholdings, the tin mines, padi fields, oilpalm estates, the coconut plantations and other peasant holdings, from which the main wealth of the Federation is derived.

The estimated total population of the country in 1955 was 6,058,317, of whom 2,967,233 were Malays, 2,286,883 were Chinese, 713,810 were Indians and Pakistanis, and 90,391 were people of other races.

With the transfer of sovereign authority on August 31, the new State will have emerged in something less than a century. It will be the 15th of the countries which over the past hundred years or so have achieved sovereign nationhood by the fulfilment of the British policy for dependent territories.

Tunku Abdul Rahman

Tunku Abdul Rahman, who becomes the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya from August 31, has been Chief Minister of the Federation since the summer of 1955, when his party — the alliance between the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) —won a sweeping victory in the general election, and he was invited to form a government.

Before these events the Tunku was already a leading political figure in Malaya. He had been president of UMNO and had steered it into alliance with MCA. The Alliance became an important factor in the political field and was joined, before the 1955 elections, by MIC. It has successfully demonstrated that Malays, Chinese, and Indians can work together for common political aims.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is brother to the Sultan of Kedah. Born at Alor Star, Kedah, on February 8, 1903, he was educated at Malay and English language schools in the Federation (with a spell at school in Bangkok), and at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. While in England he was president of the Malay Society of Great Britain.

On his return he entered the civil service in Kedah ; by the end of the Japanese occupation he had risen to be head of the State Education Department. He then went again to England, read for the Bar, was called from the Inner Temple, and was appointed Deputy Public Prosecutor on his return to Malaya.

In 1951 he resigned from his post and succeeded Dato Sir Onn bin Ja'afar as UMNO president. Tunku Abdul Rahman presided at the general assembly of UMNO at Malacca in April 1953, when the draft election plan was adopted and a unanimous resolution passed calling for speedy federal elections.

The Alliance continued active in all discussions preceding the drawing up of the 1955 constitution, which transferred to the elected representatives of the people most of the responsibility for the government of the Federation. The Tunku led the Alliance delegation at the Malayan Constitutional Conference held in London in January-February 1956, at which agreement was reached on the arrangements necessary to establish "a fully self-governing and independent Federation of Malaya within the Commonwealth on the basis of parliamentary institutions".

Under the London conference arrangements, Tunku Abdul Rahman added to the responsibilities of Chief Minister those of Minister for Internal Defence and Security, Chairman of the new Emergency Operations Council, and Chairman of the Federation Armed Forces Council.

The Tunku is a keen follower of various forms of sport, and is greatly interested in aviation.

Tunku Abdul Rahman is married, has a son and a daughter, and has adopted two Chinese children.

Sidelights

(*Continued from Page 4*)

The Maharaja delivered an address the next day under the auspices of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. In this address he poured out his love of Sanskrit, the language of the gods, which he prized above all things as the sacred repository of the most invaluable of all knowledge, Brahma Vidya. The speeches of the Maharaja have the magnetic quality of compelling the attention of listeners with their earnestness and sincerity. There is not a single word in them wasted uneconomically in the service of conventional platitudes in a casual style. One feels that his moorings are not of this world. They are rivetted in aspirations of eternal significance, while he plays his part in this world of duties like a traveller going through a temporary pilgrimage. There is, therefore, an aura of sainthood about him. To hear him is to be elevated to a higher pedestal of consciousness than the ordinary.

SAKA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OUR MODERN MA BAP GOVERNMENT

Sir—One day I saw a boy, barely ten, crying himself hoarse in front of his house. I asked him why he was crying. This was his sad tale. His mother and father had an exchange of hot words. The mother called the father a he-buffalo in the regional language. The father returned the compliment by calling her an ass. The boy wondered what he was, with such a mixed parentage.

I find certain Government arrangements around my place in a similar bewildering state. I live in the C.I.T. colony near Alwarpet. But my post office for delivery of letters and money orders is Mylapore and not Teynampet which is just 50 yards from my residence.

If my water pipe goes wrong, I must run along to the south end of Marina nearly two miles. The Corporation waterworks assistant engineer or overseer can be contacted only between 8 and 12 a.m., that too personally, as there is no phone connection to his office. If the pipe goes wrong after 12 p.m. I must go without water till the next day. If I sink a well to overcome this trouble I will be prosecuted by the benign authorities for executing 'an unauthorised construction'!

If the underground drainage doesn't function properly my remedy lies at another centre, near the Sanskrit College in Royapetta High Road! Here, too, I can get no help after 12 a.m. and before 8 a.m.

To pay my electricity bill I must go to an office in the Second Street, Gopalapuram — a distance of two miles. This office works only between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. On office days no one can afford to be anywhere else than at his bus stand from 8-30 a.m.! So a special messenger is to be employed to pay the bills. If the Tuesday and Wednesday happen to be holidays, the consumer is done for. He cannot send the money through M.O. as they are not accepted. It is not everyone that has a cheque book.

Who is the father and who the mother of this Ma Bap Government? Who am I?

M.S.

THE AFTERMATH

Sir,—The threat of Postal strike came as a nightmare, and has left behind serious results, which do not seem to be understood by many. It has exorcised something that the employees in general hold dear — the recourse to methods of collective bargaining, including strikes, to get redressal of reasonable grievances. The Essential Services Maintenance Bill has shown that Government can declare any service as essential and thus can accentuate and perpetuate the economic stagnation among certain classes in the lower strata of society. The Law Minister of the Centre has pointed to the non-fundamental nature of the right to strike. The wide connotation given to the term 'essential services' can virtually paralyse all trade union activity guaranteed under the Constitution, especially that of the poor-paid Madras N.G.O's ; for, who can say that the States will miss the deliberate inspiration from the Centre? Some sections of governmental employees — the Revenue department servants of the States, to mention but one — are worth several times what they are paid. But the demands of the Postal workers have obscured the *raison d'etre* of any reasonable attempt at amelioration of the condition of these employees.

K. PASUPATHINATHAN.
Chidambaram.

REPAYMENTS FOR DONATIONS

Sir,—You have done a very great service to the people of Madras State by publishing an English translation of a letter written by Sri M. M. Muthiah Pillai of Ambalacheri and published in *Kalki*.

It is true that administration has come down to such a low level! Democracy in this part of the country is functioning unmindful of the people's interests.

If gratitude is to be expressed for support and help received at the time of elections from the bus owners, let a separate department be opened to give away public money boldly.

T. K. SUNDARAM.

Coimbatore.

STATUS OF B. COM. GRADUATES

Sir,—The Madras University maintains a very high standard in its B.Com. degree exams and the valuation is so strict that not one first class has been awarded for the past many years. And second classes are very very few.

Employers, Government included, seem to think that a 1st class B.Sc. (Chem.) or B.A. (Maths) is preferable to a B.Com. who is specially trained in commercial subjects. If a B. Sc. or B.A. can work as efficiently in banks and commercial concerns as a B.Com., it is unnecessary to institute a special course in commerce and accountancy. Instead of letting loose on the country a number of young men who are not considered fit for a teacher's job even, they can abolish this course.

I know that a B.Com. can continue his studies to become a C.A. or cost accountant. But so can a B.Sc. do research. The problem is: what place should a B.Com., be given in relation to other graduates for the purpose of employment? Hundreds of commerce graduates, who think that they have had some special training in the fields of accountancy and drafting, would be grateful to you if you can take up their cause.

S. RANGANATHA RAO.

Coimbatore.

CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE DAY

Sir,—Apropos of your views on the declining popular enthusiasm towards celebrating Independence Days as years advance, I wish to point out the appalling apathy shown by the various political parties (other than the ruling one, of course). That such National Day celebrations have 'the aspect of a stage-managed affair' and come more or less to be identified with select shade of political opinion, speaks ill of the democratic content of our Constitution and it is up to the intelligentsia to rise above party affiliations and inject patriotic fervour into the body politic, without confusing the issues of the moment with what should be enduring and permanent.

N. S. PADMANABHAN.

Nidamangalam

HEADMASTERS' POSTS

Sir,—It is strange that in many of our local body institutions headmasters' posts are kept vacant for a long period. According to rules this important post should not be kept vacant even for a period of one year. The Department should direct the management to appoint headmasters soon after the panel is formed. It is regrettable to find that some managements deliberately delay appointing headmasters and this causes deterioration and confusion in such institutions. We know pretty well that the proper functioning of a school depends upon the headmaster and as such only *well experienced teachers* should be selected for this post. It is not desirable to appoint teachers with a couple of years of service as headmasters as they are proving miserable failures. It is not enough if a headmaster does the administrative part of his work well. He is essentially a teacher and he is expected to guide his fellow teachers usefully in making the classroom work effective. Many of the present-day headmasters spend time and energy in 'show business'. Only an experienced teacher will realise the importance of classroom work. Therefore it is necessary that teachers with at least seven to ten years of teaching experience are appointed as headmasters.

A PARENT.

Cuddalore.

FUTURE OF DISTRICT BOARD HIGH SCHOOLS

Sir,—Piecemeal prognostications regarding the future of district boards are being announced by Ministers. The public and the persons who will be affected by the future set-up in the administration of education, communications and hospitals are eagerly waiting to know how the functions now discharged by district boards will be looked after and what bodies will discharge them. The economy that will be effected by way of savings by abolition of elections should not be the only criterion for the abolition of district boards. The administration of district boards has been toned up during the past decade and more: and the substitute bodies to be set up should function efficiently.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam recently stated that the Block Development Committees will attend to the administration of the high schools presently run by the district boards. This news is a rude shock. The Block Development Councils are now manned mostly by persons who have not received their full secondary education; and the Block Development Officers find these Committees not very helpful, though they manage to get on with them. The future of secondary education will be jeopardised by entrusting district board high schools to these bodies.

Most of the districts have been sub-divided into two or three subdistricts for the purpose of education; and two or three district educational officers are now being appointed for each revenue district. Statutory bodies may be constituted for each educational area in the revenue district; and functions now administered by district boards in respect of education may be entrusted to them. If the district board employees have any voice in the matter, they will vote unanimously against the administration of secondary schools by Block Development Committees. The Government should announce their policy statement in detail for public criticism.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Coimbatore.

INEFFECTIVE AMENITY

Sir,—A new amenity for railway third class passengers was announced recently. This was the throwing open of the railway retiring rooms for their occupation. It is a wonder how this proclaimed amenity is going to be of any help. The upper class passengers themselves do not get accommodation nowadays. These rooms are allotted to railway officers also, of course *free of rent*. Revenue is lost on one side and on the other side this amenity appears on paper only because these rooms are scarcely available for *bona fide* passengers who are prepared to pay charges and occupy them. Passengers cannot occupy these rooms for more than three days at a time without special permission from the General Manager, but this rule is not applicable to the railway officers. For instance, the retiring rooms at Egmore are completely occupied by these officers for 40 days or so at a stretch, leaving one or two rooms for the public. This is the position now at Egmore for the past two months. These officers who are probationers, or visitors on official duties, or on training should be accommodated somewhere else by the Administration and not at the cost of the passengers.

P.S.

Madras

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Sir—The news that the City Council took a "sympathetic view" and ratified the action of the Commissioner in incurring, without the prior approval of the Council, an expense of Rs. 80,000, in filming the inauguration of the slum improvement scheme, is worth pondering over by the public. Even if sanctioned, it is questionable if such a large amount should be spent for a documentary, which at best can only help to boost the ego of a few officials or politicians and their affected zeal for the welfare of the poor. How much more useful it would have been, if even a part of the expense incurred for this film, were invested in the actual improvement of at least one slum! Does not this incident provide a typical example of how public funds gathered by the infliction of innumerable taxes, are being put to waste by indiscreet officialdom?

S. SRINIVASAN

Madras

A COMMON SCRIPT

Sir,—Years ago (as an adult) I had to learn to read and write Tamil. It is so long ago that I have forgotten any agonies I may have suffered in the process. Later on I had to take up Telugu. I learned to read after a fashion but somehow I never got down to learning writing. I contented myself with using Roman letters. I never found that a "plethora of special signs, symbols and multiplications of letters" was necessary. Long vowels were marked by a dash, and cerebrals were distinguished from dentals by a dot. Consonants of course were doubled when necessary but in any case they are also doubled in the original script. The person who was putting me through my paces in the language came to read my English-Telugu better than myself. Others to whom I had occasion to show it found it a bit strange at first but were able to read it.

On one occasion, when travelling I was reading what I had written. A young man looked over my shoulder and began to read it aloud. Then he said to his companion: *tsudu Telugu Inglishlo vrāsinārū.*

Recently I have been toying with a Hindi Primer. I admit the alphabet would not be terribly difficult; but when I contemplate the numerous combinations of consonants that can arise, I tremble. It is like learning several alphabets for one language. How easy if it were all in Roman characters. Practically the whole of the West, speaking languages that are Saxon, Latin and Slavonic manages with the Roman alphabet. True we have here an acute or grave accent; there a circumflex, may be even as in Russian (I think) an odd extra letter; but there is no "plethora" of additions.

Many languages in various parts of the world which had no script of their own have now adopted the Roman script. During the war troops from all parts of India studied Roman Urdu and learned in a short time what would have taken much longer if they had had to study the alphabet also. I would not like to enter into a discussion about the moral and spiritual aspects of the question, but the Konkani speakers of Mangalore use a foreign alphabet, Canarese. The Konkani speakers of Goa use the Roman alphabet.

(Rev.) F. MAGEE.

Hospet

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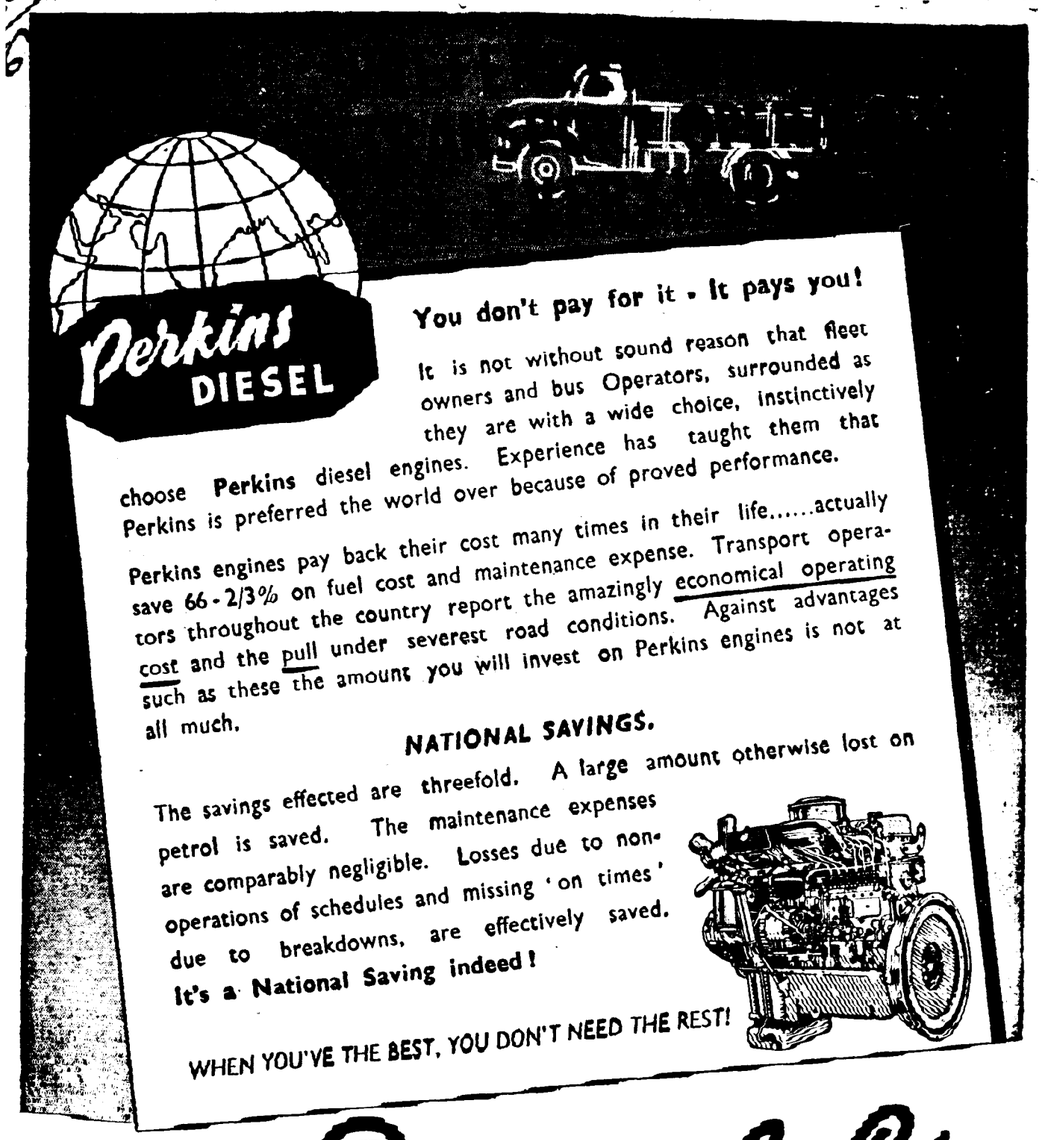
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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Vol. II No. 10 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1957 15 Naye Paise

PROOF OF THE PUDDING

"He is acting like a man who is dynamiting a well for water having undertaken that work not caring what the explosions do to the house where those who wanted the water live". This is how Rajaji describes the Finance Minister in the article under that heading contributed to this issue of SWARAJYA. And yet we find the Prime Minister paying public tribute to the courage, ability, intelligence and industry of his financial steward. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating thereof. Though the Prime Minister deprecates talk of crisis, observers less interested in the propagation of confidence as an aid to political stability, have begun to look to aid from outside the country as the sole resource now left to rescue Indian economy from impending disintegration. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, for example, has this to say of the present situation in this country:

> If India finds no foreign aid in her Christmas stocking, if the arms race with Pakistan finally ruins the second five year plan — India has just placed an order for nearly £30 millions worth of Hunter jet aircraft — if there is no sterling backing left for the rupee, things will go very badly.
>
> It will be too late if America realises at Christmas that India needs and deserves to be helped. It would then not be possible for Uncle Sam to play Santa Claus before the next Hallowsen because of the wheels within wheels of the American way of politics. By then India might well have had its crash, its crisis, its inflation, and its collapse.
>
> The aid, to be helpful, must come before there is internal panic: that means if not for Christmas at the latest for the New Year.

While the entire blame for the desperate dangerousness of the present situation (which the Prime Minister has either failed to comprehend or chooses not to acknowledge) cannot be laid on his Finance Minister, it is clear that both of them together, seeing the reflection of wisdom mirrored n each other's folly, have already brought about a cleavage between public opinion and the official leadership, which has knocked the bottom out of any remedial steps that can be thought of to check the developing deterioration. This clash of interests has been aggravated by Parliament's failure to do its duty. Many parliamentarians who seemed to be at first uncompromising in their opposition to the taxation proposals suddenly yielded when offered a few concessions (including one not to tax election expenditure), turned turtle, and lent the proposals their support. Rajaji says of these concessions that they are "silencers to get the parliamentarians to keep quiet". He asks: "Is it that we could get any bill through, provided we give the required concessions to ease the parliamentarians' lives? What about the lives of those who are not in Parliament and whom these parliamentarians represent?"

However much the truth about things is obscured by propaganda, no honest observer can be unaware of the central reality of the politics of the country at present: People are fed up with the heavy taxation. They are in no mood to accept on trust any longer the egalitarianism and the Socialism of the official publicity campaigns and see in them only a cover for further entrenchment of privilege, extravagance, waste, corruption and indulgence in military expenditure. The very basis of economic development — an atmosphere of sympathetic psychological response on the part of the people towards the leaders in power — has thus been destroyed. It is no use repeating the old nostrums and ineffective formulae, even if their reiteration should come from so popular a personage as the Prime Minister.

Referring to the destructive effects of the armament race with America-aided Pakistan which we are now running, Rajaji asks: "How much cheaper it would have been for someone to go and set matters right with America on this mistake of hers, instead of introducing taxes which the world had hitherto never even tried and for which misinterpreted authority is found in our Artha Shastra describing times when taxation was at its lowest in India?" *Someone* should be set to this task but anyone will not do. The British selected their most astute intellectual Sir Stafford Cripps when a psychological disequilibrium with Russia threatening

their national safety had to be set right. The feat which Cripps performed in Moscow, which laid the foundation for Britain's eventual victory in the second world war, could not have been done by any of the orthodox diplomats in the limelight of English politics at the time. The only Indian leader comparable to Cripps in intellectual clarity, dialectical resourcefulness, political probity and elevated moral purpose is Rajaji. He is the only one that can set right the tangle of Indo-American confusions and misunderstandings prevailing at the moment. To fail to utilise his services for the national good in the present emergency will be a lapse from patriotic duty which the Prime Minister, we hope, would not care to have on his conscience.

Powers of Courts

Sri A. S. Kuppuswami has not in his letter published elsewhere correctly assessed the full significance of our comment on the invasion of the power of the courts by the executive. There can be no objection to Parliament rectifying at any time an error in the drafting of any law if it did not correctly define its intention. The objectionable thing is the flourish of this right which a Cabinet Minister of the Centre made in the style of a threat to bring the Supreme Court to order. But the basic idea underlying the comment was not the right of the legislature to amend laws, but the practice of the executive of substituting administrative procedures for judicial processes. Recent amendments of the Constitution have had less to do with the correction of defective phrasing than curtailment of powers of judges that had proved inconvenient to the Government in their actual exercise. The alarming significance of this fact was emphasised this very week by so distinguished an authority as Sir S. Varadachari, and his vigorous condemnation applies with no less force to the administrative tribunals with which the Finance Ministry has threatened the public, invoking an alleged French model. The truth about the entire obnoxious system of administrative tribunals as revealed from American experience is summarised thus by Professor Sylvester Petro of New York University in his just published book *The Labor Policy of the Free Society*: "Administrative tribunals have only added substantially to the law's delays, and instead of liberal *expertise* they have given us a wooden, petitifogging kind of mechanical jurisprudence. Never, in any administrative agency, has there emerged a figure fit to carry the boots of any of the numerous great chancellors and judges. More often than not the personnel of the quasi-judicial administrative tribunals, with their short, political tenure of office, have acted the narrow, doctrinaire bureaucrat, which, after all is said and done, they really are." Safety for citizens lies in preservation of the power of the courts.

THE FINANCE MINISTER

'It is some evil genius that has brought division of labour in everything and to such extent as to strip each process of creativeness, leaving it incapable of inspiration or interest'. So said Maxim Gorky in his autobiography. As with productive crafts so with governments also. In the Government of India we find the Finance Minister is employed and interested only in raising money. He does not care what total spiritual damage his taxes are causing, what subversive shake his schemes of raising money are giving to the structure of patriotism. He is acting like a man who is dynamiting a well for water having undertaken that work, not caring what the explosions do to the house where those who wanted the water live. The labour of government is fatally divided. "You have planned and want money. So I tax." "But the tax is too much. It kills the goose that lays the taxes." "I do not care, my part of the work is all my concern" says the Finance Minister.

Buying books will not be taxed. Election expenditure will not be taxed. These are silencers to get the parliamentarians to keep quiet. Is it that we could get any bill through, provided we give the required concessions to ease the parliamentarians' lives? What about the lives of those who are not in Parliament and whom the parliamentarians represent?

Is this tax a sumptuary law to penalise waste and frivolity? Then we could all cooperate to shape it to that end. But it is not a sumptuary law. It is to raise funds for the additional military expenditure which is robbing the Plan of the money it needs. And what is that addition to the defence budget for? It is for running an armament race with America-aided Pakistan. How much cheaper it would have been for some one to go and set matters right with America on this mistake of hers, instead of introducing taxes which the world had hitherto never even tried and for which misinterpreted authority is found in our Artha Shastra, describing times when taxation was at its lowest in India. Surely one need not despair of convincing the good people of the United States that Pakistan is not going to be attacked by Russia, that Pakistan itself does not apprehend it and that what the arms aid to Pakistan has done is only to set up a minor armament race between Pakistan and India which is likely to hamper the real progress of both Pakistan and India and make them both more vulnerable to any subversion that may come from Communist intrigue.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.



Sotto Voce

Our Kautilya

In my salad days as a Secretariat scribe a newly promoted Finance Member thought to make history by crowning his first budget oration with a quotation from Kautilya. He was a North Briton, choleric and colossal; it was part of the folk-lore of the office that he began the day's conference with his principal Assistant Secretary by heaving a despatch box at him. After much ransacking in the library the harassed Superintendents unearthed this precious nugget from the *Arthasastra*: "All undertakings depend upon finance". The storm blew over, the great man beamed, and his *ad hoc* erudition hit the headlines.

* * * *

Forty years later, we find our Union Finance Minister, who as a rule scorns to borrow crutches, stooping to quote Kautilya in support of his Expenditure Tax. But India's sovereign Parliament scarcely noticed it. That may have been a tacit tribute to his acknowledged omniscience. But I am anxious that T. T. K's originality even in the pedestrian task of hunting for precedents should not be overlooked. For whereas my old Civilian of dyarchic Madras was content with a maxim which was a truism, T. T. K. has given poor Kautilya a face-lift which might have prevented his own mother recognising him.

* * * *

The Finance Minister declared that "neither an expenditure tax nor tax-collectors checking the expenditure of families was as novel an idea as it seems". It is a strange conclusion to jump to from Kautilya's injunction that a revenue collector "shall also keep an account of the number of young and old men that reside in each house, their history, occupation, income and expenditure". Apparently Kautilya favoured a standing census. On the basis of his extraordinary exegesis T.T.K. will perhaps be justifying a poll tax as an ancient and respectable institution. All countries have at some time or other taken a census; why should heads have been counted (he could no less conclusively argue) unless it was to levy a poll tax?

* * * *

But he does'nt stop there; he improves on Kautilya. He says that among the duties of the Collector-General was that of ascertaining "the total number of men and beasts as well as the amount of income and expenditure of each family". This might suggest to the unwary that Kautilya, anticipating Kaldor, proposed to enmesh the unfortunate tax-payer in a tangle of incriminating tax returns. Actually what Chandragupta's Finance Minister wanted was to institute an independent check to "ascertain the validity of the accounts of the village and district officers"; and being a child of his age he was not squeamish about employing spies for the purpose. Among the sixty-seven kinds of taxes listed in the *Artha-Sastra* there is nothing remotely resembling an expenditure tax. And, blessed relief, there were no forms to be filled.

* * * *

We are too civilized these days to employ spies to peach on peculating officials. But Central Revenues will pay for information that will help catch tax defrauders whom T.T.K. finds lurking in every bush. When Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava protested against the injustice to Hindu joint families involved in the Wealth Tax he retorted, "To me revenue considerations are paramount. To my friend equity considerations are paramount". I must say that his philosophy has led to some odd results.

* * * *

Race-horses are exempted though urban houses are not; our modern Kautilya's thesis that microscopic minorities can have no rights apparently does not apply to race-horse owners. Pilgrimages to Mecca and Lourdes are to be given special concessions, but not pilgrimages to Kashi and Kedarnath. And foreign wealth is accorded the famous 'croton' treatment. No penalties in Kautilya are severer than those he reserved for officials with greasy palms; though, having listed forty possible ways of embezzlement, he declares in despair that you might as well hope to catch fish in the act of drinking water as government officials in the act of extracting illegal gratification. In modern India the bureaucracy multiplies as fish do. But the remedy for corruption is believed to be more salaries and more allowances for tax-gatherers and more powers of harassment — and consequently, more corruption!

* * * *

Kautilya is no Machiavelli. Our Socialistic Sarkar could learn a lot from him about just and humane government were they humble enough. "Whoever doubles the revenue eats into the vitality of the country". That might be a suitable epitaph on the Second Plan. However desperate the king's need he shall not (says Kautilya) make special levies on "those who have not enough subsistence". Let him beware, too, of officers who help their favourites to help themselves, who are sadistically cruel or who surround themselves with sycophants. Above all, warns the sage, quoting Bahudanti, a woman of wisdom, let him appoint as Ministers, not conceited popinjays nor "men possessed only of theoretical knowledge", but those that are schooled in self-control, "possessed of wisdom, purity of purpose, bravery and loyal feelings, in as much as Ministerial appointments shall purely depend on qualifications". But our Socialistic-patterners know better: they long ago decided that all this talk of qualifications for a Minister's job was the rankest superstition.

VIGHNESWARA

The best drug for the relief of pain is alcohol—not anything pharmaceutical, but whisky! —*Charles Rob.*

SIDELIGHTS : :

The Southern Languages Book Trust has been advertising in the local newspapers inviting publishers desiring to participate in its second year's book programme to write for particulars to the General Manager. The first year's book programme of the Trust has taken 24 months and resulted nearly in the publication of half that number of books. With the exception of Rajaji's *Karpanaikadu* and one or two other books, the first year's publications of the Trust have turned out to be flops, stirring no reader interest. Nor have they succeeded in making any passable approach to the Trust's declared bbjective of developing the book-buying habit in South India by placing on the market cheap books accessible to all pockets. With *Vyasar Virundu* (priced one rupee) Sri Ramnath Goenka has beaten the Trust in the matter of serving the reader with worthwhile, yet inexpensive publications. Sri Goenka has the advantage of having enormous printing and organisational resources; and to some extent, his phenomenal publishing feat may be attributed to these. Not so Sri Vai Govindan. He is scarcely to be mentioned in the same breath as the Trust for cash facilities or man-power potency. Unaided and alone he performed in one language what the Trust set out to do in four, and he did it as expeditiously and in as sensationally successful a manner as the Trust's own record has been dismal, halting and unimpressive.

When so much is being done unofficially and on their own in fulfilment of the very objectives of the Trust by individuals of extremely limited means, what is the cause of the Trust itself doing so little, notwithtanding the lavishness of the endowment that created it? Looking back it is clear that its paucity of achievement that has become so depressingly striking is traceable not to adversity of circumstances but to the defective character of the governing human element. The Ford Foundation placed abou' a million dollars at the disposal of the vice-chancellors of South Indian universities for unfettered employment to promote the purposes of the Book Trust. They should have ransacked the country and utilised every means available to discover the most suitable executive director for capable handling of so large a fund with the greatest efficiency and least amount of wastage, skilfully, purposefully and intelligently. They should have left him free to organise his office in accordance with the aims of the Trust with the proper adjustment of talent to programme. Instead, they converted their high responsibility into a hole-and-corner affair, making *ad hoc* appointments to benefit nominees of their own; and as a final act, they turned the whole set-up to the care of an executive head of no particular experience and no proved competence or even imaginable congeniality for the purposes on hand. No wonder the affairs of the Trust have lacked planned direction: and the staff have been compelled to go about frantically pretending to be very busy to cover their lack of fruitful activity. If the publications of the Trust could be related to its over-all expenditure, the cost of each one of them will perhaps turn out to be a lakh of rupees on an average.

A fair amount of care is exercised by people when they spend money of their own. The comparative efficiency of the personnel employed in business houses is due to the sense of responsibility of their chiefs who have to justify themselves by results. Gifts do not produce results when they are not administered by conscientious receivers. I do not think any of the vice-chancellors, if they had been spending their own money, would have let it be utilised in the manner in which the Trust funds have been and are being administered. They would have exacted adequate return in service for every rupee spent, instead of treating the endowment itself as so much largesse to be patronisingly distributed among favoured beneficiaries. The gap between cautious care of one's own and reckless squandering of public assets not under any personal ownership contains a whole world of distorted values that reflect all the evils comprised in every form of failure of public duty.

Americans are large spenders. They are also tenacious acquisitors. But the colossal acquisitions of property permitted under the American free enterprise system constitute a vast reservoir of benefaction from which schools, social services, research institutions and humanitarian enterprises draw their sustenance. Millionaires like Ford and Rockeller have outlived the limitations of patriotic and merely national philanthropy. Their munificent endowments and the aspirations animating them are now of universal scope and embrace the good of all mankind. The administration of such endowments when the donors dwell thousands of miles away from the people they seek to benefit calls for a special degree of responsive responsibility, scrupulousness and honesty of purpose on the part of those invested with it. National honour is involved in this matter. It is much better that this country does not receive any aid at all from foreign well-wishers for the promotion of desirable social and educational programmes, than that it should be disposed of in an unbecoming manner rendering any institution nursed by it a by-word for wasteful extravagance and pathetic ineffectiveness.

SAKA

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PACKAGE PLAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The West's package plan has ended the Disarmament talks. This closes another chapter of hope.

"We must poison the whole world because U.S.S.R. has so much superior man-power". If America said it this way, it would look wholly absurd and wicked. But this is the full and true meaning of the package offer.

The unanimous voice of Science and the protests of scared mankind will be listened to only if Russia agrees to all and every one of those things that will completely remove fear of Russia in the Western mind; otherwise they must spread poison for present and future generations, and in every part of the globe. This is the package offer. Surely there are men and women in the United States who can see the unreasonableness of this attitude. And if there are, they should speak out and not let America be judged by the world by what her present Government is doing.

It seems as if great Britain has lost her soul along with her Empire. Why should she allow herself to be dragged into incalculable danger by America's scare of Russia? She has a history of unbroken courage. She has lived for centuries within a couple of hours' reach of her enemies without losing her head. This courage of Britain has gone into poetry. Why should she agree to a U.S. and U.S.S.R. race in producing an illegal intercontinental ballistic armament which when ready means total destruction at any moment for her? There can be, it is obvious, nothing more deadly and dangerous for the countries of Europe including Britain than this contemplated intercontinental transport of timed 'A' and 'H' bombs across the Atlantic, be it from West or East. And if a ban on all nuclear weapons is offered, would it not be wise for her to accept it for whatever it is worth?

It appears as if in the middle of the twentieth century, Reason stands dethroned. Can it be that the world must wait for a great catastrophe somewhere to resume common sense thinking? Can it be it is God's intent that a trans-Atlantic automatic H. Bomb must miss its way and end its journey at some wrong place and then Reason do wake up? Looks like it.

The Powers are gambling with Life and Civilization. The story of Yudhishtira staking his wife and brothers in the Mahabharata gamble pales into flatness before this great and foul enterprise that has been conceived and is threatening to take shape. It was a moot-point whether the foolish prince of Hasthinapura had the right to stake his wife and his brothers. It was violently challenged by Draupadi. But the nations that are not in the Cold War have not the courage of that princess to talk straight to the U.S. to accept the Sovict offer and not to tie up the nuclear ban with other disarmament issues.

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

In view of the tough fight on the Language Issue that is now likely from the non-Hindi M. Ps. of the Joint Committee of Parliament of Official Languages, the following article by Rajaji, originally contributed to "Indian Finance," is here reproduced for its topical interest.

The language issue may be divided into two questions. (1) What is the best medium for instruction in schools and colleges? (2) What should be the language in which official business should be done in the States, in the Central Government, in inter-State matters and between the States and the Central Government?

Medium of Instruction

As to the medium of instruction, it is my longstanding conviction and I hold to it still that the mother-tongue should be the medium of explanation and instruction in all stages of education, that is in the primary and high school stages and in the university courses also. No one questions the appropriateness of the mother-tongue in the primary and secondary stages but it is thought by some that in the advanced courses dealt with in university education, English might be better suited. The argument advanced is that terms of art, scientific and technical terminology, cannot be invented all at once to cover the wide and increasing field of modern knowledge. I concede the difficulty. I go very far in this: I maintain that there should be no ban on the free and liberal use of 'English' terms even while the process of inventing and familiarising ourselves with new scientific and technical terms in Indian languages is going on, be it in Hindi or be it in any of the other tongues of India. In class-room lectures we may be using the foreign terminology while in popular oral or written expositions, we might use in an increasing degree suitable new Indian terms. What I stress is that the use of foreign technical terms does not and should not imply that for that reason the entire lecture or instruction should be in English. A chemistry or botany class may be conducted in Hindi, or Tamil or Marathi, although all the special and technical terms used are of Latin or Greek or English origin. This is not only possible, but is the most efficient way of imparting instruction if our aim is really to impart instruction in the subject of chemistry or botany and not to use the occasion only as an indirect means of improving our knowledge of English.

This is true for university education as much as in the earlier stages. Every one interested in the true progress of our people wants that attention to English language and literature should

not slacken in our educational schemes just because we have attained freedom from British rule. Freedom from British rule should not mean escape from English literature. It is absolutely important that we should maintain the study of English and conserve what we have achieved in that respect. English is an international medium of great value and as far as we are concerned it is the language of modern science. The knowledge of English possessed by the educated people of India is a great national asset and should not be thrown away. But the importance that we should attach to the study of English as a language subject should not be allowed in our educational schemes to eclipse the importance of other branches of knowledge. If English is adopted as the medium of instruction in all subjects, the language becomes almost the main aim of all effort and the instruction in the science or other substantial subjects dealt with will suffer in efficiency. We are likely to learn English through science rather than science through English. In order to maintain a proper standard of English knowledge it is not necessary to sacrifice the ease and clarity of understanding that we gain if we adopt the mother-tongue as medium in the teaching of science and other such subjects. We should teach and we should learn sciences and other subjects. We should also maintain a good knowledge of English. The two aims are different and should be kept apart.

We should avoid a confusion that persistently clouds this issue of medium of instruction. That English technical and scientific terminology should be used in teaching science or other such subjects does not mean that the entire explanation and instruction should also be couched in English and that the students should get all their knowledge only through the difficult channel of a foreign tongue. Latin terms are used in botany and other science lectures in England and Scotland and America, but the lectures themselves are in English or Latin names and phrases we may use, we should explain things for the students in their mother-tongue and this can be done without any detriment to precision or fulness of understanding. It is not to be assumed that the use of Hindi or Marathi or Bengali or Tamil to teach a science involves the laborious translation of all the special terms of that science. The scientific terms that prevail in the English speaking world and with which the Indian teacher is so familiar may be continued just as they stand, even if the professor explains the subject in an Indian language. Neither teacher nor student need struggle with correct English idiom and English grammatical construction in order to advance scientific knowledge.

Nor is it to be assumed that if subjects are taught through the mother-tongue the students should slacken their attention to English literature. The best standards can and should be maintained both in the substantial science subjects and in the study of English literature. A lot of vague talk on either side has been heard and vehemence has taken the place of clarity in discussing this issue. Even Greek and Latin and Sanskrit as languages are taught in the English universities through English. Surely science and technology may be taught also in our own languages although we use English technical terms.

The Study of English

So far, English was being learnt by us not only when English as such was being taught, but also when other subjects were being dealt with. If the medium of instruction in all subjects is changed from English to the regional tongue, there is no doubt that from the point of view of instruction and practice in the use of the English language, we shall lose a great deal. But though one of our aims is to learn English, it should not be done at the cost of other equally important subjects of study. The loss has therefore to be made up for by extra attention bestowed on exercises in English composition spoken and written and on the study of English literature.

Official Language

Passing on to the question of the official language, the biggest language group of the people of India is the Hindi speaking population. This may be admitted straightaway. **If India is to be** one people, in politics, in commerce and in arts, Hindi is the one language that must claim attention from all the people of India besides their own regional language in whatever part of the country they may be living in. Trade cannot for long remain confined within the borders of one language area. So is it impossible to confine the literary and cultural or political activities of the people within the boundaries of a linguistic area. If an Indian citizen desires to be cultured and educated in a true sense, he must be able to express himself and feel at home wherever he may be in India. A man whose ambition is to be a cultured Indian cannot enclose himself in his monolinguistic shell. It follows that a sound knowledge of Hindi must be one of the aims of all education in all parts of India. Hindi is bound to be the national language of India. The progress of communications and commerce is certain to bring this about.

But the process can and should be accelerated by deliberate plans of education, that is, by teaching Hindi to all boys and girls in all the schools in the south. The question of what the official language of India should now be is a different question and must be answered on the basis of facts, expediency, justice and fairplay, and not solved by a process of wishful thinking in anticipation of what education can possibly achieve in the next hundred years.

In the States

The language spoken in a State should be the language of official work in that State. If it is a bilingual State, both the languages should there be recognised as official languages. It should not be, it can never be, a matter of rule by majority. Official documents should be multiglot, irrespective of the relative sizes of the two or three language groups in the bilingual or trilingual State.

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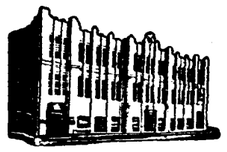
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SECRETARY.

We have on this question instructive precedents in Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, South Africa and Canada, which it would be wise for us to follow.

In the Centre

As for the Central Government and for inter-State communication in India, my view is that English should be the official language. Official reports and documents have to be in a language which happens to be in fact the most convenient medium for such inter-State use. There can be no doubt that as a result of historical causes, English is the best medium for such purposes. The persons now dealing with inter-State and Central Government papers in all the States are able to handle the English language with ease and precision, more easily and with greater precision than even their own mother-tongue as far as high level official work goes. The history of two hundred years which has produced this result cannot be wiped out by wishful thinking. It has nothing to do with the status of freedom.

A National Asset

It is not wise to throw away an asset that we have acquired on grounds of pride or prejudice. In all parts of India the people who are qualified for the public services at all significant levels have a very fair knowledge of English. In many parts of India they have not a knowledge of Hindi at all or anything like what they have of English. It would be unreasonable and amount to waste of a national asset to discard English for these purposes, on the ground that Free India must change over from English to some one of the Indian languages.

Where an official document has to be issued to the public, it will of course have to be issued in the language of the people of that area, but so far as the departments are concerned, it would be absurd in the extreme to decree that inter-State or Central Government correspondence should originate and issue in Hindi in areas where Hindi is not understood or spoken. It would create confusion and be a source of annoyance and grave error. To turn out every official who has no adequate command of Hindi and employ only Hindi knowing persons in the public services would be unfair and unjust even if it were conceivable.

When we impose a language as the official language we have to consider many issues of justice and fairplay and expediency. We cannot shut our eyes to these considerations and go by mere majority arithmetic when we directly or indirectly exercise statutory compulsion. If the people not speaking Hindi had been scattered all over, being a small minority everywhere, the position would have been different. But the fact is that in large and compact areas Hindi is not spoken, and the millions of men and women living in those areas speak other languages. The principle of overall majority would be misleading and cannot be applicable under such circumstances in the matter of language.

Equality of treatment and non-discrimination must find implicit acceptance as a sacred principle in democracy. In Switzerland under Article 116 of that country's Constitution, three languages, German, French and Italian are constituted the Federal Official Languages. By Article 127 of the South African Constitution, English and Afrikaans are the official languages of the Union, and are treated on a footing of equality. Proceedings of the South African Parliament are kept in both languages and all bills, acts and notices of general public importance or interest are issued by the Government of the Union in both languages. In Finland, Swedish is spoken by only 9 per cent of the population but Finnish and Swedish are both the official languages of Finland. In Canada too both English and French stand on an equal footing. So also in Belgium, Flemish and French are both given equal place.

In applying this principle of justice and fairplay in India, we meet with the difficulty of having to accommodate more than ten main languages prevailing in various areas in the country. We cannot say, all or none. We must find a way out of the difficulty which will come as near to justice and fairplay as possible. There can be no better solution than having Hindi and English, together to function as the official languages of the Union. The history of the last two hundred years will justify this solution as based on fairplay and conducing to equal convenience for all. The wishes of the non-Hindi areas should prevail in this matter.

In any case, even if the decision be that Hindi should ultimately be imposed on all India as the medium for Union official work and inter-State affairs, logic requires that compulsory instruction in schools must precede such a bold step and it must be effectively carried out for two generations or more before we can think of such imposition. And we must be prepared to face the feelings and sentiments that any imposition of that kind must generate in the minds of the large masses of people to whom Hindi is a new language. Hesitation on the question of compulsory Hindi in schools in all areas is inconsistent with a policy of making Hindi the offical language of the Union. The imposition of Hindi as the official language in place of English will be followed by greater bitterness of feeling than what is apprehended as a result of the introduction of compulsory Hindi in schools.

An argument is often advanced which on the face of it would seem to be conclusive—that the official language of a country should be one that the vast majority of the people can understand, and that only in that way can the purpose of democracy be fulfilled. English is understood by only a very small percentage of the people of India whereas Hindi is understood by over 60 per cent of the total population; so Hindi must be the language of all official work in the Republic : this is the argument of those who do not realise the feelings and do not place themselves in the position of the millions who do not speak Hindi and who live in the large non-Hindi provinces of India. If, as we take for granted, the official work of all the States composing the Union Republic is conducted in the regional languages, there will be a complete identification between the language of official work and the language of the people in every State. We should be content with this. The Central Government serves all the people of India and all the States. If it should conduct its work in Hindi—and not in English-and-Hindi as proposed herein—the people of the non-Hindi areas will not find any fulfilment of the democratic ideal on the basis of which the argument for Hindi is advanced. Where vast populations in many States do not speak Hindi or any language related to that stock, it will be seen that the argument of identity of language between government and people breaks down completely.

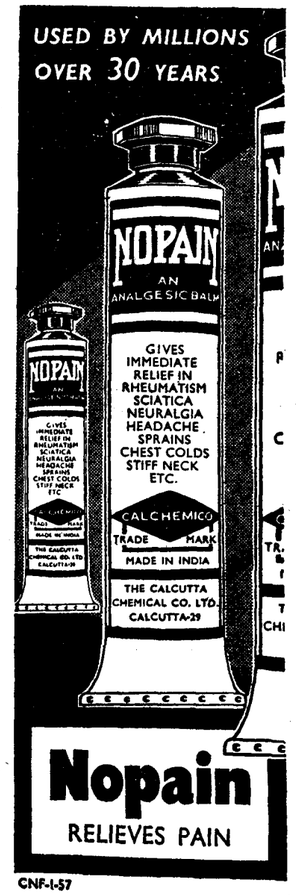
Undemocratic and Oppressive

A law relating to language which by its effect relegates to a secondary and unequal status whole populations of many States would be a gross infraction of the fundamental law of democracy. A language may belong to one of the constituents of the population of India and it may be a majority group. But it would be undemocratic to raise it to an official position by which the other language groups would be consigned to an inferior position in actual practice. Any law or rule that tends to bring a great and continuing advantage to the people speaking a particular language and a great handicap and disadvantage to other populations who have equal membership in the Union, is not a just law. What is not just must be scrupulously avoided. The will of the majority must prevail in democracy, but it would be a misinterpretation of democracy and amount to oppression, if democracy is interpreted to mean the *conferring of advantages* on the majority. The strength and vitality of a State would be weakened by such oppressive laws. The will of the majority should be exercised *for the equal benefit* as far as possible of all the people including the minorities.

Did you not learn English? You can therefore learn Hindi! Little do the people who utter this argument realise what it means. Do they desire the Hindi-speaking people to be looked upon as how the English people were looked upon? As alien oppressors? God forbid. Let us spread by word and action an atmosphere of love and not a feeling that in democracy too there is tyranny inherent. Group tyranny is much more painful than individual violence.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

(Courtesy : "Indian Finance," Calcutta.)



South India Office :
5/149, BROADWAY, MADRAS-1

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE INDIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

By S. R. MOHAN DAS

The extent to which any nation may be called a democracy is determined not by the Constitution or the forms of its political system but by the nature and content of the various institutions in its society. That is why a safe yardstick to judge the progressive and democratic character of any country has been the nature of its trade union movement. The first target for attack in all processes of conformism, collectivism and totalitarian dictatorship is the trade union movement.

As far as the trade union movement in India is concerned, the deprecation in all quarters of non-worker leadership and control of unions has, after ten years of Indian independence, brought about no efforts by any one to even symbolically remedy the situation.

The deploring, by every union leader, of political control of all Indian unions, does not result in even token attempts to rid unions of political control.

The basic causes, however, are more unpleasant to face, as facing them calls for liberation from cliches, desire for popularity, leadership vested interests, and above all, fear of isolation by being labelled "anti-national", "pro-capitalist", etc.

Fact No. 1 to be squarely faced in regard to value-concepts in "underdeveloped" countries is: Professions of democracy in relation to trade unions are formal, even with all the best intentions in the world.

This is not so sweeping as it sounds. The motivations and leadership for trade unions have so far come only from non-worker outsiders, whose orientation is Nationalist, Socialist or Communist. The sensitive Asian strongly resenting the *emancipation* missions of missionaries, does not feel so bad when he himself does the emancipating of workers.

Fact No. 2 is the existence of feudal traditions in the underdeveloped countries. The "emancipation of the underdogs" approach is compensation for a feeling of social guilt. But there is nothing democratic about it. On the contrary, the self-appointed emancipator is hurt when there is no response to it from those he strives to emancipate. He is further hurt when rivals in the business of emancipation also set up their shops!

Reflecting this collectivist and emancipatory orientation on the trade union movement, the Labour Minister of Mysore State told an eminent visiting American labour leader in April 1956: "In a Welfare State like India, there is no need for trade unions because the State does more for workers than their own trade unions. Trade unions could be useful for activities connected with education, culture and sports."

The Congress President, Sri U. N. Dhebar, addressing a meeting of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, said: "It was time trade unions thought of national interests before resorting to strikes to win their demands. Even in Communist countries, trade unions considered the effects of their action on national production and they were justified in that view."

"Collective bargaining is not suited to our Socialistic pattern of society. It may be valid for a capitalist economy like the U.S.A. and U.K." said the then Planning and now both Planning and Labour Minister to the Government of India, addressing the annual convention of the I.N.T.U.C. in May 1956.

Recently the State Government of Uttar Pradesh announced that financial aid would be given to registered trade unions. Announcing this lofty purpose as directed towards "encouraging the growth of trade unions" the Labour Minister deplored the weakness of trade unions and announced this scheme to strengthen them. Needless to say, the legislature consisting of Socialist and Communist opposition hailed the measure in the true spirit of Socialism!

Analysing the role and future of the trade union movement in a serious paper recently, at an International Seminar in Tokyo, an eminent Indian Socialist devoted his entire attention to the contributions that trade unions could make to the economy of the nation. The entire paper did not contain one word on the role of trade unions in furthering the value-concepts of democracy. The entire orientation was obsessed with "wealth" underdevelopment only.

The Nationalist, Socialist and Communist orientations on the role of trade unions have all one approach in common. They are all collectivist, economic and utilitarian. They are concerned with the requirements of the abstract and the theoretical.

Whatever might be the other differences between these three orientations, the basic approach being collectivistic, the sole winners among these three in manipulating and controlling the trade union movement ultimately are the most purposive and most experienced collectivists of them all, the Communists. The "Social Democrats" and "National Democrats" are mere babes in the wood before the "People's Democrats"! The Communists have perfected their collectivistic philosophy with pragmatic, stage by stage methodology and technique, whereas the others with a comparatively greater desire for at least formal democracy get into unresolvable dilemmas between Socialism and Democracy or Nationalism and Democracy. Solution of this dilemma is usually and conveniently found in giving up inconvenient democratic content and emulating those expert "quick-returns" Communist collectivists.

In India there is very little knowledge and even less desire for knowledge about the structure and organisation of the trade union movement. Terms like vertical unions, horizontal unions, craft unions, industrial unions, federal unions, local unions etc., are not even comprehended. But types of unions such as "patriotic" unions, "national" unions, "socialist" unions, "leftist" unions, "militant" unions and "non-violent" unions and finally "desirable" and "undesirable" unions, depending on the point of view, are popular terms.

The origins of Indian trade union motivations are found exclusively in the following:

1. The Marxist-Leninist concepts
2. The Nationalist movement for freedom from foreign rule
3. The well-meaning emancipators.

The Indian trade union movement has yet to break away from these traditional, non-industrial moorings, if it has to play an influential role in the growth of Indian democracy, under a programme of large-scale industrialisation.

The Second Five Year Plan (which is the product of the urgencies of economic underdevelopment consciousness) with the major role the State has reserved for itself for large investments and industrialisation, will have a definite impact on the future of the Indian trade union movement.

With the greatest good intentions in the world, the State aims to "fight the battle for democracy in the rice fields of India and not the battlefields with arms," but this fight, as past efforts have shown, seems to be a losing battle even for rice, let alone democracy. Because the State becoming, as has already happened, the biggest employer of industrial labour, has to shape all industrial organisations to serve its interests. Industrial compulsions alone need not be the criteria for industrial policies, nor for union organisational structure, in the governmental scheme of things. For instance, in certain cases, the State has stipulated the structure of trade union federations in State-owned industries.

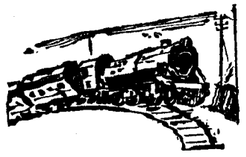
The ruling Nationalists in India, subscribing as they do to democratic forms of government and claiming to draw inspiration from the highly individualistic philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, have either found Gandhian concepts impractical of implementation in a visualised, industrially and technologically humming India of their Plans, or rationalise their ditching of inconvenient individualistic orientation for the collective by the economic "underdevelopment" alibis.

The Nationalist leaders of the Indian trade union movement have during the course of ten years of freedom, considerably shifted even their formal trade union orientation. Until the ruling party solemnly decided its aims as a "Socialist pattern of society" at a convention duly blessed and graced by Marshal Tito's presence, the "Nationalist" I.N.T.U.C. exhorted its units to strive for "collective bargaining". Since the ushering in of the "Socialist pattern", however, collective bargaining is no longer valid for a Socialistic pattern of society and would amount to a vulgar imitation of the "capitalist traditions of the West."

Under the Welfare State and Socialism, the ruling party and its trade union wing stand for trade unions acting as the transmission belts for the Second Five Year

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Plan of the State.

"If I had my say, I would advise a moratorium on all strikes and lockouts for the next five years of the Plan period" frankly announced a Central Cabinet Minister in Parliament.

Thus the trade union movement in India reflects the dilemma of conflicting orientations and urges found in the ruling elite. It is stifled in the midst of rival emancipators who have seized for themselves representation of labour, whether labour likes it or not.

This collectivist orientation towards the labour movement is bound to take the same patterns as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and the labour fronts of the Peronist Confederation of Labour in Argentina.

Any attempt to aid the growth of a genuinely democratic labour movement in India, that fails to take serious note of these tendencies, would actually result in the consolidation of the collectivist trends.

These are some very clear aspects of the trade union movement in India. Failure to understand these has resulted in pamperings of an unhealthy situation through flattery for the sake of goodwill, friendship and popularity.

As an eminent labour leader correctly prescribed: "Democrats should learn to distinguish between national freedom and individual liberties. National freedom does not automatically mean existence of Individual liberties, whereas strong consciousness of individual liberty will guarantee national freedom."

A labour weekly once wrote: "The most underdeveloped territory in the world lies directly beneath the hats and caps men wear."

True Success

I would say that those who have not had the good fortune to obtain outward success, but have accomplished something really good and accept the lack of outward recognition without bitterness have reached the highest achievement of all.

— Beldy Maugham.

N. S. KRISHNAN

By VISWAMITRA

I had an aesthetically-conditioned friend who was devoted to Culture. He used to write short sketches (he called them 'Vignettes') for elegant journals with small circulation, and was keen about the revival of Art in all its forms, and his interests ranged from a study of the music of the Sama Veda to the designs of Kalakshetra sarees. He was in the avant-garde of whatever emotion-intellection held the field at the moment. One day, however, I saw him in a picture house where a Tamil film was showing. He looked heartily ashamed when I accosted him, and told me that the children had insisted on his coming along, domestic peace at all costs, you know, ha, ha! He also looked rather surprised at finding me there. I set his mind at rest. I told him that I was a fan of N. S. Krishnan, and rarely missed a film in which he acted. He registered surprise, then brightened somewhat, and no doubt consoled himself with the reflection that seeing a Tamil film was perhaps not as completely out of cultural bounds as he had imagined. I went home thinking that there was nothing more pathetic than the fear of the near-intellectual that he may be slipping from his high estate.

This happened about fifteen years ago. Since then there has been a healthier outlook about Tamil books and Tamil films, and a slightly more courageous approach to one's own sense of values.

I am an old Krishnan fan. Krishnan was a broad comedian who aimed at raising a laugh, and knew how best to do it, all the intellectuals of South India notwithstanding. He also knew, by the instinct of the artist rather than by ratiocination, that the primary ingredient of comedy is sympathy. The comedian is the author as well as the victim of circumstances. The village idiot, the foolish lover, the hen-pecked husband, the stupid servant, the gullible yokel who comes to town, the impoverished and pride-filled snob, the witch doctor, the smell cheat the weak schoolmaster, the artful mendicant, these and a hundred other warriors in the battle of life are the eternal comedy types, and we laugh at them because we are sorry for them, and sometimes we reflect how nearly one or another of the silly situations very nearly happened to us, but just by a stroke of chance, did not. Right through we are fond of the characters. Their appeal is one of endearment. Our reaction is one of sympathy. Which, as the pundits will inform us, is the secret of Charlie Chaplin's success, and then feel slightly worried if they have done right in comparing Krishnan to Chaplin.

Compare the comedian with the wit, who is often a frustrated brain-merchant, who uses words as pins, and draws small blood, and enjoys the prick-squeal in the privacy of his sordid soul. Wit is the widowed mother-in-law among the arts. It derives its gasolene from frustration, and its ignition from envy, and the evil detonation from a faculty that just falls short of being joyfully creative.

Since comedy is the expression of failure, rather than of success, it is primarily concerned with the tribulations of the underdog. It follows that there is a moral animation and a didactic undertone along with the laughter and the ridicule, namely, kindliness towards the weak, and a desire to help the unfortunate. Krishnan's characters were of this type. He always played the simpleton, and now and then the good samaritan, but rarely, if ever, the rogue. I learnt with considerable pleasure that he carried into life what he acted on the screen, and that he was generous to a fault, giving with more lavishness than prudence, and that right till the time of his death, took his spells of prosperity as opportunities for helping others, and not as blessings unto himself. Here was the link between his art and his life. He made us laugh at the fools whom he caricatured on the screen, but in life he realised the cost of pain and the pang of poverty to these very types. It then ceased to be fun. He became a serious philanthropist.

One evening, many years ago, the late Dr. Alagappa Chettiar asked me to accompany him to a Tamil drama over which he had been asked to preside. The play was staged by the N.S.K. dramatic troupe. I learnt that Krishnan was maintaining the troupe at his own expense. At the end of the show he came on the stage and made a speech. He said that he had started the troupe because actors were the most neglected and the least respected section of society, and that the profession attracted the utter good-for-nothings who could not study even up to the elementary standard. They had no guidance, either in art or life, and went through long periods of poverty and low living. He had himself gone through such periods, and long ago determined that if he ever got a chance, he would do something about it. He added that from the point of the art of acting, only those who had gained experience on the stage were able to do justice even to small parts on the screen, and that some of the young men and women who jumped into the screen and stardom were mere director's dummies, stooges with no character in themselves. I was much impressed by the speech, and especially by the genuine feeling for both art and life that permeated it. I understand that several of the actors trained in that troupe are today doing well on the screen.

Krishnan composed the greater part of his own dialogues, and several of his songs, and wove them into the main story without the least violence to the plot. Indeed, very often he enhanced the story value by the comedy interpolation. I particularly remember an old film called "Mangamma Sapatham", which has still not been improved upon either in story, dialogue or music, in which he acted the part of the never-do-well son who ran away and got apprenticed to a rope dancer, and then helped the princess to meet the prince. It was a particularly good bit of acting. Then he did a "Harikatha" called "Kindanar" which was modelled on the well known composition "Nandanar", but was not a burlesque of it. It dealt with the longing of a village lad to go to Madras, in the same way the great Nanda longed to go to Chidambaram. The parody lay in the adaptation of the original songs to the new theme, and in what may be called the de-sublimation of the sublime. His Tamil new year day broadcasts were always interesting. He once started with a song "Truman Bhajana Korea" which was an ontological imitation of "Rama Bhajana Kariya". His propaganda for social and economic reform was gently introduced into the texture of the story, as in his own film "Nallathambi". The story was itself the propaganda.

Today we are used to actors without voices and singers without faces. Indeed, one of the strangest features of the Tamil film (as of other films) is the several voices and keys in which the same actor sings in the same film, depending on who is the background singer, and what is more, that several actors should sing with the same voice. It always makes me smile to think of the hero or the heroine performing a soundless stunt with the words of a tune. It is a comedy in itself. In circumstances of such depression, it is heartening to look back on an artist who was encyclopaedic enough to act and sing and dance and joke in infinitely various ways, and display, after acting in a hundred films, a talent that had the same popular appeal as the efforts of his early youth.

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REFERENCE BOOKS

	RS. NP.
Crabb's English Synonyms: Arranged alphabetically with complete cross references	.. 10.50
The Pattern of English by G. H. Vallins	.. 11.25
Lempriere's Classical Dictionary	.. 12.00
A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, Religion, Geography, History and Literature by John Dawson	.. 13.50
The King's English by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler	.. 12.19
Power of Words by Stuart Chase	.. 13.50
A Concise Dictionary of the Persian Language by E. H. Palmer	.. 13.50
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Headlines

Tuesday September 3: Reports from London and Beirut stated that Loy Henderson was returning to Washington and would report that developments in Syria threatened Jordan. A report from the World Health Organisation warned that all man-made radiation endangered future generations.

Wednesday September 4: The Soviet government sent a note to the western powers accusing them of reinforcing their war of nerves against Jordan. A German scientist stated that rockets could fly from Leningrad to New York in 89 minutes. The Lok Sabha passed the Expenditure Tax Bill.

Thursday September 5: T. T. Krishnamachari stated that the investment of public funds in private industry would divert benefits to public channels. A communique from Wellington announced that Britain would maintain large forces in S. E. Asia.

Friday September 6: Washington stated that the U. S. would start an air-lift of arms to Jordan during next week-end and that deliveries of arms to Turkey, Lebanon and Iraq would be speeded up. In New Delhi G. L. Nanda said that the cost of the Second Five Year Plan might go up by Rs. 700 crores.

Saturday September 7: In London the disarmament talks were adjourned. Zorin told a press conference that the west were preventing the suspension of nuclear tests by linking the question with other problems. It was stated in Karachi that the U.S.S.R. had informed Pakistan that she would veto any proposal at the Security Council for posting U. N. troops in Kashmir.

Sunday September 8: A bomb explosion in Srinagar was reported to be part of the "Akbar Khan plan" to create trouble for India. G. D. Birla said in New York that Nehru's statement that India would welcome a loan of 5·000 million dollars had been well received in the U.S.

Monday September 9: Prime Minister Nehru declared that U. S. aid to India had been washed out by the supply of American arms to Pakistan. President Nasser promised unconditional aid to Syria. The first consignment of U. S. arms was delivered to Jordan.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW

Sir,—In your leading article on "Invasion on Powers of Courts" dated 31st August 1957 you have taken exception to a statement of the Union Labour Minister that "if the Supreme Court thinks that the intentions of Parliament have not been fulfilled properly in the language of the laws that we make, then, we are free to come back to Parliament and set it right". According to you, this is an executive encroachment on a judicial function.

Kindly permit me to say that your view is not correct. There are a number of cases in which the intention of the legislature is defeated by defective drafting. A Full Bench of the Madras High Court observes as follows in 1938-I-M.L.J. 552: "The courts in India have frequently had occasion to draw attention to faulty drafting in statutes. The principles which the legislature had in mind may be apparent, but the courts can only interpret statutes as they find them and cannot read into then provisions which have been omitted by faulty drafting". When the courts are prevented by bad drafting from giving effect to the real intention of the legislature in enacting the law, it is the obvious duty of the legislature to rectify its own drafting errors as expeditiously as possible. It is the citizen who is ill-served by the bad drafting. As pointed out in the Full Bench judgment above, "if the Act had been drafted better, there would have been great saving of money and judicial time, not only in this case, but in others". As stated by a celebrated English lawyer in his book on "The Future of Law", "there ought to be a department of State (e.g., a Ministry of Justice) engaged in perpetually clarifying the case-law and different statutes of, say the last preceding, twenty-five years". Thus, the perpetual revision of the law of the land as and when necessary is among the functions of the legislature. It is the duty of the responsible executive to bring forward amending bills for the purpose. It is in pursuance of this principle that a permanent Law Commission has been appointed in our country in the Centre for statutory revision among others. Thus, the Union Labour Minister's proposal to rectify the drafting error in labour legislation is quite legitimate and proper. It is not an encroachment on the judicial function. The Minister's proposals will, I presume, be duly scrutinised by the Law Commission which is the expert agency for the purpose.

An amendment of the Constitution also as and when necessary in the public interest is similarly within the province of the legislature. It is not an encroachment on the judiciary. The merits of the amendments are however a different issue.

The judiciary is no doubt supreme in its sphere. But its sphere is only the interpretation and the administration of the law and not law-making.

Your leading article raises also a number of other issues — such as recruitment to the judiciary, appointment of retired judges as Governors and the right of retired judges to practise at the Bar. These topics deserve full discussion.

Tirunelveli. A. S. KUPPUSWAMI.

DIRECT ACTION BY STATE EMPLOYEES

Sir,—The All India Railwaymen's Federation has decided upon an All India strike as from 14th November 1957 in the event of the Government's non-compliance with their demands. According to the Federation, this direct action "is the only way to save railwaymen from the economic and social onslaught let loose by the Government."

This statement challenges examination. Is direct action the only or proper way to economic and social justice under our Constitution?

A major objective of the Constitution as per its preamble is "*to secure to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political*". The method and machinery to attain this objective are described in Part IV of the Constitution under the heading, Directive Principles of State Policy. Articles 37, 38, 42 and 43 contain the relevant provisions. As per Article 43, "the State shall endeavour to secure to all workers a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life, and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities". As per Article 42, "the State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work". Article 38 enacts 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 the national life". It is clear from these provisions that, if they are properly implemented, the avenue to social and economic justice is open to every citizen. The question is one of discovering a proper and adequate procedure for enforcing the constitutional right to justice.

The initial step should be a proper judicial enquiry of labour's complaint. The enquiry should be made in the background of the nation's railway and general finance as well as the entire field of the country's economy and public administration. The maximum assent, both of labour and of the government should be secured for the resulting judicial finding. The next step will be the administrative award of the Union Cabinet as the supreme executive of the nation, subject to the approval of Parliament. The parliamentary decision will be the third and final stage in the process, subject only to a later parliamentary review, if any, as a result of any subsequent electoral verdict. This is the proper democratic method under the Constitution for securing economic and social justice. Its adequacy should be secured by devising suitable measures for the purpose. A national system of civic education covering the field of economic and social justice will yield a good dividend. It will help to create and maintain the requisite mental climate in the community in which the ultimate sovereign control of government is vested.

An ultimatum by labour or any other sector of national life should be ruled out. It will be only a prelude to a war-cry. It is the direct road to national disruption, chaos and slavery. No nation can tolerate it, if it wants to survive. Let us all co-operate for fair play under the Constitution and not indulge in direct action.

A. S. KUPPUSWAMI.

Tirunelveli.

Dr. KESKAR AND RADIO CEYLON

Sir,—The note of protest sent by Dr. B. V. Keskar, the Minister for Broadcasting and Information to his counterpart in Ceylon objecting to certain programmes beamed to India by the Commercial Service of Radio Ceylon is absolutely pointless and superfluous. Should Dr. Keskar be reminded that the entire programme of songs and the features that are broadcasted from Radio Ceylon are only from films produced in India and censored by the Central Board of Film Censors which works directly under the Ministry of Broadcasting and Information? These films and the songs therein are censored and are pronounced fit for exhibition to the public in India and records of songs of these censored films are available and people listen to these film records from a gramophone. If Dr. Keskar does not want people to listen to these film songs, he must not allow these records to be made, he must ban the production of all records of film songs. Is it not then ridiculous to ask a neighbouring State not to broadcast these film songs, the source of which emanates only from India?

S. GOVINDARAJAN.

LOWERING STANDARDS

Sir,—Orthodox music listeners may applaud the Broadcasting Minister for his 'strong' protest against the Radio Ceylon's broadcasts 'beamed' against India. Keskarji may be correct. But, before protesting about something affecting the moral and cultural standards of India coming from outside 'beamed' at India, I suggest that our leaders count the number of things *within* India, which go about unnoticed, or rather, neglected, that affect the moral standard of India, which we are all supposed to be very proud of. I shall quote just one instance.

One of those who strongly object to some of these broadcasts from outside India should visit the Madras Marina on a Sunday evening. Just between the Queen Mary's College and the All India Radio building, he can see more than a hundred loafers (coming, as they do, in their own cars, motor bicycles, or scooters) wearing the most detestable 'checked' bushshirts and with their hair twisted in every clownish fashion, (which they call 'hair-do') cutting vulgar, cheap and dirty jokes at every lady passing by! While the state of affairs within India is such, why should we pounce upon Radio Ceylon? Let us tell them instead: "There are already so many people in India desirous of bringing down the moral standards of the country. Why do you compete with these Indians?"

C. R. SATYANARAYAN RAO.

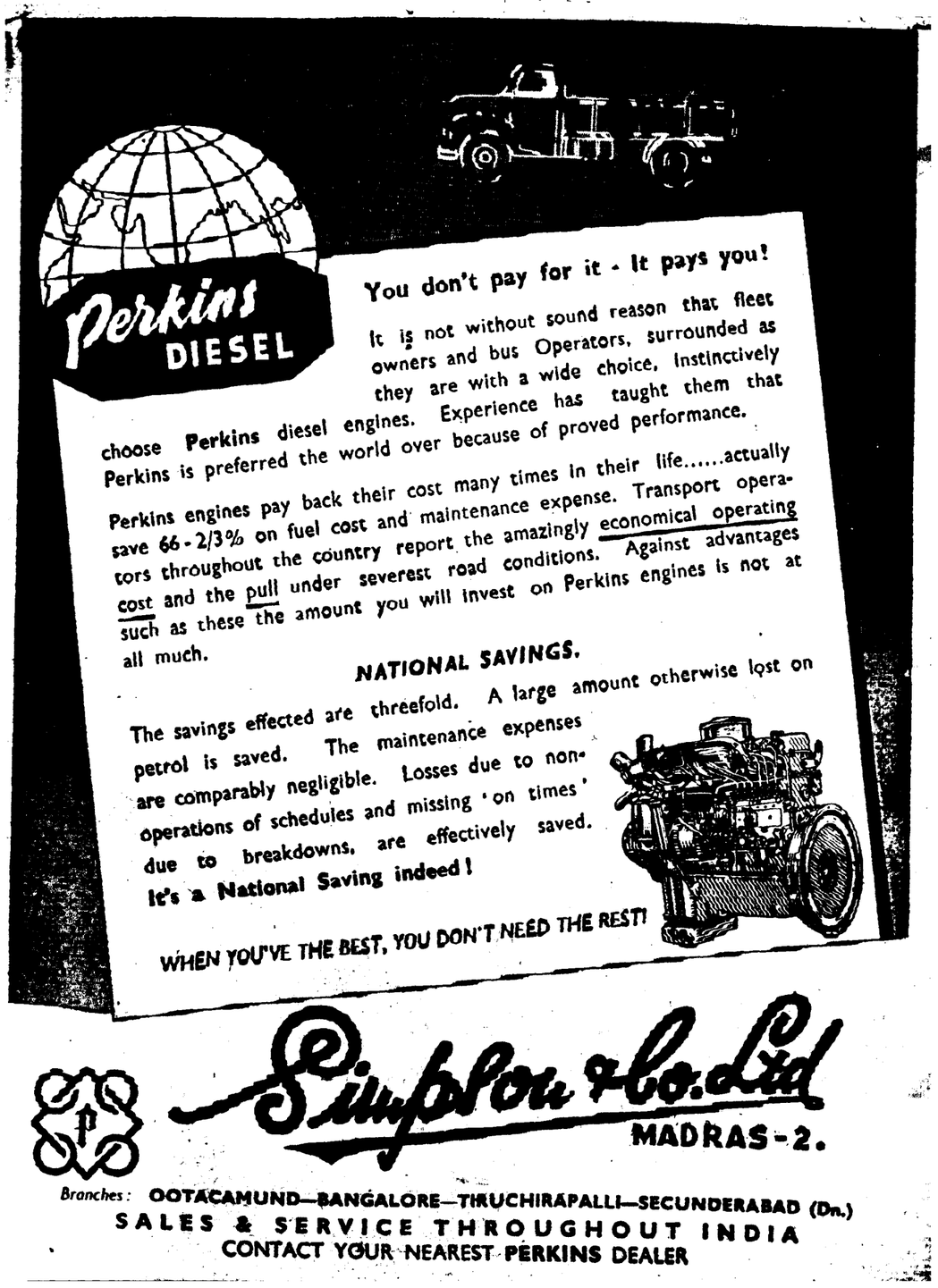
Madras.

PLIGHT OF PASS GRADUATES

Sir,—In these days of unemployment, Pass graduates are the worst sufferers. If they apply for a U.D.C. post, for which the minimum qualification is a university degree, it is Honours graduates and the post-graduate students that are preferred. Their applications for L.D.C. posts, for which the minimum qualification is Matriculation, are rejected on the ground that they are too highly qualified and may not stick to the job even if selected.

If a higher qualification is preferred than the minimum prescribed, I am sure not even one Matriculate will be selected for a L.D.C. post and not even one Pass graduate for a U.D.C. post. The application fees add lakhs to the exchequer and dramatic interviews add lakhs to the railway income. It is high time the Government take effective steps to change this mode of recruitment and direct their Service Commissions and appointing authorities to give scope for all the sections of the educated society.

Nunna. T. PARTHASARATHY.



SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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THE COLOURED GLASSES OF POWER

An unnamed friend of the Prime Minister who had charged him with having got corrupted by power, provoked him last week to deliver a homily on "Irresponsibility" to the students of Delhi University. The friend had apparently quoted the saying of Lord Acton that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The Prime Minister countered the saying by quoting an adaptation of it in the context of the circumstances of another country, also by an unnamed author. The adaptation was to the effect that "irresponsibility corrupts and absolute irresponsibility corrupts absolutely." It was not however a mere quotation of an adaptation of the famous Actonian dictum that the Prime Minister indulged in. It was an adaptation of an adaptation. For he gave to the word "responsibility" not its recognised customary meaning of functioning with a sense of responsibility. He gave it a rather novel and unique interpretation. According to him "responsibility" is limited apparently to only two classes, those who wield it actually like himself by running the government, and those who hope to do so sometime in the future. These alone have problems to solve. All others belong to the category of the irresponsible, with no problems to solve; and a person belonging to that category has "nothing to check him, he can curse and criticise everybody," in a word, he is corrupted by irresponsibility. Automatically, by the Prime Minister's definition, the stigma of irresponsibility is spread over the entire community with the exception of those who carry on the responsibility of government or hope to carry it on in future. Looking at the world through the spectacles of power he sees at least partial if not complete immunity from corruption only in the charmed circle inhabited by persons who have either achieved power or aspire to achieve it, and he denies to the vast majority of individuals and interests lying outside it, including inevitably the Press, even the elementary right of *bona fide* criticism. If this is not already an illustration of Acton's dictum actually in operation, we know of nothing that can be.

The disinclination of Ministers in authority to tolerate independent criticism, holding it up to scorn, is itself part of the phenomenon that reflects the transformation of power into tyranny and corruption. Over a hundred years ago, a problem similar to the one confronting Pandit Nehru occurred in England, the Prime Minister of the time holding, like our own Prime Minister now, that if the Press is to be taken seriously and permitted to wield influence, it must also "share in the responsibilities of statesmen." To this doctrine *The Times* made a reply which may be regarded as a classic for all time elucidating the proper relations between the Government and the Press in a well ordered democracy.

"We cannot admit," said *The Times* referring to the Press, "that its purpose is to share the labours of statesmanship, or that it is bound by the same limitations, the same duties, the same liabilities as that of the Ministers of the Crown. The purpose and duties of the two powers are constantly separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically opposite. The dignity and the freedom of the Press are trammelled from the moment it accepts an ancillary position. To perform its duties with entire independence and consequently with the utmost public advantage, the Press can enter into no close or binding alliances with the statesmen of the day, nor can it surrender its permanent interests to the convenience of the ephemeral power of any government."

Arguing that it is part of the right of the Press to state problems without solving them, and the exercise of this right by the Press is itself the process by which the purposes of democracy get continually implemented, *The Times* went on:

> "The statesman collects his information secretly and by secret means, he keeps back even the current intelligence of the day with ludicrous precautions, until diplomacy is beaten in the race with publicity. The Press lives by disclosures; whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and the history of our times; it is daily and for ever appealing to the enlightened force of public opinion—anticipating if possible the march of events—standing upon the breach between the present and the future and extending its survey to the horizon of the world."

These words of *The Times* of the great Delane are as true now of Nehru's India as they were of Lord Derby's England when they were written. And what, in

essence, is the Press? Not this or that newspaper or journal, but the contrivance of publicity of civilization itself, for the free expression of every diversity of thought and judgment comprised in the march of the human spirit. The whole objective of such a contrivance would be frustrated if conditional bargains of support are to be imposed as a price for its free functioning. Our Prime Minister should unlearn his strange notions of responsibility and irresponsibility and avoid the danger of building a shield for his government out of its mechanical power, and not out of the goodwill in its favour freely emerging from unforced public opinion.

Integration in Medicine

The tenth birthday of the Government College of Integrated Medicine was celebrated in Madras last week. This college is the present incarnation of the School of Indigenous Medicine started a quarter century ago by the late Raja of Panagal to resuscitate the decadent Indian systems of medicine. Ayurveda and other indigenous systems had their heyday in this country before the advent of the British. They were supplanted by Allopathy not by virtue of its superiority but because of the advantage it then had of State patronage. The scientific advancements that have gone into the enrichment of Western medicine are of comparatively recent date. If Ayurveda is to recover lost ground, it should have at least as much of State support at its back as the Allopathic system had when it made its first sensational headway in our midst. Without adequate encouragement by the State the supplanted indigenous systems of medicine can never recover and survive. If the Government cannot get out of their present policy of discriminating adversely against the *alumni* of their College of Integrated Medicine in employment, status and the like, it would be more honourable for them to wind up the institution altogether than keep it going as just a facade of propaganda to advertise their patriotic interest in things Indian.

It has to be noted that to a considerable extent the excellences of Allopathy are sealed beyond the reach of the major part of the population on account of their poverty and the inadequacy quantitatively of the facilities available. Ayurveda with its infinitely cheaper repertory of simples seems immeasurably better suited to the requirements of a teeming population in indigent condition living in villages removed from hospitals and ill-served too otherwise by modern medical facilities. Ayurveda is, like revealed religion, a heritage of which the origins belong to intuition. It is nowadays often found that the scientific method reaches after much research and discipline the same results as those flashed into human knowledge in the first instance by intuition. The integration of old and new through civilized processes of scientific investigation, eventually illustrating the universality of all knowledge and at that level its escape from hampering racial and regional boundaries, is a fascinating theme for study and research by the universities. It is tragic that in Madras, the university authorities have been inhospitable to students of indigenous medicine, and the Raja of Panagal's great dream of integration between East and West in the realm of medicine, remains still a dream, awaiting another statesman of his calibre to convert it into reality.

HEADLINES OF THE WEEK

Tuesday September 10: India proposed that the U.N. General Assembly should consider expanding the Disarmament Commission and Sub-Committee. Dulles said the U.S. Government would give sympathetic consideration to any Indian request for a loan, and Syria accused Dulles of violating the U.N. Chater by interfering in its internal affairs.

Wednesday September 11: In Moscow Gromyko said the western powers had slammed the door on any possibility of disarmament and warned Turkey against interference in Syria. A crisis in Thailand was reported to have been caused by the resignation of 61 military leaders following a demand by the Prime Minister that Ministers should not hold commercial directorships.

Thursday September 12: Britain and the U.S. proposed that Prince Wan Waithaykon of Thailand, President of the U.N. General Assembly, should be sent on a special mission to Hungary. In Lahore Noon declared that Pakistan signed the Indus waters agreement at the time of partition under duress.

Friday September 13: Prime Minister Nehru charged Pakistan with responsibility for the recent explosions in Jammu and Kashmir. At the U.N. India supported Eire's proposal for the withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from Europe, and suggested that Hammerskjoeld should go to Hungary.

Saturday September 14: India proposed the admission of China to the U.N. In Indonesia 10 newspapers supporting different parties were banned by the government for undisclosed reasons. A U.S. spokesman denied that King Saud of Arabia had asked Eisenhower to ease pressure on Syria. The Saudi Arabian Minister of State for U.N. Affairs said in New York that his country would support Syria against attack from whatever quarter.

Sunday September 15: The U.S. Foreign Aid Administration denied that its policy of aiding private enterprise was aimed at under-developed countries with Socialist economies. In New Delhi the Standing Committee of the National Development Council approved a plan for developing co-operative farming.

Monday September 16: Adenauer's Christian Democrats won an absolute majority in the West German elections. Gumulka and Tito urged other states to recognise the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's final frontier with Germany. The Soviet Communist Party accused the West of trying to let the U.S.S.R. bleed to death in the second world war, and Mr. Dulles declared that one did not need to hate one's enemy.



Sotto Voce

Academic Shadow-play

Last week the public of Madras was rather mystified by an academic joust. It is for those who had a ring-side view to say whether what they saw was just snadow-sparring or whether it was manoeuvring for position on the part of the Grand Monarch of the Chepauk Empire and the storm trooper who leads the Tamil medium assault on the citadel. The Pro-Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University have in the past differed on the worth-whileness of the three-year degree course and even more on the timing of the change. The former, who is also the Minister for Education and Finance, claims that in some important respects his forebodings have already come true.

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There has been a steep fall in the college admissions to the three-year course this year, the B.A. suffering far more than the B.Sc. The Minister thinks that this shrinkage is likely to be permanent. He suggests that "the Pre-university examination is somewhat more difficult to pass than the Intermediate" — which, to my mind, is an excessive understatement — and that other contributory causes are "the greater diversion to professional courses and the greater disinclination to take a three-year degree course than a two-year degree course". Consequently the Government has to shell out more money to meet College deficits as grants-in-aid. And this, too, at a time when the Union Government is demanding that all frills including Education (!) should be cut.

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Mr. Subramanyam's decision to summon a conference of College Principals over the head of the Vice-Chancellor to thresh out matters seems to have riled that powerful personage. Statements and counter-statements have filled the air, and (rather piquantly, for Madras) some of the newspapers have taken a hand in the game. The university officially maintained that the fall in admissions was a temporary phenomenon and that in any case it was too early to sit in judgment on the three-year course. And the Principals warned the Government with portentous unanimity that they would tolerate no designs on the university's autonomy. In the upshot the Minister executed a strategic retreat.

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The Principals' demonstrative zeal for "autonomy" might have been more impressive if it had not been so obviously a command performance. The drilled majorities which they have helped to swell have not shown the slightest disposition to encourage dissent in the sphere of university affairs. And elections to the office of Vice-Chancellor have about as much reality as elections to our legislature under Congress hegemony. Was not the academic conscience of the Principals outraged by the application of the Communal G.O. to Education all these years'? And what kind of responsible autonomy is it that could spawn that monstrous absurdity, the Pre-university course? Incidentally, it seems they are already quietly revising the syllabus for "World History," one of the three 'musts' of this inspired achievement.

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It required, let me remind you, six subjects to be studied—English, one other language, two Science subjects and two 'Humanities'. All these were expected, in a year of less than 180 working days, sufficiently to soak into the mind of that near-illiterate, the S.S.L.C. holder, to make him fit to receive and profit by a grandiose programme of 'balanced higher education'. One half or more of these six subjects he had not encountered even in a rudimentary form at school. And two at least of these he could completely jettison after he has 'passed' the Pre-university examination, no doubt considerably assisted by the process of "moderation" which, with examining bodies, is the whole art of saving face.

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Bruce Truscot in his *Red Brick University*, said of the lighter and better integrated one-year 'Intermediate' in the modern British universities quoting Mansell-Jones with approval, "The sooner we realise that 'a one-year course without sequel or resumption provides too short a period for a new subject to take root', the better". How much truer that is of our precious Pre-university course which has neither pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity! As for the new three-year degree course, it seems that more candidates still favour the B.Sc. than the B.A. in spite of the inclusion in the former of a second language. But this doesn't mean that our fledgelings are eager to soar into the empyrean of Science. It only shows up the snob values of our confused society.

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It is not excessive specialisation but the gerrymandering of secondary school education that has emasculated our universities. The remedy is not to constitute three-year degree courses in which as, in the beggar's vomit, there will be found something of everything, unrelated and unassimilable. Nor will the need for leaders in science and technology be met by abolishing the Honours courses which were fundamentally sound in conception. Specialisation without narrowness of outlook can be secured, as Bruce Truscot pointed out criticising Red Brick practice. But Madras prefers to have two year M.A. and M.Sc. degrees by examination which will merely extend the Kingdom of 'Swot'.

VIGHNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS : :

Vikramaditya had a throne which is reputed to have possessed the magic quality of compelling every occupant of it to think and judge and act big. So also the judges of our High Courts. But their thrones are not mere physical contraptions affording seating accommodation. They consist of traditions, conventions, codes of honour and the blaze of publicity which, acting and interacting on each other, have the effect of making the judges soar to heights of impartiality not attainable for others. Sitting on these thrones, the judges vindicate the awful majesty of law and justice. Hole and corner enquiries committed to secretive procedures constitute the very negation of the atmosphere that imparts to judges their distinction and moral puissance, and by letting themselves in for such, the judges suffer diminution of status and their pronouncements get divested of the customary sanctity attached to decisions from the Bench. These reflections are provoked by the mechanics of the arrangement which the Government have contrived for scrutiny of the charges made against the Inspector-General of Police on the floor of the legislature. It has enhanced the credit of none of the parties concerned; and instead of disposing of the charges definitively and with authoritative precision, it leaves the poor Inspector-General in a position no better than the one he was in before. As for the judge, by his avoidance, whether on his own initiative or at another's imposition, of the rectitude of public trial with its open examination of evidence and witnesses, and reliance on undisclosed data, he has gone down a peg or two in the augustness of his public position and become identified in the popular estimate as an instrument of policy—a deadly thing for a judge ever to become.

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Dr. Monica Felton does not approve of Rajaji being compared to Sir Stafford Cripps. Cripps, as British Ambassador to Russia, she holds, was by no means a brilliant personal success. To illustrate her point she told me the following story:

In 1941, when Lord Beaverbrook became Minister of Supply, Dr. Felton was working in the Ministry, and among her colleagues was Allan Monkhouse, who had been head of the Metro-Vickers organisation in Russia for a number of years, and who was expelled from the country after the celebrated trial in which he and his colleagues were accused of espionage, arrested and imprisoned. When the Cabinet decided that Beaverbrook should go to Moscow to negotiate an agreement to give aid to Russia, Beaverbrook himself decided to take Monkhouse as a member of his staff. Monkhouse, who spoke Russian fluently and was familiar with the technical problems involved, was delighted. Then, a day or two before the date of departure, Beaverbrook sent for Monkhouse, and showed him a personal letter which he had just received from Cripps in Kuibeshev. The letter pointed out that Vyshinsky, who had been prosecuting counsel in the Metro-Vickers trial, was now Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that for Beaverbrook to take Monkhouse with him would, in the circumstances, be considered by the Russians as an offensive gesture which might endanger the success of the mission. Such advice could not be ignored, and Monkhouse, to his great disappointment, did not go.

Beaverbrook on his return invited Monkhouse to a week-end party at his country house. Twenty distinguished guests were sitting at dinner on the first evening when Beaverbrook shouted across the table: "Monkhouse, you're not guilty!" "Guilty of what, Sir?" the astonished guest asked. Beaverbrook grinned and replied, "I'll tell you later."

When, a few hours afterwards, they were alone together, Beaverbrook told Monkhouse that after he himself had been in Moscow for long enough to have established friendly relations with the Soviet leaders, he had remarked to Vyshinsky that he had originally intended to bring Monkhouse with him. "Why didn't you?" Vyshinsky asked and added, smiling, that it would have been a pleasant historic irony to have met Monkhouse again in such different circumstances. Beaverbrook replied that Cripps had advised against it. "Cripps!" Vyshinsky was reported to have commented, "Cripps means well, but he understands nothing about this country. These Western Social Democrats think that our minds work like theirs, and they cannot grasp that Communism is totally different from their brand of Socialism. A capitalist who makes an effort can soon get a much better grasp of a different mentality than poor old Cripps ever will."

Monkhouse described this incident to Dr. Felton a day or two after it happened. Dr. Felton, when she repeated it the other day, added that she herself met Vyshinsky at the U. N. General Assembly in Paris in January 1952, and that the story was quite in keeping with his personality and style of conversation, and cannot be attributed merely to prejudice against Sir Stafford Cripps on the part of Lord Beaverbrook.

* * * *

I am informed by the General Manager of the Southern Languages Book Trust that the Ford Foundation's grant to the Trust is not one million dollars but only four hundred thousand for the Indian part of the expenditure; that the Trust has brought out, not 12 publications as stated by me but 21; and that it was done, not in 24 months but in fifteen. I hasten to publish these corrections so that readers may take them into account and give full weight to them in assessing or modifying the validity of my comment on the Trust and its work and affairs in last week's *Sidelights*.

SAKA.

MAJORITY AND LANGUAGE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A gentleman from Uttar Pradesh writes a letter in a leading Delhi newspaper that is typical of the abysmal darkness that prevails in the minds of even educated people in upper India about the difficulties and distresses of the millions living outside that linguistic area. "The move of 70 Congress M.P's from non-Hindi-speaking States to postpone the implementation of the constitutional provision for making Hindi the official language of the Centre" fills this gentleman, we are told, "with a sense of dismay." It fills people's minds here with equal dismay to see this ignorant and ungenerous attitude on the part of citizens whose mother-tongue happens to be the language chosen for overall imposition. Those to whom the language is totally new, lock stock and barrel, cannot be so enthusiastic about the advantages of unity or uniformity as those to whom it is the language of their own homes from baby-life onwards. If Congress M.P's, seventy in number, have objected, is it not the duty of Hindi-speaking statesmen to try to see why this has happened, rather than being dismayed or distressed? "Instruments for promoting solidarity and oneness of the country must be forged." This is right. But is the Hindi idea an instrument that promotes solidarity or is it likely to promote dissension rather than unity? It is even now somewhat obvious that it will promote discord, not unity. The imposition of Hindi, a language totally strange to a compact mass of people numbering many millions living in the south of Bharatavarsha, against the expressed wishes of the elected representatives of those people who have felt the strength of popular dissent so greatly as to be compelled to lodge their protest although they belong to the ruling party is not an "instrument of solidarity" but a measure leading to the direct opposite of it. Language one-ness is a good thing but it is neither necessary for national unity nor a wise bargain, if language one-ness is imposed and as a result we produce discord and ill-feeling and separation of hearts. It is not at all a good bargain if we impose Hindi and replace good feeling by a sense of tyranny and injury.

It is not difference of language that created discord and division in our past history. Attempts to impose unjust tyrannies caused them. The lesson from history is clear that we should not impose what would at once put large groups of people and a whole big mass of Indian territory at a disadvantage and give the rest a permanent advantage. We must have English for the administration of the country.

The argument of majority is fallacious. The majority is limited to a specific area. To the other areas Hindi is as good as a foreign tongue. It is not a genuine majority opinion of the people of India based on thought and circumspection, but a mere relative largeness of territorial occupation, and a bias in favour of one's own mother-tongue, and a near-to-apathy feeling about the difficulties of a large though somewhat smaller part of India.

Trade and cultural expansion are bound to bring the importance of Hindi to the attention of non-Hindi areas, and all people are bound to appreciate the advantage of learning to speak and write that language. The continuance of English as an administrative all-India medium will not interfere with the normal peaceful infiltration of Hindi. It is unnecessary in the interest of Hindi to do something that will develop into dissension and feelings of hostility. What is necessary to do is to make people learn Hindi in the schools all over India, but for this we ought not to impose as a sanction a disadvantage and a tyranny that will create ill-feeling. The loss would be greater than the profit if this be done.

Every State as distinguished from the Centre, must conduct its official work in the language of the State. This will bring about one-ness of language between people and government. Overall Hindi as the official language of the Central government will not do it. Let Delhi, U.P. and M.P. governments work in Hindi, but let not English be disturbed but continue in the affairs of the Centre. This will prevent discord and ill-feeling and misunderstanding while the people will find at the same time their spoken tongues being the medium of official work.

A parliamentary committee has been nominated to examine the Language Commission's report. But this committee has been elected on the principle of proportional representation. It will therefore reflect the majority in the Lok Sabha, which again reflects the population numbers. The mischief of Hindi majority will therefore continue and we are in no better position than before. The Commission at least discussed the matter with witnesses, although, as the members who have dissented have obseved, with bias. The parliamentary committee is likely just to give findings according to its own composition. This is a very grave matter affecting the future of all our young men undergoing higher education in the South.

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NEWS CONTENT IN THE PRESS

By HEADLINER

When I agreed to make a weekly summary of the news of the world for the benefit of readers of SWARAJYA, I thought that no job could be easier. Since the newspapers headlined the most important events, it would, the Editor suggested, take me just a few minutes each day to weed out items that had only a momentary interest from those which would still seem significant or amusing a week later. I had no doubt that he was right. But after two months' experience I have found that I was as much mistaken as I have ever been about anything. Next time I want to test my skill at the impossible, I shall try making bricks without straw or wringing blood from stones or manufacturing cheese from chalk. Compared with the effort needed to find out from the daily press of this country what is going on in the world, any of these jobs will be mere kindergarten exercises.

I am not writing this merely from self-pity, or in the hope of being rewarded with a handful of compliments from grateful readers. Instead, I have a missionary purpose. My experience has given me a much better notion than I had when I started the job of what is really wrong with the newspapers we read, and even some ideas as to how these defects might be remedied; provided, of course, that anybody has the will to try.

Most Indian newspapers have a wonderful air of sobriety—and a dullness that cannot be equalled anywhere on this side of the Iron Curtain. The make-up of *The Hindu* is sober enough to make even the old lady of Printing House Square appear far gone in light-hearted frivolity. But the paper's density of print turns out, when one starts searching for facts, to be misleading. Seldom can so many words have been used to convey so little real information. Papers which apparently attempt to be a little brighter have the advantage that they do at least take less time to read; but though the news items are shorter they are otherwise almost indistinguishable. Almost all the news in almost all the Indian press appears to come from the same sources; and this is not disguised by the fact that (unlike the press everywhere else in the world) newspapers here seldom state what these sources are.

There is no mystery. The news comes from agencies. Press agencies are a cheap, easy and reliable source of news and no paper can do without them. But an editor who relies, for whatever reason, on agency reports as the chief means of filling his columns is like a cook who spends all his time in the kitchen opening tins. The diet provided may be filling and apparently nutritious, but monotony and lack of freshness and of individual flavour will eventually destroy even the heartiest appetites. Most newspapers in this country seem to think that they do quite enough for their readers if they manage to maintain correspondents of their own in New Delhi, New York and London. Even so, most of the reports even from these cities are agency stuff, as can be seen by anyone who compares the reports in three or four different newspapers of the speeches of Mr. Nehru, Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Dulles. The reader is given no chance to make comparisons between different summarised versions or to estimate for himself the significance of what was said or of what was omitted.

All this would be bad enough if agency reports really covered the events of the world. But they do not. Foreign news is usually limited to reports of the progress—or lack of progress—of international negotiations of one kind or another, and to verbatim accounts of compliments paid by distinguished foreigners either to this country as a whole or to its political leaders. This latter kind of news—if news it can be called—is no doubt very pleasant and gratifying. The former kind is useful as a rule, though its presentation often shows an extraordinary lack of a sense of proportion; for example, when so many perplexing and alarming events are taking place just now in Asia and the Middle East it is difficult to see what purpose—other than the mere filling up of space—was served the other day by the newspaper which presented its readers with four closely printed columns of the views of the Hungarian Government on the causes of last year's tragedy. One column on the subject would have left space for some account of the complex situation in Indonesia, for news of the political crisis on Thailand, the election campaign in West Germany, and much more which the curious and intelligent reader would like to know about—and which all of us need to know about if we are to understand the world around us. News about the internal affairs of other countries is confined almost entirely to reports of election results and political purges. Yet leaving aside any natural interest we may have in how the rest of the world lives, even from the most narrow and selfish point of view we need to know what is going on elsewhere. How can we form an intelligent view of our prospects of aid from America and Britain unless we know something about their problems and prospects, too? We are repeatedly told that democracy depends on the existence of an informed public opinion. But where are we, ordinary citizens, to get our information from if not from the press?

Even news of our own country is far from adequate. My search for hard facts gets bogged down in lengthy and repetitive reports of speeches, in which the same

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phrases recur so often that the speakers themselves must be embarrassed to read them. The fault, in fact, seems to be far less often that of the speakers than of sub-editors who have evidently never been taught the art of precis-writing, and who appear to think that their job is to fill as much space as possible. Thus news is crowded out by verbosity; and leader-writers often refer to events which have never been reported either in their own or any other national newspaper, and which they themselves have no doubt learned about either from the foreign press or from reports which have been crowded out by their own wordiness.

I said at the beginning that I was making these comments with a missionary purpose. I know that newspapers are hard-pressed for money, and that it is expensive to keep correspondents on a full-time basis in foreign capitals. And I do not need to be reminded that cabling costs money. But air mail is cheap, and in every great city in the world, from Capetown to Stockholm and from Peking to Buenos Ayres, there are competent journalists who could take a regular newsletter assignment in their stride and who could be trusted to use cable-ese when any major crisis arose. Since Indians are to have fewer chances than ever to see the world for themselves, the world must be brought to us if we are not to be cut off altogether from the rest of humanity. If the will to provide news really existed, the way to get it could certainly be found. And skilled sub-editing can certainly be learned: but only by those who recognise that a newspaper's job is to serve its readers by brevity and clarity of expression, and not to flatter the almost-famous by reporting each word of their publicly expressed hopes and fears and doubts. Ten years should have been long enough to learn the lesson that independence, like charity, begins at home, and that there can be no real and permanent independence for any country until journalists—and people of every other profession—develop an independent spirit in the conduct of their working lives.

AMERICA'S 10 RICHEST MEN AND WOMEN

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK: "After the first hundred million, what the heck?" asked Clint Murchison, discussing his friend and fellow Texan, Sid Richardson. Mr. Murchison is supposed to have $300 million; Mr. Richardson, $700 million. But both know, as do most financial observers, that neither a multi-millionaire nor his wife can ever tell exactly how much money they have — after the first hundred million, that is. Holdings are too diffuse, profits too variable to make an assessment of great wealth anything more than an estimate.

Lists of America's richest men change from year to year, and sometimes from month to month. Recently H. L. Hunt and Hugh Roy Cullen, both Texas oilmen, were always included. Hunt, however, has suffered some reverses (dropping him into the below $200-million class) and Cullen has given away 90 per cent of an estimated $350 million fortune to various educational, religious, medical and charitable groups. This leaves him with a mere $35 million, and puts him out of the running.

Who, according to the best available evidence, are today's ten wealthiest men?

Leading the list is bluff Texas bachelor Sid W. Richardson, with his estimated $700 million. In second place comes that amazing old Florida operator, Arthur Vining Davis, with around $450 million. In third place, with $400 million is Henry Ford II, president of the Ford Motor Company. Vying for fourth place, with $350 million each, are Joseph Newton Pew, Jr. chairman the Sun Oil Company of Pennsylvania and Howard Hughes, aviator, movie maker, perennial squire of beautiful girls, and president of the Huges Tool Company of Houston, Texas. Next comes Clint Murchison, with $300 million, give or take a few millions. After him is modest Paul Mellon, inheritor of a Pittsburgh steel fortune which now seems to amount to around $250 million. Also competing for Mellon's place, with $250 million each, are high-living St. Louis Brewer, August Busch, owner of the St. Louis Cardinals, and John D. Rockefeller III. Trailing the rest, with $200 million is Robert Winship Woodruff, of Georgia, Coca-Cola manufacturer and golfing companion of President Eisenhower.

At first glance these men seem to have little in common. Some inherited their wealth, others made it themselves. Men like Rockefeller and Mellon spend a great deal of time giving it away. Richardson, who at 65 has not yet had time for extensive philanthropy, says, "I'll still be tradin' when they bury me."

Some of these live in palatial mansions, surrounded with cooks, butlers and gardeners. Others prefer to live in hotels or clubs. Some are women chasers, others have been devotedly married for many years. Some are gentle parents, others are harsh. Some speak in cultivated voices, and find enjoyment in music, art and literature. Others take pride in crudity, and happily let the arts get along without them.

Wide as are these differences, there are some attributes which they share. Few of them, for instance, seem to have had a serious illness—by and large, they are characterised by raw good health. Most of them have what has been called "millionaire vitality"; they hunt, fish, ride, play tennis and golf. Most of them can work (or have worked in the past) for three days and nights on a problem, without sleeping. Almost all of them are early risers. Woodruff hauls his guests out of bed at dawn every morning to go hunting, and thinks nothing of it.

Most of them are "loners". Without advice, they may gamble millions on a risky financial venture, willing to take victory or defeat on their own. They make up their own minds, and often their decisions lead them on dizzy paths which more timid citizens would not dare to tread. They tend to do without secretaries or elaborate offices, to carry their real business in their hats.

Who are America's ten richest women? They don't know, themselves. Nor do their lawyers know; nor can they, their lawyers or their investment counsellors say down to the last dollar or even the last ten million, just how wealthy they are.

Four are in Who's Who in America. Two have been named to best-dressed lists. One was Woman of the Year in her home town.

Only five of the ten were born to fantastic wealth. One made all her money herself and the others grew up in moderate to well-to-do circumstances. Of these, the women who came into wealth during their lifetimes have enjoyed their money far more, been less burdened by a sense of responsibility for it than the heiresses to great fortunes.

Many of the large fortunes of a half century ago have been broken up among large families, or by inheritance taxes, or set aside in trusts or charitable foundations. But probably the very richest women in the United States are:

Doris Duke, who on her twenty-first birthday became the "richest girl in the world" when she came into the American Tobacco Company fortune of her father, James Buchanan Duke. She has an estimated $300 million.

Mrs. Edsel Ford, widow of the late president of the Ford Motor Company and mother of its present head, who was heiress not only to the Ford millions but to a huge Detroit department-store fortune and is believed to have nearly as much as Doris Duke.

Mrs. Merriweather Post, whose father, C.W. Post, invented and popularized not only a new kind of breakfast food—Post Toasties and Grape-Nuts—but a new way to promote them, inherited many millions which her sharp business acumen rolled up to probably around $250 million now.

Mrs. Horace Dodge, Sr., widow of the motor-car manufacturer, is believed to have $250 million, and Mrs. Frederick E. Guest, whose father was a partner of Andrew Carnegie, about $200 million.

Bracketed somewhere between $125 and $200 million are Mrs. Alfred I. duPont; Mrs. Charles Shipman Payson, the former Joan Whitney who with her brother Jock Whitney shared a fortune based on traction and oil; and Mrs. Mary G. Roebling, of Trenton, New Jersey, one of the few women in banking who has substantially increased the wealth left her, soon after her marriage, by the late husband whose family built the Brooklyn Bridge.

Mrs. Chauncey McCormick, of Chicago, has an estimated $120 million; and Helena Rubinstein, the list's only self-made woman, has a personal fortune believed to be up around $100 million.

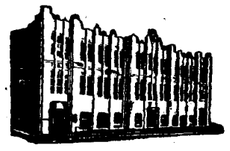
Most of these women are publicity-shy in the extreme, and for good reason. Because of their money they cannot marry, have children, divorce or even write a big check without getting public attention, which usually means hundreds of letters asking indignantly, "Why do you have so much money?" or, plaintively, "If you have so much, why can't you give me $100,000" or even "just one million?"

When Mrs. McCormick (to her horror!) was chosen queen of Chicago society several years ago, in a poll conducted by the *Chicago Daily News* society editor Athlyn Deshais, she received thousands of letters from all over the world, including one from a young man in Afghanistan asking her please to set him up in trade with a string of camels. Mrs. McCormick is a gentle white-haired lady who feels an obligation to answer personally any letter she receives, and replied to all. It took the better part of a year.

But probably the biggest problem of a woman of immense wealth is more personal. It is, according to one New York society woman, "finding a place where she can feel she is needed and is doing something worth while enough to be interesting. It is harder for a woman with that much money to feel needed than anyone else in the world" — largely because there is nothing in the world she has to do.

Most of these women have found such a place. All the happiest ones have.

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THE INDIAN WRITER IN ENGLISH

By MANJERI S. ISVARAN

To speak of the Indian writer is to speak of the writers in at least fourteen major Indian languages. In my own case, from the higher elementary upwards I was educated entirely in the English medium, I revelled in bombast, wallowed in rhetoric. While in the Senior Intermediate class I used to show my exercises in English verse to Professor W.C. Douglas who took us in Shakespeare: he liked them and suggested improvements warning me at the same time against a philistine world. He was an outspoken man and once while lecturing to us on Matthew Arnold, he said that as Arnold was an inspector of schools, he hadn't much time left to write good poetry — let alone great; he was second-rate among the first-rate poets. However, he was a reliable critic. We put that into our notes. I deviated into prose in my middle-twenties, writing essays, serious and frivolous, short stories which turned out to be sketches and sketches which unfolded into stories, playlets, filmscripts, and plenty of book reviews, but I have not left off writing verse and I have had my clash with the philistines many a time.

During the quarter century when I have been a writer I have been editor and literary journalist as well. I stepped out of the university straight into the office of *Triveni*, edited by Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rau, one of the finest writers in Telugu and English, an ardent nationalist who went to prison in our freedom fight, whose pen has never written a harsh or ugly word. *The Times*, London, celebrated for its restraint, praised *Triveni* as a model of catholic editing. I grew up with this journal under the tutelage of Ramakotiswara Rau, beginning as its assistant editor, then deputy editor when it was published as a monthly for the brief period of a year; next as associate editor for a short while in its shape as a quarterly which it now is, issuing from Masulipatam. Currently I am on its advisory board. In the pages of *Triveni*, young and new talent appeared side by side with established reputations. The editor was a great discoverer of promise and spurred it to achievement. From his sanctum, after conversing with him over a manuscript, the shy and the diffident emerged with a nascent courage. I loved the work I did, labouring hard, sustained by the belief that I had it in me to write. Periods of hope alternated with periods of despair in my attempts to communicate ever more widely. I persisted, for I believed in myself. I had already done a wide reading, wide, not wise perhaps, and this was an advantage. For every story or poem I wrote I destroyed three, often six, and got my hand steady, stiffening myself the while within, not to inflict any piece I considered feeble on others. I produced my first book of poems —rhyming traditional verse — when I was twenty-two. It had quite a favourable press but a reviewer in one of the influential Madras papers went at me savagely. Friends sympathised with me. But the most amusing part of it was; he pronounced *ex cathedra* that a law should be passed to prevent Indians from writing in English although he himself happened to earn his livelihood as a teacher of English! But I had passed the measles stage. I followed the road I had chosen. My next book of poems was published from Oxford and bore the imprint of a famous publisher.

In recent years it has become customary for people to talk of culture, defence of culture, preservation of culture, cultural freedom. Culture knows how to defend and preserve itself; it needs no adventitious aid. Cultural freedom is not different from other freedoms but culture is different from and at the same time allied to civilization in that it is civilization's life blood. It cannot be made into an industry, nor is it necessary to make it so. The material output and the technological advance of a society at a given period in the history of mankind have more pertinence to it than the schisms and conflicts in the realms of religion and philosophy. Culture is creative. It cannot be produced to order. It is the fundamental with which the family of man keeps its good manners. It manifests itself in innumerable ways: in the endeavours and endurances of humanity. And it is these that a writer has to reflect in his work, staying deep-rooted in his traditional past.

It is a painful fact that there is much antagonism towards Indians writing in English, emerging more particularly from Indians themselves. In the English-speaking world the Indian writer in English is certain to be respected if what he writes goes to further the knowledge of people of other nations about his customs and manners, rituals and ceremonies, life as it is lived in our quiet rural hamlets and busy provincial towns — "far more important than war, trade, and empires". India's contribution to the world has to be made in English. A couple of years ago I had occasion to meet and have a long talk with Dr. I. A. Richards, the famous English critic who had come to lecture at the Madras branch of the British Council. "Do you think, Dr. Richards", I asked him, "that a cross-fertilization of Indian thought and English forms of expression, both in prose and verse, attempted by Indian writers will achieve anything worthwhile for world literature — apart from translations?" "It just needs a genius to achieve this; it can occur", was his answer.

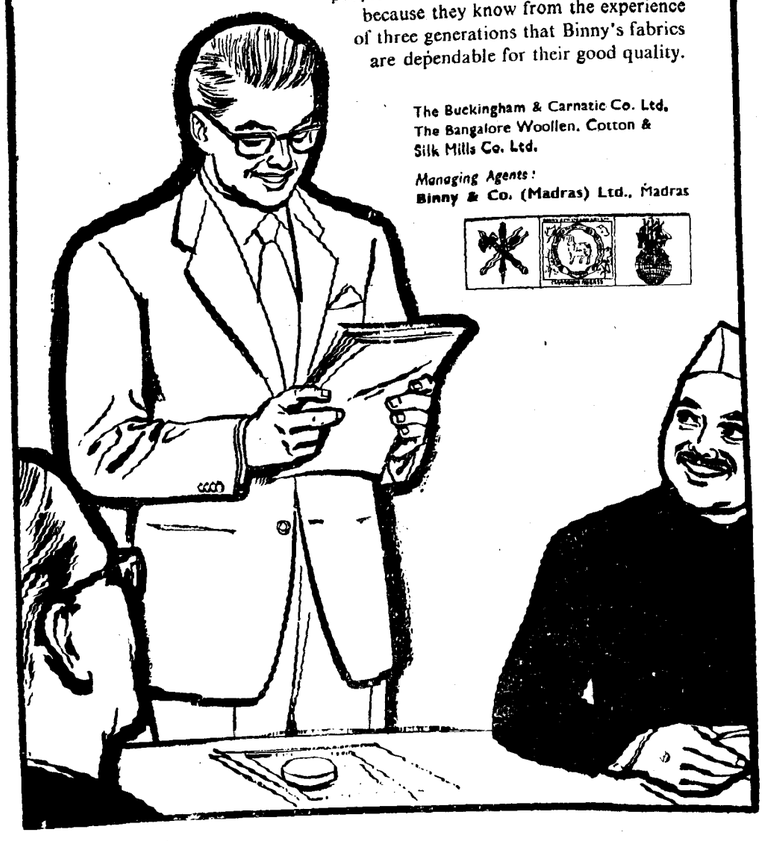
The moment the Indian writer in English realizes that he publishes his work in the U.K. or U.S.A., not for prestige but to make his western audiences understand what we really are in our domestic and political settings and as possessors of a glorious culture and the moment they shed their attitude of high condescension towards him, the true collaboration would have been achieved, the miracle would have occurred. And the Indian writer in English, I must say, is not so vain as to think that he writes exclusively

(*Continued on Page* 15)

A matter of confidence

'CONFIDENCE' is essential in all human affairs. An advanced economy depends on confidence because of the interdependence of its members.

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NEW TAX BURDENS: ADVERSE EFFECT ON INVESTMENT

Statistical evidence is available to show that the new tax burdens imposed since November 1956 have already had severe adverse effects on the flow of savings and investment into the private sector. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has announced that there has been a serious decline in the overall addition to the paid-up capital of all companies since November 1956. During the period December 1956 to March 1957 the total increase in the paid-up capital of all companies was of the order of Rs. 6.46 crores compared with Rs. 11.08 crores in the corresponding period of the preceding financial year. In the first eight months of 1956-57 joint stock companies increased their paid-up capital at a monthly average rate of Rs. 5.84 crores, whilst the monthly increase for the period December 1956 to March 1957 amounted to only Rs. 1.61 crores.

Figures published by the office of the Controller of Capital Issues of consents given for raising capital also indicate a slowing down in the rate of investment in recent months. During the quarter January to March 1957 the amount of capital issues applied for and consented to aggregated Rs. 37.39 crores and Rs. 31.61 crores respectively as compared with the figures of Rs. 121.26 crores and Rs. 116.59 crores for the quarter October to December 1956. Further, in January to March 1957 initial or new capital issues accounted for less than 17% of the total amount consented as compared with 41% in the calendar year 1956, 38% in the calendar year 1955 and 52% in the calendar year 1954. It appears therefore that investment in companies or in the private sector has declined by more than 50%, as compared with the investment made before November 1956, on account of the excessive tax burdens placed by successive budgets since that date. The figures clearly indicate which way the wind is blowing.

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Chester Bowles on Land Reforms

The problem of land reforms is of special significance to Andhra Pradesh. In no other State does agriculture play such an overwhelmingly important part in the life of the people. In no other State are the Communists so powerful with the exception of Kerala. The only way to disarm Communist opposition is to introduce land reforms without delay. It is this significance that made even such a remote observer like Mr. Chester Bowles say that one of the most regrettable lapses of post-independence Congress Governments is their step-motherly attitude towards land reforms. He was shrewd enough to note that "In Andhra, landlord—lobbying is very strong and is likely to prevent the introduction of comprehensive reforms".

He gives innumerable concrete examples to prove that where land reforms lag behind Communism forges ahead. He goes on to state: "Wherever land inequalities are great Communists find a fertile field. In India the correlation is dramatic. In Madhya Pradesh where inequalities are less, the Communists won not a single seat in the legislature. Directly to the south in Hyderabad, where most of the good land tilled belongs to a few landlords, Communists remain strong. In Mysore, just south of Hyderabad, where there is relatively broad ownership of land, the Communists elected only one member. In Madras, immediately to the west, *with one of the worst land systems in India* the Communists elected sixty two members and have a mass following....I have seen the same close correlation between land ownerhip and the success of local Communist parties in country after country, all the way to Japan".

R. V.

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MODERN CITIZEN'S PLIGHT

Excerpts from an article by the editor in "Psychology":

Though it is now generally accepted that taxation in some form is necessary, most of us feel that a great deal of the money filched from us is being squandered. There seem to be no limit to national expenditure and very little control over it. The bill for every crazy scheme comes to the taxpayer from the squeeze and squander departments. On the other hand, opportunities of earning more money or making more profit are being cut down.

These are the facts. Political extremists and arrant demogogues may prefer either to evade or ignore them or to under-estimate their importance, but they do reveal a dangerous state of affairs. When effort is penalised by heavy taxation, the level of effort will fall. When the profit of enterprise is taken away, then individuals will refuse to take risks. Incentive is necessary to men and women. People must be stimulated, not pauperised. And one of the best stimulants that has ever been known is the right to keep what is earned.

By all means let us extend our social security measures. Let us ensure that the best in educational facilities is available to all. Let us wage an extended war upon want and disease. This will cost money and must come from the common pool. We must all contribute towards these desirable objectives.

But men and women are so made, that they are not content to have a big slice of their earnings taken away from them by taxation, leaving merely sufficient to pay to be housed, clothed and fed. To-day's heavy and oppressive tax burdens could be very considerably lightened without reducing social security schemes if rigid economies were made in the Administrative Department.

There is nothing at all wrong in desiring the material rewards for our labours. There is nothing evil in a man or woman confining his or her aim to that level. But to do so solely on that basis means missing a great deal in life. For it is by broadening our goal towards that of fulfilment that we find true happiness. The purely material reward alone may prove disappointing or disappear. But the treasures of the spirit are imperishable and come to those who set their sights higher.

To-day we are witnessing an ever increasing encroachment upon the freedom of the individual. We are living in times of mass organisation and regimentation, in which the individual is all but submerged.

We are not allowed to manage our own affairs. We can only eat and drink when we are permitted to do so. We cannot buy from the shops after a certain time. We spend our days filling in forms — answering questions that are often stupid, absurd, impossible. We are inspected, supervised, obstructed and ordered about by hordes of officials.

We are tied up with red tape. The more competent, progressive and ambitious an individual is, the more the "red tapers" harass him. There is not a single trade or industry that is not being regulated by the bureaucrats.

Some forms of social organisation are, of course, a necessity. But all organisation should be made subservient to human freedom, happiness and growth. Organisations should be for the benefit of the individual and not the individual for the benefit of the organsation.

The great need of to-day is for the recognition of individual rights, to set people free from all unnecessary restrictions and give them the exhilarating sense of worth-while incentive and true freedom.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A DOUBLE DEFEAT

Sir,—The so-called economy measures recently adopted by our Government have failed to receive public support mainly because of the background against which they have been announced. During the past ten years we have seen such a colossal scale of over-spending—very often misspending—that a mere token cut in the salaries of Ministers or the postponement of a small building programme or the sacking of a chaprasi in an office is bound to be regarded as an apology for economy.

What is more important is the time at which these 'austerity measures' have been announced —after a lapse of ten full years of Congress rule. It creates an impression that the country has been enjoying prosperity all these days and that the need for austerity is but a passing phase in our economy.

The truth of the matter is that our Government has woken up rather late and found that the Communists in Kerala have already stolen a march over them in announcing substantial reductions in the Ministers' salaries. The result is that by this belated measure the Congress has sustained a double defeat. Firstly, the economic value of their economy drive is almost nil, as the savings proposed to be effected by them are but a fraction of the wasteful expenditure of the Second Plan period. Hence the absence of public support. Secondly, the Congress has sustained a political defeat as well in that the Communists in Kerala are the first in the field and the reduction effected by them in the Ministers' salaries is much more impressive. What the Congress government failed to do during ten years of their power, the Communists have done immediately on the assumption of office.

Cuddapah K. T. RAMACHAR

BLACK MONEY

Sir,—While T.T.K. is straining every nerve to tap funds from all possible sources for the successful completion of our Second Five Year Plan, it is rather strange that he has not yet thought of demonetizing our currency notes to unearth the hidden black money. According to a modest estimate, the money that has gone underground into the black market in the last ten years of Congress Raj is at least Rs. 800 crores. This, if traced may well raise the required amount for the completion of the Plan. The only way of tracking down the black money is by another demonetization order as in 1946, which must be brought into effect by an ordinance in order to make it fully effective. Incidentally, this flow of wealth from the black market into the open will be a distinct contribution towards the building up of the "Socialistic pattern of society". For it will go to benefit in transit a large number of impecunious middlemen who buy black money at a discount.

The present economic crisis can be averted and the Second Five Year Plan saved if our currency notes are demonetized, Prohibition scrapped and the salt tax re-imposed.

Bombay. S. S. BANKESHWAR.

WAGES AND DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Sir,—The object of granting dearness allowance is to compensate the wage-earner for the temporary rise in the cost-of-living keeping the purchasing power of an employee stationary. In granting dearness allowance it is presumed that the increase in prices is temporary and that the prices, sooner or later, will again settle at the base-year level.

Experience during the past 15 years proves that the prices are constantly rising and have a tendency to go up further. It is therefore clear that the continuance of dearness allowance cannot serve the purpose intended.

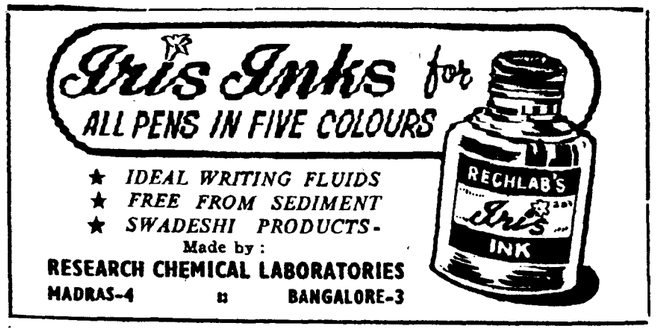
If the object of the dearness allowance is to compensate the employee for increase in the cost-of-living, why should it vary according to the basic salary drawn? The answer probably is that people in the higher income groups do afford some luxuries the prices of which are fairly constant or change only slowly. Another argument may be to bridge the gap between the highest and the lowest incomes.

Another fact causing burning dis-satisfaction amongst employees is that the computation of the cost-of-living index is most unsatisfactory. The cost-of-living index should reflect the true pattern of consumption. Though indices are published by *Capital* which are followed by the member firms of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce for its middle-class employees and the West Bengal Government for the working-class, the items computed and the weightages are not published. It can be gathered from the various tribunal awards that house rent, conveyance charges, services, tobacco, which have all become essentials or conventional necessities these days are not provided at all or are inadequately provided.

Proper computation of a cost-of-living index by the Government reflecting the true pattern of consumption and the linking of the total wages to such a cost-of-living index should assure employees of a stationary purchasing power. This should eliminate the so-called increased salary demands attributed to high prices, which is the single major source of industrial unrest. Wage increases thereafter should strictly depend upon increased productivity.

A. S. NARAYANA.

Calcutta.



RIGHTS OF A. I. R. AND OTHERS

Sir,—Sri M. Krishnan wants to know by what dictatorial right A.I.R. objects to people switching on to Radio Ceylon or Radio Pakistan.

The answer to that is very easy. By the same right by which we are told that we may drink enough coffee to ruin our livers; drink enough tea to line our insides with tannin; but may not drink beer. By the same right by which we are told that we should not drink coffee (Vide Sri Bhima Rao). By the same right by which we are told that we should not drink milk (Acharya Bhave). By the same right by which we are told that we should not eat meat and by which butchers are "persuaded" not to kill (Humanitarian League — as if beasts were the same as human beings). By the same right by which we are told not to use salt (Sri Tandon). By the same right by which we are told whom we may appoint as teachers (Mundassery & Co.). By the same right by which we are told that we should not indulge in horse racing (Sundry others.) By the same right by which, no doubt, we shall be told one of these days, that water is not good for us and that breathing is certainly bad for us.

Hospet. REV. F. MAGEE.

MADRAS HOVELS

Sir,—Taking advantage of the acute shortage of accommodation in Madras City, many landlords, especially in congested areas like Triplicane, have put up haphazard hovels in recent years to make money out of every inch of space. This has been going on apparently unchecked.

Should not the Corporation see that these hovels, so injurious to health, are demolished?

In most of the cases there is only one lavatory for 4 or 5 families huddled in such hovels. The landlords do not as a general rule whitewash the houses but they do not hesitate to enhance the rent without any sense of proportion whenever there is a change of tenancy.

Madras. "CIVIC SENSE"

WOMEN OUSTED

Sir,—For 25 years, beginning with Srimathi B. Padma Bai and Margaret E. Cousins, the Besant National Girls' School in Mangalore was almost entirely conducted and managed by the ladies of the place. The work done there was appreciated by all competent to judge, the workers were all joyous, the children happy and parents pleased. Unfortunately in the new set-up faith in material funds overshadows faith in the spirit behind earnest and devoted labour. Gentlemen commanding the former preponderate in number and influence and no woman is considered good enough for any responsible place of authority in the school. The reason for it openly given out is that women are cantankerous and unfit to be given office of authority in a girls' school!

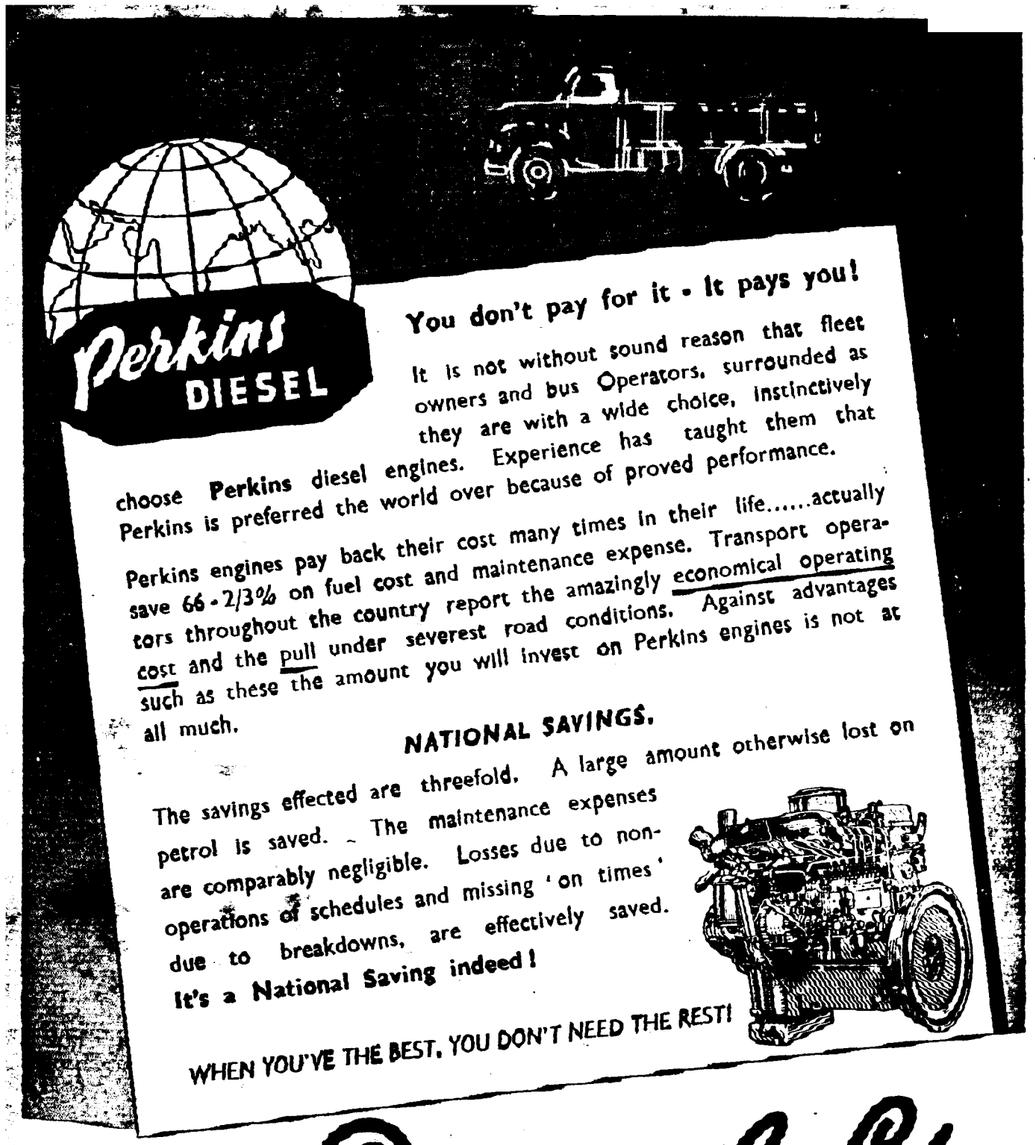
Mangalore OLD STUDENT.

The Indian Writer in English

(Continued from Page 10)

for a western audience; his alien medium has not failed to gain for him a public, an appreciative public, in regions of his land where other languages are spoken, acting as a common link. He has not held himself aloof from those who write in their mother-tongue, and they in their turn, so far as I know, have never derided him nor treated him with scant courtesy for continuing to use a language of foreign origin imposed by an alien authority that had been paramount over us for night upon hundred and thirty years.

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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

8 OCT 1957

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T. T. K's "BATTLE"

On the eve of his departure for Washington the Union Finance Minister gave an interview to the *New York Times* which has been relayed back to this country and given considerable publicity in the Indian press. As reported here, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in his interview "urged the United States to defend India against Communism". He said it was possible that "New Delhi might have to be defended if the Soviet Union and China came to the aid of the Indian Communist Party". Part of the trouble was, he told his interviewer: "Americans think New Delhi's policy is pro-Communist. We have to try and explain to them that the battle here in India is a battle against Communism too. We lost the State of Kerala to the Communists and one of the reasons behind it was that we could not spend enough money for development there"

A fortnight before the date of this interview, answering in the Lok Sabha Communist criticisms on some of the concessions given by the Select Committee in the case of the Wealth Tax Bill, the Union Finance Minister said: "Intellectually I am with you". This statement was considered important enough by a local newspaper to be blazoned in a three column headline under the caption "T. T. K. says he is 'intellectually with Communists'". As Minister for Finance, T. T. K. has not given up control over steel. He still continues to be in charge of the portfolio, and in fact since it was created, it has been held by him and none else. One of our steel plants is Russian-aided, Russian-managed and Russian-engineered. Having received aid from Russia in this manner, and proclaimed intellectual affinity with the Communists publicly in the country's Parliament, it does not seem to us proper that the Finance Minister should canvass aid for India in the United States on the basis of a potential military alliance between Indian Communists and Soviet Russia endangering New Delhi.

This is not unfortunately a negligible matter of individual impropriety. Our honour as a nation is involved. Inside the country the ruling Congress Party has claimed the advent of a Communist Government in Kerala as a feather in its own cap of democratic integrity. The President has blessed the Kerala Communist regime as a striking illustration of the co-existence of divergent systems of rule in the Indian sub-continent. The Communists came to power in Kerala under the same process of elections that returned the Congress to office in the rest of the country. There was no discrimination in spending money for development that can be claimed to be exclusively operative to the detriment of the Congress in Kerala alone of all the States. It is futile to go behind the accepted verdict of the poll at elections for the purpose of under-rating or over-rating the success or defeat registered therein. If such a thing be permitted, many can more justifiably point to the lavish use of money power by Congress stalwarts not excluding T. T. K. for reorienting the validity of their own re-entry to Parliament.

Outside domestic politics, the Prime Minister has pledged the nation to a policy of non-alignment as between the two power blocs, to which he has sought to give a significance of positivity and non-passivity by characterising it as dynamic neutrality. At one stroke the Finance Minister has reduced his chief's professions of non-alignment and neutrality into meaningless camouflage. He appears on the scene in the United States not as an intending borrower seeking the aid of a more powerful and prosperous nation in the humanitarian task of advancing the economic position of the people of an underdeveloped region, but as a political strategist, if not collaborator, playing on American fears of Communism to capitalise it to India's profit. This makes mockery of the doctrine of aid without strings. Nothing can tie India more tragically and with more relentless certitude to the United States than the receipt of favours on the basis of partnership in a common battle against Communism.

This is what the Union Finance Minister has already done. In exchange for the money he hopes to secure, he has committed India to a policy of enmity with China and Russia, friendly countries with which we are pledged to live in peace if the Prime Minister's oft-

repeated declarations of neutrality, non-alignment and Panch Shila mean anything. We have thus been made to forfeit the moral prestige and status of independence which we have been enabled to gain in international affairs through ten years of laborious and consistent effort in the cause of peace and disarmament. It is incomprehensible to us on what shred of national interest or ethical justification the Prime Minister can allow this country to be represented abroad by one who has already so irretrievably damaged everything the nation has stood for in international affairs since the advent of freedom.

Text Book Nationalisation

Official publications in India are cheap in appearance and content. Some of the Information periodicals run under Government auspices are dreadful. They contain over and over again photographs of Ministers and other dignitaries and it is evident from the frequency of these illustrations that their purpose is not instruction or enlightenment but flattery of someone in authority whose favour is sought. The publication in book form of the speeches of high dignitaries wielding political power or influence has become another feature of governmental publishing activity. There is really no demand in the free market for the major part of the printed matter in official publications which represent in reality subsidised effort. Practically everything worth reading in the country is the work of private publishers operating under conditions of free competition and naturally stimulated by it to combine a maximum of excellence with the minimum of price.

It is now proposed to nationalise text books. Nationalisation means the elimination of competition and the conversion of the business concerned into a monopoly. Without let or hindrance, all those features that have made official publications so dull, drab, dreary, and unreadable will have unchecked supremacy and they will be forced down the helpless throats of school children. By this monopoly a death blow would be administered to the unsubsidised publishing trade in the country. The regimentation that will be introduced into school education through the contemplated nationalised text book system will rob it of such little freshness and originality and individuality as it has managed to preserve, and our boys will be taken down the bye-ways of drill sergeant intellection that have served to make life in fascist and communist countries so unendurably authoritarian. It is of course needless to say that to the prevailing opportunities of corruption which top reviewers of Congress ministerial records have been seeking to check, this nationalisation of books will add one more fertile opening, the most dangerous, and from the standpoint of national welfare the most delecterious of them all.

Flimsy Plea Rejected

An election petition was filed sometime ago against the election of Sri Kamaraj Nadar to the State Assembly alleging grave corrupt practices. Election law stipulates that an election petition would be vitiated if every contesting candidate is not included as a party. In the election petition against the Chief Minister, one of the candidates who had withdrawn or retired after nomination was not included as a party. It was contended on behalf of Sri Kamaraj that this omission vitiated the election petition. The tribunal rejected this contention holding that a retired candidate is not a contesting candidate and his non-inclusion is not a valid ground for invalidating an election petition. Against this decision the Chief Minister moved the High Court for a writ. Agreeing with the finding of the election tribunal, the High Court has now rejected the application for writ. The practice of Ministers seeking to ward off judicial enquiries into grave charges connected with their own conduct in an election on flimsy technical pleas is deplorable and cannot be too severely condemned.

Dr. Adenaur

Dr. Adenaur has had an easy win in the elections in West Germany. Judged by results his record during his two terms of office, has been brilliant. Under his Chancellorship unemployment has disappeared. German prosperity has become a European legend. No great burdens have been placed on taxpayers, workers and pensioners, and they have all come to share a general feeling of well-being without fear of inflation lurking round the corner. In the 1949 elections there were ten political parties. Now as a result of this month's elections all but two have been practically eliminated. The new Germany of Dr. Adenaur is forging towards the democratic pattern of government with a two party system, and it has been able to combine freedom and individual satisfaction with phenomenal increase in production and national prosperity to an extent undreamt of after the defeat in the last war. The Chancellor's further lease of power is thus fully blessed by historical justification.

Good Advertising

The Advertising Club, Madras, signalised the completion of a year of its existence by inaugurating the Advertising Week with an exhibition of commercial art and bringing out a Souvenir.

Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar who inaugurated the Week gave out some wholesome ideas to indicate the essence of good advertising. It lay, in his opinion, neither in expense nor in the amplitude of publicity space consumed in newspapers and other media. The stimulation of curiosity rather than the satisfaction of it, he pointed out, is often the more dependable and profitable way of promoting consumer interest in the goods and services to be marketted. For the first time perhaps in the history of Indian advertising the Souvenir discusses the multitudinous problems connected with commercial publicity in the spirit of the researcher and professional connoisseur. Beautifully printed, and designed and

(*Continued on Page 4*)



Sotto Voce

Haw-hawing the Judges

The State Law Ministers' Conference functioned true to type by asking somebody else to tighten the belt. The Chief Minister of Madras promptly announced that the Advocate-General of his State had signified his readiness to accept the ten per cent cut in fees the Conference had suggested. This gesture is, however, likely to leave the profession cold. A Congressman who had greatly sacrificed used to say, with a gentle smile, that forty lawyers, at the district headquarters where he practised, enthusiastically responded to the Mahatma's call to boycott the law courts, but thirty-nine of them had gone back before the month was out.

* * * *

Small blame to the lawyers, I say. While there might be a few mighty whales ruling the seas of the law most of them are unregarded minnows. They are hardly able to pay their rent and the municipal licence fee for hanging up their boards. Few of them are vouchsafed by Providence the supreme good fortune of a wealthy parent or an influential father-in-law. The tide of fashion has left this distressed world high and dry. The new aristocracy and the reservoir of eligible sons-in-law is the I.A.S. And why should lawyers be asked to cut their fees when income-tax officers are promised houses?

* * * *

Neither corruption nor the piling up of huge arrears in the courts — the complaints that Mr. Nehru embroidered upon in his address to the Law Ministers' Conference, — has anything to do with lawyers' fees. If you have to tip the court clerks, so you have to tip sub-registry clerks, taluk gumasthas, police 'writers' and so on and so forth through the entire official under-world. As for arrears, Mr. Pant pointed out that they grew in spite of appointment of more Judges. But why did the new Mysore State have to wait for months for its full quota of Judges? And if you make ten new laws every day and all of them full of holes, how can you complain if litigation multiplies merrily?

* * * *

That pioneer of 'Socialistic' wild justice, the Madras Debt Relief Act, and that onslaught on prone Hinduism, the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, have between them supplied sixty per cent or more of the work by which lawyers have lived for a whole generation. Here is Mr. Nehru denouncing the wickedness of 'scoundrels' who move for Writs. But he forgets that there can't be one law for the supposed scoundrel and another for the honest man. If the State dubs the owner of a few acres as a parasite and awards his land to a chance squatter or if the State's industrial tribunal decrees to workers on plantations arrears of pay that would bring them to insolvency, is it any wonder that desperate, hunted men should fly to the Supreme Court for refuge?

* * * *

Most of the time the Courts are helpless. Any scatter-brained or unjust law can be stone-rollered through Parliament. The dispensing power to cover every fault of omission and commission, the ouster of jurisdiction of Courts the riotous liberty to delegate autocratic authority to underlings —all these familiar features of the new legislation make a mockery of the law. And if the pistol fails there is the butt end: amending the Constitution is child's play. As Sir S. Varadachariar bluntly put it the other day, public opinion is practically non-existent and the ruling party claims that it speaks for the people who speak for God. I shouldn't be surprised if the irate Prime Minister was talking back at the eminent ex-Chief Justice who dared to utter inconvenient truths.

* * * *

All honour to the Courts for standing up gallantly against Executive haw-hawing. Mr. Nehru was wroth with them for being a drag on Bohemoth out to squelch the individual and his rights in the sacred name of social justice. He contrasted with their old world caution the bold and progressive role played by the great American Judges. I don't know where he got his history. While Holmes writes his famous dissents, it was Hughes C. J. who usually carried the day. The American Supreme Court has in the long run been a powerful and wise force for conservation and stability; it has thereby won the respect and loyalty of the public.

* * * *

Justice Holmes was too great a Judge to make the absurd mistake of thinking that Judges should either make themselves the tool of the Executive or should usurp its functions. The doctrine of separation of powers, the extreme difficulty of amending the Constitution, — the curbing of States' rights in favour of the Federal Government had to be done in the face of the considerable vetoing power vested in the State Governments — and the fact that a brief written Constitution soon proved inadequate for America's global expansion did compel the Supreme Court to do a certain amount of 'interpretation'. But the Court was ever anxious to ascertain the intentions of the Founding Fathers by studying the tradition and mores of the American people. It never looked upon itself as a crusader for fashionable causes.

VIGHNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS : :

It is announced in the papers that the Madras Government have deputed two senior members of the Cabinet to rush to the riot-torn Ramanathapuram district and make an on-the-spot study of the situation there. It is a pity it is not realised yet, that the details only and order of sequence of fratricidal encounters can be garnered on the spot, but their deeper causes, the underlying motivations of violence and strife, must be studied and understood at the headquarters of the seat of government, wherefrom policies affecting the lives of people originate.

* * *

The democratic system confers on a party if it is returned with a majority in the legislature, only the right to govern. It does not confer on it the power of using that right to the detriment of some citizens and the advantage of others. All citizens are constitutionally on a par in every kind of relationship as between individual and State comprised in the business of administration. As a citizen the Prime Minister, representing the greatest voting strength in the country, has no right greater than that of politically the most insignificant being standing quite alone by himself and not able to get even one vote other than his own at any election he may contest.

* * *

A Kerala Minister declared recently that he turned a Communist because he had failed to get admission into a college though another with less marks did. If admission to college flows from the status of citizen, here was an infringement of that status, giving to one less than his right and to another more. Such a thing became possible because someone in authority failed to do his duty and abused his power. Ministers and others dealing secretively with files are apt to feel secure on account of the secrecy of their official operations. Even on occasions when they have to come out in the open they may buoy themselves up with the notion that they can get away with it—so illusory for the time being is political power drawn from the votes of people. But every victim of an injustice traceable to abuse of political power, becomes a centre of righteous resentment attracting and multiplying forces of illwill and revolt. The more there are such centres in a State, the more certain and rapid will be the march of the State itself into disintegration, chaos and ruin.

* * *

The Congress led a great movement for freedom and won freedom. Thereafter it has not done so well in conserving to all the benefits of freedom justly and impartially. Justice has been put to flight by the predatory urges of organised political pressures. We come across stories everywhere of justice being tampered with by the might of numerically strong combinations. It is said that even the judges in the courts have been poisoned by the communal infection.

* * *

One glaring example of administrative injustice stands to the credit of the Madras Government. Overlooking an upright officer of acknowledged probity and unblemished record, standing first in the order of seniority, they have recalled from retirement another lower in the scale of seniority to fill a vacancy that had occurred as Director of Medical Services. The doctor thus preferred also enjoys a fine professional reputation. But that does not minimise the fact that in the context of actual circumstances the preference shown to him marks a glaring administrative injustice. The Brahmin in thus roughly rejected for no reason whatever except that politically he is negligible and can be dealt with unfairly with perfect impunity. It is here that Sri Kamaraj and others of his ilk make their most fatal blunder. Virtues like truth and justice are integral factors in human character, and they cannot be violated once without spreading the corruption of it all through. The administrator deliberately committing of injustice in one case cannot win trustworthiness as just in other cases.

* * *

The indignation of the unjustly superseded goes down the surface of society as a disintegrating force to undermine its peace and stability. Even in the over-sanctified cause of the uplift of Harijans, excess of favour can turn out to be a curse. While the too grossly pampered enjoy their brief interlude of artificially promoted privilege, the disfranchised and dispossessed become repositories of underground violence like a volcano threatening the whole neighbourhood. Only intrinsic justice taking nothing from a citizen that belongs to him and giving to a pampered favourite of authority nothing that is rightly another's due, can quieten the turbulent humours of inter-communal strife. How can peace be restored by two Ministers running from Madras to Ramnath? Let them search into the heart of the statecraft enthroned in the Secretariat at Fort St. George for the causes of the violence that has broken out, now in one district, but presumably is only potentially held in suspension all over the State and may come down in other places any time as provocation ripens.

SAKA

Good Advertising

(*Continued from Page 2*)

got up with exquisite taste and sense of proportion, the Souvenir is a delight to the eye and its contents provide wide and varied interest to the expert and the laymen. In a way advertising is the toll of industry to the press. A sound and independent press is an eventual safeguard both of national prosperity and industrial productivity. Wrongly conducted papers, even if they sell in millions, may land whole nations in perdition and ruin both their happiness and freedom of industrial initiative. It is to be hoped that research into the consequential effects of advertisement policies will not fail to draw the attention of far-sighted advertisers to this aspect of the matter.

THE BAD PUPIL

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

As I went up the stairs I could hear the sound of conversation coming from Rajaji's room. I stood on the threshold for a moment or two, watching and listening before I went inside. The window behind Rajaji's chair was open, and the sunlight, sliced into narrow beams by the leaves of the palm trees outside, shone on to the face of an old man who sat, leaning forward and with his head uplifted, on the low chair opposite.

"I know," Rajaji was saying, "that some people think that I am opposed to the Bhoodan movement. But of course it is not true. Why should I be opposed to Vinobaji's plan to make all people compassionate?" He looked up and nodded a greeting as I slipped into the room and sat down. "If a village decides to become a joint family why should I object? Joint families have become villages and now if a village decides to become a joint family how can anyone object to that?"

The old man smiled assent. His big eyes were bright and full of gentleness, his face as warmly brown as a newly-peeled chestnut. But its glow, I could see, came not from the sunlight outside, but from within. Rajaji introduced him as Surendra Gupta, and said that he was on the way to Mysore to attend the meeting of political leaders which was to discuss the Gramdan movement. "We are very old friends. He has known me for a great many years. Thirty or thirty-five."

"Since 1918," the old man said.

"Nearly forty years? He came here to teach Hindi. He and Devadas Gandhi both came. And I was his pupil."

"Was he," I asked Mr. Gupta, "a good student?"

"No."

Rajaji laughed. "I was always asking questions about the structure of the language."

"Yes. Always wanting to know the reason for everything instead of learning. He was a very tiresome pup!"

"So I gave up," Rajaji said, still laughing. "But I still believe in making Hindi a compulsory subject in schools, though I am against its being made an official language. People think that this is a contradictory attitude. But it is not. You don't bring unity by imposing uniformity. Instead, you make the people split by creating bad feeling between them. Vinobaji should talk about this. Distribution of wealth is good — if you believe that wealth itself is good. But language is a more important possession than wealth."

"The way to learn a language," said Mr. Gupta, "is to do as a child does: to listen to it. Then there is no need for questions about structure or the reason for rules of grammar."

"But some of these rules are very revealing. In English, for example, one must never put oneself first. You must never say 'I and 'he' or 'I' and 'you' but always 'he and I' or 'you and I'" Rajaji turned to me. "That is correct, isn't it?"

"Of course. And in the Russian language," I added, "the word for 'I' is spelled with a

---

'NO IMPOSITION'

Now and then the powers above give the assurance that it is not their intention that Hindi should take the place of or hamper the progress of the other Indian languages. No one for a moment fears that Hindi could ever replace these Indian languages. Where the language is a mere dialectical or local variation of standard Hindi, Hindi will of course oust it. But other Indian languages including the languages of the South have strength enough to withstand any such attempt on behalf of Hindi. The point is that the people who speak these other languages will suffer, not their languages. The people will suffer in numerous ways in spite of their language and their literature being quite alive.

There is also an assurance often repeated that Hindi will not be 'imposed'. One cannot exactly understand what this exactly means in the face of all that is being done to make Hindi the sole official language of the Central Government and the sole inter-State medium. However there is this assurance. Let us ask that this assurance be given effect to. The best way to do it is to make it clear by a statutory provision that no change will be made in the matter without the consent of the legislatures of all the States. A step that affects all the States ought to have the consent of every one of them. Till then, the present medium of official communications and documents which has been suffered without any inconvenience these two centuries and during the ten years after Independence should continue. This would be the fair meaning of non-imposition if it is really intended to be followed as a doctrine.

What is to be done is to arrange for the learning of Hindi all over India. It is imperative that the language spoken in the greatest part of India should be learnt by the school-going population in that part of India where it is not spoken. This should be arrived at for its own sake and not in order to make it now or at any future time the official language for everybody. When the spread of Hindi knowledge is achieved, the required consent to make it the sole official language may be obtained. If it is not obtained and it is thereby proved that it would be a cause for inconvenience to the people of some parts of India it should not be done. To make it the official language and use it as a sanction against non-Hindi areas is violence. Language is not of lesser value to those to whom it belongs than other belongings. It would not create unity but discord to seek to impose Hindi on non-Hindi areas by making it the sole medium for all-India official business.

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and 'thou' and 'you' capitals."

"Very interesting. The Tamil script, of course, has no capitals — or is all capitals."

I was still considering the nature of the equality between all things and all creatures which this seemed to suggest, when Rajaji continued: "This man never went to school, and when I first met him he didn't know English. He taught himself. When we discuss things I take advantage of him because he doesn't get angry. He has never been angry with me."

Mr. Surendra Gupta nodded and smiled.

"Never?" I asked.

"Never," said Rajaji "He is a saint. A non-violent saint....We have some angry saints, too."

"If anything is to be non-violent," Mr. Gupta observed, "the spread of language must be."

We went back to talking about saints.

"Gandhiji was a violent man — a very violent man — but he overcame it." Rajaji paused for a few moments, and then continued: "If Gramdan workers threaten that land will be taken compulsorily if it is not given, that is violence. The words themselves are violence".

"Yes....And violence has its own reaction. We have a very serious problem in Bihar. We have been given two-and-a-half lakhs, but we have distributed only one-and-a-half. The distribution has to be done in the right way, and it is very difficult."

"Once," said Rajaji, "I was asked to distribute Bhoodan land. At the ceremony the agent — or whatever he is called — started to make the distribution of gift deeds himself, and I stopped him. I said that the donor himself should come up to the platform and give his land to those who were going to receive it. The suggestion was accepted and everyone was happy. This man was happy because he gave, and that man was happy because he received, and good relations were established between them. That is the way it should always be done. But Gramdan workers enjoy and take pride in giving away what others have given," Rajaji finished, laughing.

The guest nodded. "They like to be in the movement for this reason. There are very few who have the right attitude."

"The process has turned into a mechanism. Something like the Five-Year Plan. It is not compassion. It is working for fixed targets, instead of creating the right spirit."

"Yes. Targets were a mistake."

"But if I say this," Rajaji continued, "people say that I am opposing the movement. I might have said at some time that Gramdan would work like the co-operative societies, which have difficulties because of the defects in human nature — greed, vanity, dishonesty."

"Those who are not with us, people say they are against us. As I said, it is hard for people to understand."

"Yes. Non-attachment to the idea of success in their work is difficult. There is a sense of haste which comes from the idea that I must do something in my lifetime, that God must keep me alive for so many years so that I can fulfil this purpose. Our religion gives us the means to overcome this. We should try to do the work that is nearest to us — in our own circle or our own family — and not necessarily the big things."

This led the visitor to talk of Tolstoi, and then of Mrs. Besant and Krishnamurti. Presently the conversation touched on Buddhism. "A boy wrote to me," Rajaji said, "and asked why it was that Buddha was an atheist. I replied that Buddha had never said that there was no God. He was tired of arguing about theological points. He said: 'Let us not argue about God and the soul. Let us have compassion.' It is a very strange thing that people who believe that there is a soul are more often cruel than those who do not."

"Yes. They try to use force to compel belief."

"Belief cannot be imposed. It has to grow. Many people believe that religion is a search, a search for truth. Searching leads only to doubt. The whole process of searching for truth is a process of doubting and answering and doubting again. Religion is a plant, and must grow in its own soil."

"And growth cannot be forced. The roots must have time to develop."

Consideration of this brought the conversation back to other forms of compulsion. "If the use of Hindi is to develop," Rajaji said, "it must be brought into the schools. The people who want to make it the official language but who are afraid to make it a compulsory subject in schools are like those who want tiger's meat, but are afraid to go near the tiger. It was said recently that eighty per cent of boys here are learning Hindi. Boys may have lessons, but to say that they really learn is unture, though good men have said it. It is an untruth. People think that if they have a good motive, then they are justified in telling untruths."

"Some of the *rishis* said", Mr. Gupta pointed out with a slight smile, "that there were occasions when it was right to tell on untruth".

"But only in rare and special cases. To act on that principle is like one who would study the penal code, and then reads only the exceptions." Rajaji paused. In the short silence that followed I saw how the three strands of the conversation had, simply and effortlessly, been spun into a single thread. The two men were looking at each other, and suddenly Rajaji said, in a tone of extraordinary gentleness: "I am glad I am talking to you. When will you come back?"

I hoped that I should find myself in the same corner that time, too.

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Headlines

Tuesday September 17: In Thailand the army seized Bangkok and ordered the Prime Minister to resign. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari left for the U.S., and Washington reported that the American Government was considering emergency loan legislation.

Wednesday September 18: In London Gaitskell said the dollar gap between the U.S. and the rest of the world was more serious than the Middle East crisis. Singapore announced the signing of a defence agreement between Malaya and U.K. Dulles said "clean" bombs could put out local wars like bush fires.

Thursday September 19: Dulles urged the U.N. to intervene in the Middle East, and appealed to the U.S.S.R. to accept western disarmament proposals. In Madras Dhebar said Ministers planned to deal with corruption at the top level, and rioting continued near Madurai.

Friday September 20: The U. N. Steering Committee rejected India's proposal to consider the admission of China. Gromyko accused the U.S. of trying to turn the Middle East into a tinder-box, and supported India's proposal to enlarge the Disarmament Commission. Astronomers reported two big flares on the sun.

Saturday September 21: The U.N. agreed to discuss the race issue in South Africa, and Gromyko urged the separation of nuclear disarmament from other questions. King Haakon of Norway died. In India plans were announced to introduce free compulsory education up to eleven years of age by 1966.

Sunday September 22: Dulles said that the new Prime Minister of Thailand, Mr. Pote Sarasin, was a very good friend of the U.S. Indian leaders of all parties appealed for support for the Gramdan movement. It was reported from London that Dr. Radhakrishnan had arrived in the Mongolian Republic.

Monday September 23: President Eisenhower signed a proclamation to end anti-Negro rioting in Little Rock, Arkansas. Two Madras Ministers left for the riot areas of Ramnad.

GODS IN THE FLESH

By M. KRISHNAN

All I can say about this story is that I heard it—and didn't invent it. Naturally I cannot tell if there is any truth in it, but I'll say this: other anecdotes about Ramana Maharishi, retailed by wholly trustworthy men, show that he had such a delightful sense of humour, that I think it quite likely that this, too, is true.

A certain hard-boiled Judge, so the story goes, went up one day to the Maharishi and asked if he believed in the existence of God. On being assured that he did, the Judge sought to frame the issue more narrowly and inescapably—have you, he persisted, actually seen God? The Maharishi parried, as he frequently did, with a question—what precisely, he inquired, do you mean by God? This was just what the learned judge (who knew his Evidence Act and all about the inadmissibility of hearsay as evidence) was waiting for—he explained that by the sight of God he meant the actual physical manifestation of divinity, say, Rama and Krishna. Had the sage seen Rama and Krishna, in actuality? To everyone's surprise Ramana Maharishi replied that he had, of course, seen them commonly, an answer that so confounded the judge that he went away without further attempt at cross examination, especially as the sage had relapsed into meditation and was now wholly lost to the world.

Greatly daring, one of his disciples questioned the Maharishi later on these revelations; when and where had he seen Rama and Krishna? Why, so have you, explained the sage in the most artless tones; haven't you seen Rama, the water-carrier at the Ashram, and Krishna, the cook?

Another saint, Kumaraguruparа Swamigal, has a rather different reference, a much more literal one, to the sight of divinity. It is in his deeply moving and felicitous address to Sakalakalavalli, the Goddess of the Arts:

> 'Although, from Brahma downwards, there are countless gods known to the heavens,
> Is there, when one considers the question, another such like you, beheld by the eye!'

My translation, as all translations of *Sakalakalavalli-malai* are bound to be, is inept, weak, and knock-kneed, but I had to attempt it to make the point that the poet speaks of the visible manifestation of the goddess in all inspired writing.

If you ask me to answer, without quibbling, if I have seen God or any god, I can honestly say that I have. But naturally, being only myself, I have seen no great gods—only the lesser ones, the demigods.

Not so long ago, when there were Princely States, there were many such petty gods. Perhaps you feel that I am being petty myself, in referring to the pompous vanity of those Princes. Not at all. I am being purely factual. Many of them did think they were superhuman, even if not quite divine—demigods, in fact—and their subjects accepted this estimate of their entities (they had to). Gandhiji, whose words, I am sure, you will never consider cheap, mentions this divine concept of Princes in one of his recorded speeches. But alas! the saddest thing about demigods is their taint of man, their mortality. Today, I am afraid, H. H. has ceased to be even a superman.

You may ask, how about Judges of the highest courts, Ministers and Chief Ministers? No, no, no. You haven't the foggiest notions of what a demigod looks like, if you ask that. These High Court Judges and Ministers, they rate several cuts below the lowest god; they are only what they are, mere men in high positions. In fact (I know this isn't the kind of thing that should be said in public—so read this quickly and then forget it for ever). I once saw a High Court Judge actually eating groundnut on the Madras Marina. To be fair to him, he waited till it was dark, and probably he thought he was unobserved—but from behind the screen of a parked car, I saw him eating groundnut.

Today there are very few that can achieve even the most minor sort of godhead, but some doctors still manage to do it successfully. Mind you, I do not say most doctors do—most of them are nice enough fellows, though, due to an occupational bias, they are apt to probe and prick and prescribe nasty mixtures, given the least chance. But these are the ones that are content to remain a step below topmost rung, and the ones that have pleasant manners, especially towards their patients (the cynic will guess, rightly, that these doctors depend mainly on private practice for a living).

If you want to know how high and mighty a doctor can be, you should go to one of the really big bugs, the kind that is Physician or Surgeon Extraordinary to the richest and most influential in the land, as an ordinary or non-automobile patient. It is then that you will see him put on the mantle of God, and find that mantle somewhat inadequate.

That reminds me of one of the most celebrated physicians of our times. A man of unprepossessing looks (the only time he ever visited our house, I remember, I mistook him for the man who reads the electric-supply meter), he depended upon cryptic brevity for his effect. He would examine his patient in deathly silence and later, to the anxious inquiries of the relatives, he would make no reply; he would then single out the oldest of these inquirers and inform him, in the tones of one condoling with the chief mourner at a funeral, that nothing useful could be said before 4 p.m. the next day. If the patient died before then, everyone would say, well, what could anyone do, even Dr. X had no hope? And if the wretched man survived and got well, the credit went no less to Dr. X who had, by his miraculous skill in diagnosis (never divulged) and treatment (confined to fairly innocuous pills and potions) brought back the life that had almost crossed the gateway to the next world. I don't think any other doctor has had such a grateful following of patients.

You may feel that I am prejudiced against the tribe, Doctor, but I assure you there is no personal feeling at all. I have had few occasions to consult doctors myself, and the one time I voluntarily sought the skill of a physician, I enjoyed the joke, though it was at my expense.

Like some who suffer from hereditary alopecia, I developed dandruff sores and a most annoying irritation in my scalp, and went to a skin specialist. I had an appointment, and reached his clinic at the prearranged hour, and, after sending in my card, waited in the ante-room with an increasing crowd of people, whose horribly blotched skins bore witness to this doctor's fame. Everytime the door to the consulting room opened and a patient came out, there would be a mad scramble for the entrance, the nurse would admit the foremost, and the rest would return, defeated, to the benches in the ante-room. After an hour of this, the last patient but one was in the consulting room, and I was mentally rehearsing what I should tell the doctor when my turn came, next and last. Then the door opened once more, but this time it was not the nurse, but the doctor himself that stepped out—seeing me, he said that he had no time for any more patients that day, as he had to leave for a tea party at once, and that he would see me the next Tuesday.

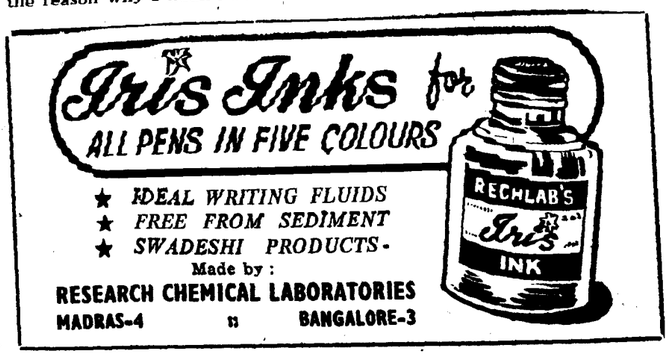
I said that I'd be damned if he did, that it was no fault of mine that he hadn't been able to see me that afternoon, as I had kept the assignation he had fixed, and that the reason why I hadn't been able to push through the milling crowd at his door and get to him much earlier was not that I lacked the brawn, but that being a layman, illogically frightened of skin diseases, I had avoided contact with the rest of his patients.

"Why are you so huffled?" he asked, in a gentle voice, and while I wondered what that could mean, he made up his mind to examine me right then. He took me into his consulting room, listened patiently to my troubles, and examined my scalp most thoroughly. However, I had lost all hope, for I had already had a good look at this specialist and knew that he could do me no good. He also suffered, patently, from the kind of alopecia I had, and the dandruff scabs and sores on his scalp were just as bad as mine. He prescribed a soothing zinc ointment, counselled patience, and frankly confessed that there was not much that could be done.

You may ask, how was that a joke at your expense? Why, all that I got out of that consultation, for which I paid forty rupees, was the one portmanteau-word 'huffled' (huffed+ruffled)—that was the joke, and I am sure you will concede that it was very much at my expense!

Small People

Small people never like great people. Small people are people who follow the fashion and live like frogs in a ditch, croaking at each other. When a real man comes near they are all silent. — Joyce Cary in "*To be a Pilgrim*."



FUTILITIES

By SANKARAN

In the sense of "come one, come all," the Madras Corporation advertises grant of free seedlings of trees and their free implantation in street margins during Vana Mahothsava pageantry to whoever would undertake to water and care for them. I took this annual effervescence somewhat seriously and sent up a request for a couple of flowering trees such as Gulmohur or Jacoranda. I peeped out of doors frequently during the week lest the municipal man pass by not recognising my unpretentious door. Nothing happened. A second year, not being in the metropolis, I contented myself with repeating the request by post. Nothing happened. The third year I again applied recapitulating my previous requests and tactically, but casually mentioning that unless there is some response, I rather felt like giving some publicity to this annual pretence. Sure enough action followed with celerity. Within a few days two double dilapidated tar drums, one set on the top of the other and tied up with wires, Heath-Robinson fashion, strutted on either side of my door — not particularly adding to the looks of my homely frontage, but certainly giving me a glow of satisfaction, partly for having squeezed butter out of stone, but far more in the sweet vision, albeit dim and distant, of a shimmery green spread of foliage emblazoned with golden blossoms. Gulmohur and Jacoranda were apparently beyond the Vana Mahothsava orbit. I even visualised the carpet of crinkly blossoms that I should ask the maid servant to sweep up every morning as she lays out, what she would have it as, the auspicious embellishment of a 'kolam'.

We assiduously watered the invisible plants within the drums. As long as I stayed in Madras I 'hayed' and 'hoed' away all cattle that sought to scratch their hides on the knobby tar barrels from my first floor abode and shoed and chased them if I happened to be at the door, frequently to the merriment of the passers-by. It seemed to me that all the children with balls to throw or tyre-hoops to roll or stones to shy at targets, all idle hands and idle time made a bee-line for those tar drums. Tiny tots seeking to peep in between the higher and lower tar barrels, tugged and strained the wiring and pushed in marauding fingers. Cattle seeking garbage dietry thought something specially succulent should be within and tried to knock the barrels off. My 'hays' and 'hoes' and shoeings and chasings of urchins and resetting of barrels whenever displaced did ward off for a whole year vital damage to the plants within and it was a thrill of pleasure as well as a knawing sense of anxiety when I saw one of the seedlings show up its head above the barrels. Would the fledgeling survive its first flight? The peeping sunlit tenderness out of the ugly drum would invite all rampaging little hands of boys and ravenous tongues of derelict cattle. It is an awful thing but true that every flower that bears a special tint or shape in a public garden only attracts attention of the brats for its destruction. The theft is never for cherishing — just a momentary interest followed by a cruel tearing of the petals one by one by the spidery fingers and the helpless softness lies crushed and thrown away. This slaughter of the innocents...does it raise any flicker of protest or even interest from the on-lookers? Very rarely indeed.

I had however, to go away. With all the goodwill in the world, the lieutenants who were in charge could not possibly make a whole time job of it as I did. A year passed, a year of such care on the part of my substitutes as is possible under the stretch and sag of a hard driving world of office, of catching of buses and lengthening margin between the scrimpy means and ever outpacing ends. One fatal day, a buffalo scratched its dung-smeared hide on the drums of the smaller plant to such purpose that it loosened them from their bearings in the soil and the greenery inside hardly sufficed for a casual bi brute.

The news was conveyed with much concern and apology and I mourned over the loss. I essayed to interest friends about getting a substitute from the nurseries. But soon the next Vanamahotsava came to pass and with it the usual annual trumpeting. My friend sent up an appeal for a substitute plant. The paper inevitably went in the usual time-honoured way into the time-honoured receptacle for discards and requests. He had still to live and learn that the strutting and quacking ducks that push themselves about in that pool of sloth have such a low geared nervous system that they only respond to revenue or a cacaphonous noice. Have they not laid to a Saharan waste the vast green canopy of banian trees with their red berries and green parrots that once enshrined the Mount Road from the Thousand Lights southwards — a remnant of the forest that once extended from the Fort to St. Thomas Mount, just, forsooth, because a few branches fell during a storm? To throw away the baby with the bath and spoil the marvel of an aeon of growth and beauty is possible only for little men clothed for a day in Abu Hassan-like Caliphian authority.

Anyway, I was not inconsolable over the rape of the lesser plant for the taller one still lived and despite buffettings bore itself bravely and seemed destined to gather substance and strength and to grade up to a height beyond the ordinary reach of boys and beasts. But...another devilish day.....the barrels are again found knocked out. My lonely slender adolescent plant is torn .....the roots lay trampled in the street. How it happened, who did it, it is not known. Does it matter? The Goths and Vandals that did it! With apologies to James Stephen for the free rendering of his purple language, I would that some wood sprite.

".....grip the whey faced
'rascal' by the hair
And beat bad manners out of
'his' skin for a year
May 'he' marry a ghost and
bear 'him' a 'brat' and may
The High King of Glory permit
him to get the mange."

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE DAYS

By Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI

Two epochs stand out prominently in my memory as the happiest periods of my college and school days. One was in the earlier forms when the hours of work were changed temporarily in the school I was reading in to 7 a.m. — 12 noon from the stereotyped 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. The other was the final year of the Medical College when there were no classes in the afternoon. We worked only in the forenoon and the afternoons were free.

I had always felt that sitting in the class rooms during the oppressive hot months in South India was very irksome. I am sure it must also be the experience of many, though they may not give expression to it.

It fell to my lot some time after my graduation to take certain classes in the Medical School in the afternoons. Not only did I feel miserable, but I found that I did no good to the students. In the hot crowded class-room, I could sense that the hearts of the boys were not in their work at all. I could feel their inattention. It was writ large on their faces and their general demeanour. Even though my own heart was not in my work at that time, yet most of my attempts, impelled by a sense of duty, to make the lecture interesting by illustrations and diagrams on the black-board and narration of interesting cases, did not have much effect. Oftentimes, I myself felt sleepy. It almost looked like a half-sleepy teacher lecturing to fully sleeping students.

In my college and school days, I had often wished to be left alone to pursue the study of my class-books or other books as along as I liked without the disturbing thought harassing me that I cannot go on like that, but will have to attend to some other work or that there is some other imminent engagement which I will have to attend to. How I longed that the whole afternoon and the night were entirely at my disposal to pursue the object that enthralled me.

I am a crusader for changing the hours of work in schools and colleges. 7-30 a.m. to 12-30 or, 1 p.m. in a day is enough for any teacher to open the intellectual eye of any boy. More torture, the boys cannot stand. I will make a concession to exacting teachers and educational authorities and let them have the schools for 6 days in a week including the Saturday, but let it be only in the forenoons, and let the boys have the whole afternoon to themselves.

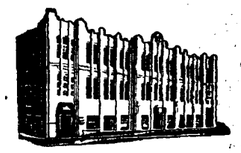
We, as a nation, suffer from under-nourishment. I reckon the health of the boys will considerably improve by the opportunity of taking a square meal in the middle of the day and a sound rest after it.

Sons of artisans can help their parents and learn a bit of the trade. Even otherwise, boys can take part in such activities as have caught their fancy.

Looking at this question from whatever angle, I see nothing but advantages in the proposed change of hours. When I canvassed this idea with some boys and teachers, one objection that was raised was that the boys will have to trudge home after school in the hot sun. No matter what plan you draw up with the best of motives, there will be some loopholes and some objection to it on some ground. But, on balancing the *pros* and *cons* to this question, I firmly believe that the *pros* will have it. If people plead for the *status quo*, it is because they have got used to it and instinctively are apprehensive of changes per se. The majority of people are not enterprising enough to think independently and judge questions on their merits, but will submit to change only when it comes as a fiat from above.

Refreshed after a good meal and sound rest I used to be able to concentrate on the dry text-books of medicine and surgery, for two or more hours at a stretch. There was also the added advantage of reading lessons continuously for some length of time. I am asked

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"What will the boys eat in the mornings?" Their food time-table will be thus wise. Cold rice and curds in the morning, a cup of coffee or tea at about 10-15 a.m. a hearty meal at 1 p.m., a cup of tea or coffee at 4 p.m., and dinner at 8 p.m., ought to be quite satisfying.

If the boys and girls are keenly interested in games, they will be able to give a better account of themselves after some rest, than when they go into the play-field from a monotonous class.

As a corollary to the change of hours of work I have proposed, I will suggest that the libraries of schools and colleges should be open only from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. They need not be open in the mornings during class hours, as the students then will not have the chance of leisurely browsing in the library. Many of us will like the boys to spend a good amount of time in a leisurely manner in the library. If I had my own way I will make the library the most attractive place in the whole school or college, where the students will be tempted to gravitate as a matter of course. There is another added advantage. It is this. We as a nation are very voluble. Being compelled to maintain silence for some time every day, the old vicious habit may to a certain extent be cured. We, as a nation, are also inconsiderate to the other man's interests. In a library, having to maintain silence out of consideration to others, the habit will slowly grow upon us even outside the library, of being kindly and considerate to others.

This reform, I suppose, will benefit the teachers in an equal measure. They will have more leisure when they can sit down and think out the ways and means of putting their instruction across to the boys in a very effective manner. They will also improve in health and will have opportunities of pursuing them thus enriching their own lives.

The scars caused by two teachers of mine are indelible in my psyche. One teacher deducted some marks from my answer paper on the plea of bad handwriting so as to make his favourite pupil come first and robbed me of the first place in the class. Teachers, if they are to profit the boys by their example, must be fair and impartial. An essay narrating a few humourous episodes interspersed with some witty remarks came in for such a violent and deprecatory condemnation as to damp my enthusiasm for essay writing. Shortly after, a similar essay keyed in the same pitch won such warm appreciation from another lecturer, that the former wound was to a large extent assuaged.

I had the good fortune in my earlier years to come under the influence of a good Tamil pandit,

(*Continued on Page* 15)



IS WRONG WITH THE PRESS?

By NILKAN PERUMAL

One reason why most of our newspapers are short of circulation is their lack of interest in providing abundant *local news*. A Negro journalist, Carl T. Rowan who visited us in the summer of 1954 in a Press interview said: "Generally, I can read in an Indian newspaper what goes on in Geneva, Paris or London, but not so much of what is going on in Calcutta, Delhi and the smaller towns." This is the absolute truth. In the Madras State at least one Tamil newspaper, *The Thanthi*, has made it a point to evolve a peculiar news policy, giving its readers 95 per cent of news pertaining to Tamilnadu, four per cent of Indian news, and only one per cent of foreign news. The paper is a success today because of its local news coverage. Of its manner of presentation of news, there are two opinions, but that is not the point here.

The *International Press Institute's* study on the *Flow of News* released in December 1953 from Zurich told us that the Indian press covers 29.7 per cent of British news and 12.2 per cent of American news. There is little of news from other countries. Even Pandit Nehru once emphasised the need of covering adequate *Asian news* which is sorely neglected by the Indian press. The veteran journalist M. Chelapathi Rau once said: "the Indian press is yet to create large means for the creation of local and national news". And it was recently given out that the national news agency, the Press Trust of India, is working on a loss! Why? I wish the men at the helm had a better sense of proper planning to run that agency.

News is fresh information, something *new*. But what do we see in our press? Most of our speakers either in Parliament or public platforms are verbose and not three lines of what they speak usually contain anything worth publishing in a newspaper. But the press under the fear of loss of advertisement gives columns and columns of the nonsense most Ministers speak. Why should the press publish such balderdash as news?

Said Walter Lippman: "The function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to get them into relation with each other and make a picture of reality on which men can act". Is there anything like this done by the Indian press in its news-purveying?

By improvement on right lines the Indian press can better its stability and profits. Training in American universities can be useful, but few who had such training there ever came up to do anything worthwhile in India, since they are not given opportunities to prove their mettle. Much thinking and useful, practical action is needed if at all we mean to have a twentieth century press suited to the needs of the country and its readers.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A. I. R. AND RADIO CEYLON

Sir,—Sri M. Krishnan's article "Over A. I. R." (SWARAJYA, September 8) should be an eye-opener to the Minister for Broadcasting. Radios are purchased to hear some good songs to keep up the spirit. The Sugam Sangeet that is being relayed in place of 'Fillumigeet' is of such low standard that out of disgust one tunes in Radio Ceylon. Moreover stations like Vijayawada are very weak and it would be quite impossible to get them clearly after 6-30 p.m. The listener purchases a radio and pays Rs. 15 per year, is denied good music and is forbidden to hear good music from other foreign stations.

Hyderabad. H. RANGACHAR.

(II)

Sir,—No listener can adequately thank Sri M. Krishnan for his convincing criticism of Dr. Keskar's methods of improving the cultural and moral standards of Indian citizens. Dr. Keskar may sincerely believe that the cultural standard of the Indian listeners is going down. But the negative approach of protesting to the Ceylon Government against their commercial service will not solve the problem.

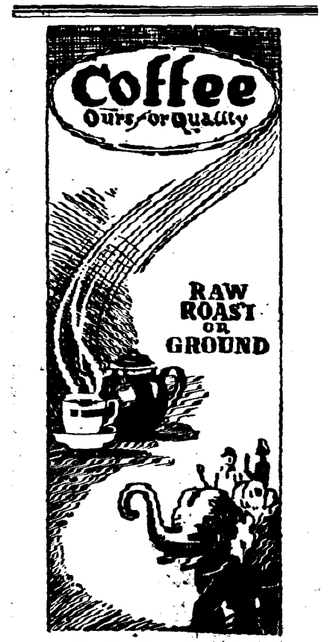
The first requisite to make people care for the A.I.R. is this: the power of the transmitters should be considerably increased so that it may be possible to listen to the programme of A.I.R. without difficulty.

I am having a five valves "Bush" radio set which is hardly two years old but I can't tune to Madras during crowded hours and I have to be satisfied with the local station or Radio Ceylon. Invariably on Thursdays and Fridays important Carnatic music concerts are relayed from Madras by Hyderabad station of A.I.R. and this is a welcome feature. But there too the listeners will not be allowed to listen without interruption. When Parliament is in session, the relay of the music concert will be cut abruptly to make way for "Today in Parliament from Delhi". I don't understand why the A.I.R. should stick to a rigid time-schedule like this.

Secondly, considerable time should be allotted for broadcasting film-music which is loved by many and especially by the fair sex, whatever the policymakers may think about it.

Assuming that A.I.R. becomes an ideal broadcasting agency the ultimate choice of listening to a particular station should be left to the discretion of listeners. If the personal liberty of choosing the mode of spending one's leisure is encroached upon either by legislation or by other methods, we will have only a dictatorial democracy.

Hyderabad. M. M. KUMAR



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BOOKS OF THE BOOK TRUST

Sir,—I am in entire agreement with your remarks on the books published by the Southern Languages Book Trust. Recently I happened to have a glance of the books in Telugu. Neither the get-up nor the contents have any appealing interest. The publicity given in the press about the activities of the Trust filled us all with the hope that after all we are entering an era of 'Indian Penguins'. But we are all disappointed.

The tragedy of it all is that such poor production should have come in spite of the fact that the project has had sound financial backing.

Cuddapah. K. T. RAMACHAR.

DOUBLE-EDGED WEAPON

Sir,—Permit me to say that what you have called "Intellectual Confusion" is no confusion but only a double-edged weapon. The expenditure tax proposes to serve either of two objects. If it fetches revenue, it helps the Plan. If it promotes savings, it results in investment which is an essential part of the Plan. Whatever happens, it happens only in the interests and for the good of the country.

It should be noted that the Opposition party in a democracy is not there simply to oppose every measure brought forward by the Treasury Bench. Formative ideas of different individuals belonging to different parties may at times coincide and it is a welcome thing for both. And this does not mean that one plays into the hands of the other.

Lastly, charity is disgusting to any self-respecting man. It sells individual personality. It does not help to raise the receiver's standards of living or standard of life.

P. SHANMUGHASUNDARAM

Coimbatore.

WHITHER?

Sir,—Not a day passes without a statement in the press by great people on civilization, culture and knowledge. These terms have lost their significance. No doubt science is progressing but it is being utilised for political ends by the short-sighted politicians. So it becomes necessary at this stage to put ourselves the question: Whither are we marching to?

Anantapur. P. RADHAKRISHNA.

...TY OF HYPOCRISY

Sir,—The Government to-day has to choose between employing ruthless and undemocratic means to fulfil a decidedly over-ambitious development plan and pruning the plan itself to bring it in tune with our actual resources. No doubt, the Government, in preparing the plan, depended on substantial American economic aid. Since the plan was drafted, however, we have had frequent occasions to criticise American foreign policy because it has resulted in hardening Indo-Pak tensions. This has obliged us to spend huge portions of our slender resources on unprofitable armaments.

I have heard the suggestion that with a view to coaxing the United States to help us carry through our Five Year Plan, the Government of India must be less outspoken about their views on important world events. Some have even taken the Government to task for their criticism of last year's British aggression in Egypt. I have no doubt that these persons would have had equally no qualms about maintaining a helpful taciturnity about the Russian excesses in Hungary if there were any prospect of Soviet economic assistance to us. From the Government's equivocal attitude to the question of recent British intervention in Oman, it would appear that they are realising the utility of hypocrisy.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution to modern Indian life has been to restore and re-introduce noble human values in the practical dealings between peoples and between nations. Our Government's acquiescence in the suggestion that we lend tacit support to aggression by powerful nations against weaker countries will only lead one to the conclusion that not only is the Mahatma dead, but dead also are the high principles which he lived to propagate and died for propagating. R. MANI.

THE INDIAN TURBAN

Sir,—The Indian heart of Devi Das longs for the turban. My foreign heart is filled with a similar longing. Angular and ugly indeed is the white cap and on very few heads does it sit well. The turban sits well on any head. But if the turban is "not suited to the times", then let all heads be bared. In lieu of the turban what can be more attractive than a head with a fine crop of hair? For those who have no hair — well, that is another problem.

Hospet. (REV.) F. MAGEE.

My School and College Days

(*Continued from Page 12*)

who was gentleness and kindness personified. All the beneficial effects wrought on me by him were undone in later years by a harsh, sarcastic and cynical teacher. Since then I had taken an instinctive dislike to Tamil, and in my sub-conscious self I have been combating it with great effort.

I would rather have a teacher branded as weak and ineffective to be in charge of boys, but I have no use at all for teachers who are unkind, harsh, sarcastic and cynical and who gloat over getting the better of the boys with their devastating wit. Sarcasm and cynicism cause deep wounds in the minds of boys in their impressionable age. Here is an instance. In the lower classes when we had just begun the study of chemistry and come to the subject of crystallization, one day I rushed up to the teacher to announce, what I then conceived to be a discovery, that perspiration forms crystals; for I noticed a gritty feeling on my face while returning home after a strenuous game in the field. He laughed outright in my face and held me up to ridicule before the whole class the next day without correcting me and telling me where and how exactly I was wrong. An unresolved doubt occupies a certain amount of unnecessary place in one's mind, preventing other useful pieces of information from getting in. A kindly soul gently hinted to me that my gritty feeling was due to particles of dust adhering to the moist perspiring face and not crystals. If, in the first instance, my chemistry teacher had said that to me, how I would have adored him!

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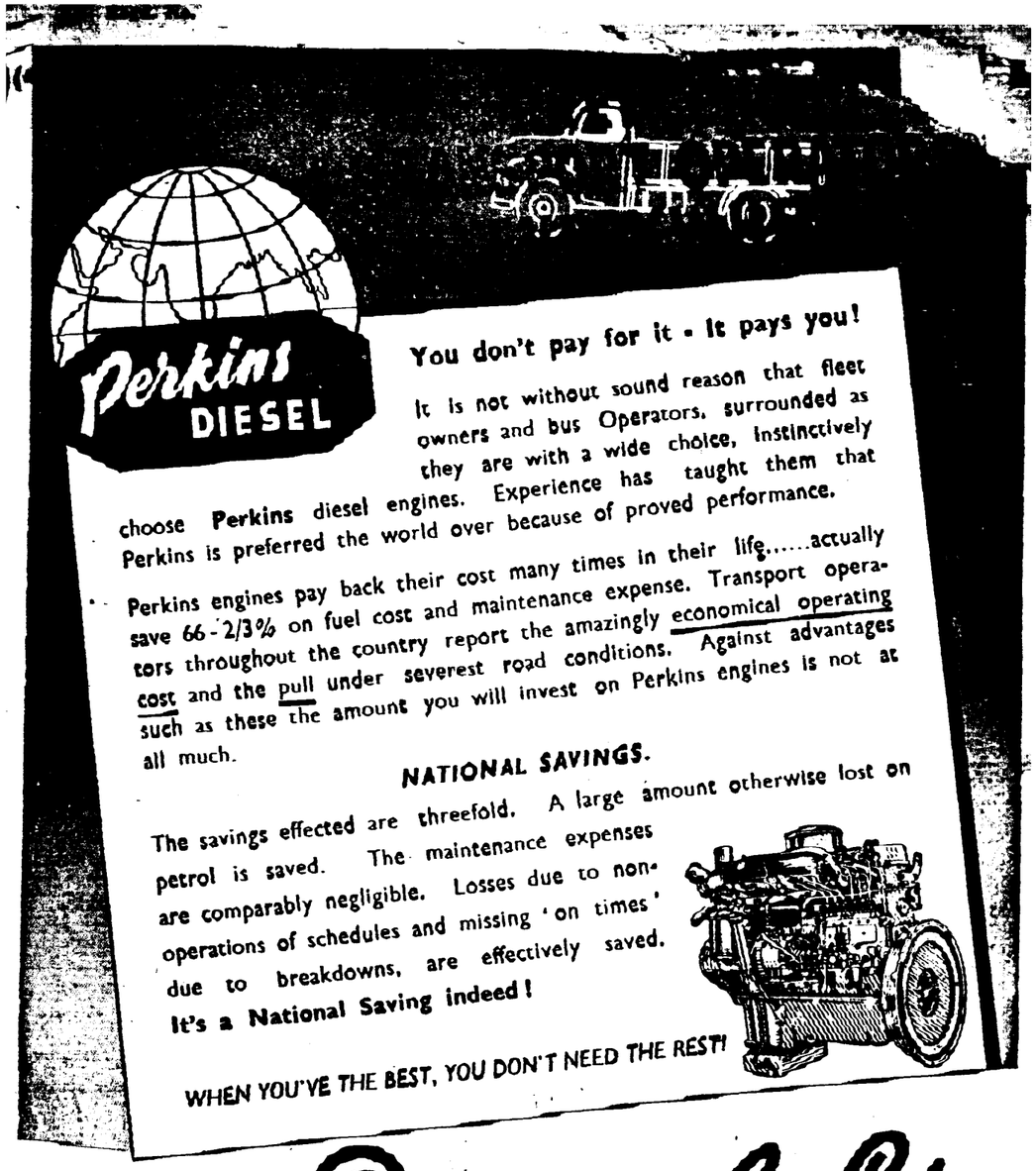
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THE SAFETY OF THE CITIZEN

The arrest of Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar raises important issues connected with the safety of the citizen in Madras State. It is clear even from the perfunctory accounts of the riots in Ramanathapuram that have so far appeared in the Press that the police took the law into their own hands. By chance or by design members of a particular community have suffered heavily from the shooting. But with supreme complacence one of the Ministers announced that there would be no judicial enquiry. Should it be a matter of executive discretion to decide whether there should be a judicial enquiry or not when actually there has been large-scale killing, with the police themselves contributing liberally to the deaths that have occurred? Not so long ago, when grave charges were publicly made on the floor of the legislature against no less a person than the head of the police department himself, the Government took a most unusual step. They indented on the services of a judge of the High Court to conduct an enquiry into the conduct of the Inspector-General in a manner that had nothing judicial about it. Judges of High Courts derive their prestige from the traditions of open enquiry, open sifting of evidence and arguments in public that have become an inseparable part of the trial of cases by them, and if they are to be utilised for conducting hole and corner enquiries violating in every particular the pattern of established procedure associated with High Court Judges, it can only be characterised as an abuse of the judiciary itself by the executive to serve its own purposes. It is scarcely possible, in this atmosphere, that any confidence can be felt by the public that justice will be done. And who is responsible for such a sort of atmosphere? The responsible authority undoubtedly is the State Cabinet, but among the members of the Cabinet itself a greater measure of responsibility rests on the Home Minister and the Chief Minister who are more directly concerned than any of their colleagues in the preservation of law and order and the integrity of the police administration. If the logic of events points to the removal of any persons from the scene as likely to promote a more salutary climate for justice and punishment of wrongdoers, it is these offending and because offending, also discredited members of the Ministry. What has poor Muthuramalinga Thevar got to do with it? All that can be said against him is that he is a man of reckless courage not easily daunted by fear of police or executive *zulum*, just the sort of individual round whom the victims of oppression with disclosures to make are apt to collect when Ministers and other 'protectors' of the community go about after riots heartening the malefactors by proclaiming the abandonment of judicial remedy and procedure.

River Waters

When the Krishna Pennar project was first mooted and the idea was canvassed of meeting the increasing demand for water of Madras residents from the northern Andhra rivers, there was a veritable furore, and Sri M. Satyanarayana started an organisation to integrate the economic interests of Andhra on a river valley basis. What seemed impossible only a few years ago has now been agreed to quietly by the Chief Ministers of Madras and Andhra Pradesh. It has now become almost accepted policy on behalf of these two States that Godavari water should be brought down southwards by means of dams and the interlinking of rivers to irrigate the parched areas of Chingleput and North Arcot and meet the water shortage in Madras City. The vociferous thunders of the agitators of old has been stilled, presumably by second thoughts of discretion and political expediency, since nothing has happened in the interval to nullify or even dilute the force of the arguments to which they drew such clamant attention only a few short years ago. There have been some feeble voices raised in peasant conferences (reported only in the Telugu press) urging a more careful study of the whole problem of disposal of the waters of Andhra rivers. If on a future date par-

sions of the sort roused only a little while ago in the campaigns of Sri Satyanarayana and the Raja of Challapalli, are not to raise their heads again embittering inter-State good relations, it seems necessary that a less private treatment with more adequate public discussion should be given to the issues involved. There can of course be no territorial limit on any theoretical basis to the utilisation of the water resources of any river. But it is simple commonsense that areas proximate to the source of supply should have over-riding preference over those lying at a comparatively remote distance and the criterion in according preference should be not the present state but potential possibility. If these two factors are not borne in mind, any scheme for territorial distribution of the waters of any river in any part of the country will provoke illwill and tension in the future in the exact proportion in which they are ignored or violated.

AMERICAN AID TO PAKISTAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I have written pretty plainly both here and in the American Press about the error of American military aid to Pakistan. I hope one day the gravity of this erroneous policy will be recognised and that India and Pakistan may be released from a worthless and ridiculous armament race and be enabled to spend their resources on real development without having to mortgage their independence to foreign powers.

This programme of U. S. military aid to Pakistan was, I know, originally proposed when Mr. Chester Bowles was U. S. Ambassador in India. He was able to convince his government that it was utter folly. It is after he left and when he was no longer in any way connected with the U. S. administration that this arms aid to Pakistan became U. S. policy. When Pakistan representatives announced willingness to sign an anti-Soviet alliance with America if the latter would provide that government with a large amount of military equipment, the U. S. Government acting on right instinct refused to take it seriously.

The proposal was transferred to the military authorities for examination as a prolonged enquiry of that kind served to politely shelve the proposal. But later, somehow, the matter was leaked out to the Press. This was done during a period when there had accumulated a good deal of anti-Indian feeling in the States and stupid suspicion of Indian policy as regards Moscow. A great deal of pressure was developed and the U. S. Government felt bound to accept the offer of 'friendship' from Pakistan as against India's false 'neutrality' which was supposed to be equivalent to pro-Moscow bias. The military leaders of U.S.A. had no full understanding of the political and other consequences of such an alliance. Thus we have now this heavy armament race between India and Pakistan which is eating into our vitals, costing us a steady 50 crores additional spending every year on Defence and Deterrence. God knows how much greater this annual addition will grow to in the near future. The position is most regrettable from every point of view.

American policy narrowed itself into a military gully. But the people of America will not, I am sure, allow this to go on indefinitely. A change must come. The beginning of it is bound to be a stoppage of this most pernicious military equipment aid to Pakistan which has not only worked as a destructive neutralizer of any other kind of aid to India, but as an accelerating drain of native resources impoverishing both Pakistan and India and aggravating the vulnerability of this part of Asia.

Headlines

Tuesday September 24: Selwyn Lloyd said at U.N. that a disarmament pact was possible in the next few weeks, and India re-opened the question of admitting China. Nehru said India would welcome foreign aid but should not rely on it for building the nation.

Wednesday September 25: At the U. N. India tabled a resolution demanding an immediate and unconditional end to nuclear tests. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari told the World Bank that a slow-down in India's 5-Year Plan would create serious political problems. The U.S.S.R. announced the scrapping of its current 5-Year Plan and its replacement by one for 7 years.

Thursday September 26: Washington reported that T. T. K.'s mission was doing as well as could be expected. It was stated in New Delhi that the Finance Ministry was showing interest in the decision of the U. S. Air Force to abolish V.I.P., treatment of guests, though the change would produce no immediate economy.

Friday September 27: King Saud said in Damascus that Saudi Arabia would fight for Syria or any other Arab country threatened with aggression. Michael Scott appealed to the U. N. against the Union of S. Africa's decision to take S. W. Africa into the Union.

Saturday September 28: New York reported that the western powers would not support India's disarmament proposals at the U.N. The Yemen accused Britain of aggression in Aden. A meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers opened in Quebec.

Sunday September 29: A Japanese scientist predicted the extinction of the Japanese race within ten generations if nuclear tests continued at the present rate. A Soviet scientist stated that flights to Mars and Venus would be made between 1962 and 1967.

Monday September 30: A trade pact was signed between India and Czechoslovakia, and the Government of India announced fresh cuts in imports. The Pakistan Electoral Commission announced that elections could be held in the first week of November.



Sotto Voce

Here and There

Having been away from the city for the best part of a fortnight current events, including the stark tragedy of Ramnad, have a dream-like unreality for me. Which must be the excuse,—and my total innocence of the contents of newspapers,—for my indulging this week in that modern form of escapism, a bit of travelogue. And a bit of autobiographic confession, too. There seems to be something ambivalent about my *vasanas*. It has always happened that if I planned to go to a Siva shrine, circumstances so contrived that I had to pay my devoirs first at a Vishnu shrine on the way; and *vice versa*. When in fulfilment of a long promised visit I planned to go to Sringeri for Navaratri, whom should I meet on the way, hardly a few miles out of the city, but His Holiness the Jagadguru of the Kamakoti-Peetha!

* * *

He was, as is usual with him these days, walking along with a small handful of disciples. The faded ochre of his *kashaya* was barely visible against the dim background of an urban road in the drab morning hours. He moves silently and without any fanfare of trumpets. But everywhere the devout had gathered in small knots on the wayside, informed of the greatness in the air by that mysterious sixth sense which has served them so well. He had to stop every few minutes as they reverently prostrated themselves and laid their offerings of love at his feet. His patience is monumental, as is his compassion.

* * *

I reached Sringeri after hours of delightful driving up hill and down dale through miles of dense forest with little emerald clearings here and there where paddy and sugarcane and the tall and slender areca palm grew in abundance. I was revisiting the Malnad of Mysore after seventeen years. It fully lived up to the expectations of an exacting memory. What was an added delight this time was the open-handed hospitality of a friend at his ancestral house in Shimoga and his charming village home within a few miles of Agumbe. To the cocksure parvenus who say that the joint family is doomed and that it is a jolly good thing that it is, I can only wish that some good fairy would give a glimpse of the good life as it is lived at my friend's home.

* * *

I knew that His Holiness the Acharya of the Sringeri Sarada Peetha was away. But it was Mahalaya Amavasya and the third anniversary of the sad day (sad for the world of *asthikas*, that is) three years ago when the late Acharya, who was a living embodiment of *advaita bhavana* merged in Brahma. It was for the disciples, who had gathered in numbers, a day of solemn memories and grateful thanksgivings. And one story they told me is worth retelling. It shows how, while over-zealous partisans may quarrel among themselves as to the superior antiquity or authority of this or that *math*, the liberated souls who, by a supreme piece of good fortune, reigned contemporaneously at Kumbakonam and Sringeri for nearly half a century, totally ignored such childish squabbles.

* * *

A disciple of the Kanchi *math*, very learned and very cantankerous, had an instability of disposition which left one always in some doubt as to where his affections were currently engaged. It seems that, while on a visit to Sringeri, he sought audience with the late Jagadguru and tried to impress him with a lurid picture of the way in which the Kanchi *math* with its artful ways was quietly nibbling away at the allegiance that was Sringeri's lawful due. The Swami listened quietly for a while and then summed up the indictment in a sentence that left the tale-bearer speechless. "All that you say comes to this that His Holiness of Kanchi is carrying on *dharma prachara*. We ought to be thankful for that. For it lightens our own work".

* * *

Having discharged my promise I hastened back to Madras like the homing bird. I had seen in the papers glowing accounts of the royal reception the public of Madras had accorded His Holiness the Jagadguru of Kanchi and the junior Swami who is growing in holiness under his benignant shade. And I found on my return that all Madras makes a bee-line to the Samskrit College every morning. Men who remembered the last visit of His Holiness a quarter of a century ago walk with a jaunty step as if the weight of the intervening years had fallen off their shoulders. They seem to feel that only the moments lived in the illumination of a Mahatma's presence are recorded in the golden book of Heaven. As after a particularly strenuous day His Holiness came out to give *darsan*, I caught a fleeting glimpse of the wraith-like figure. In the midst of that loving insistent throng he stood, detached but not indifferent. One could see he had withdrawn into the fastnesses of the Self, only to radiate peace. They put upon him a burden all but impossible to bear. It is Spirit that sustains him.

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SIDELIGHTS : :

Of all people struggling to make a precarious living out of insufficient income, teachers are undoubtedly the worst sufferers and their plight is the most pitiable. It is not merely that for their educational attainments they are very poorly paid compared to members of other intellectual professions. They are also ill-treated, defrauded of their dues and denied the privileges pertaining to service in a manner that would not be tolerated at all by others. It is almost becoming customary nowadays for a teacher, after having put in nine or ten months' service, to be summarily discharged on the eve of the holidays. It is a trick to rob him of his vacation pay. In the rural areas teachers are expected to put in gratis a lot of strenuous propaganda work at election time. If they fail, the powerful men with political influence with a hand in the management of the local school know only too well how to make their displeasure felt, teach the recalcitrant teachers a lesson and crush them into tame and docile subservience. An over-all horror has been added to the tragedy of teachers' lives in Madras State by a top administrative direction bereft of promptitude, efficiency, or humanity, as the example cited below will illustrate.

* * * *

The Kalyanasundaram High School, Tanjore, had four headmasters in ten years. The management for some reason seemed to be unable to get on with their headmasters. In 1955 Sri V. Sarangapani Naidu was the headmaster of the school, and in July that year the management terminated his services. The dismissed headmaster appealed to the Director of Public Instruction against the management's order as he was entitled to do under the rules. This appeal was filed in August 1955. The Director took eight months to consider the appeal. In April 1956 he directed the reinstatement of the headmaster, quashing the management's order dismissing him. The management thereupon challenged the Director's injunction with a writ petition in the High Court before Mr. Justice P. Rajagopalan. His lordship admitted the petition and on some technical ground invalidated the Director's order. But on appeal by the headmaster a Division Bench of the High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Mr. A. S. P. Aiyar upheld the Director's right to reinstate the headmaster. The management took the matter to the Supreme Court but the judgment of the Supreme Court went against it. They confirmed the decision of the Division Bench. In April this year, acting on the judgment of the Supreme Court, the Director of Public Instruction confirmed his original order and called upon the management of the school to reinstate Sri Sarangapani Naidu as headmaster.

* * *

The management technically conformed to the Director's order by reinstating him on 11th May, a Saturday. But on Monday (13th) they ordered him to hand over charge to a successor named by them, even before he could fully have completed the physical act of taking charge. They framed against him fresh charges. The harassed headmater immediately appealed once again to the Director for justice, but there has been no disposal of it though five months have passed since then. If court findings can be nullified with technical temporary compliance for a day or two, accompanied by a created renewal of the same situation that led in the first instance to the findings, and if a mantle of dilatoriness equivalent to sympathetic tolerance is thrown over the defiant management by the highest administrative authorities themselves in the department, the very objective of guidance and supervision is destroyed. For all the good that a Director's office thus run can justly claim to confer on the teachers, it can be closed and wound up, with considerable saving of public money.

For two years, this headmaster has been deprived of his means of livelihood. He has had to incur heavy litigation expenses, sinking deep into the misery of indebtedness. Teachers' organisations have made his cause their own, but they are by no means well off. In contra-distinction to the pitiable condition of the persecuted headmaster, the management have been receiving liberal grants from Government professedly towards teachers' pay, but quite possibly to fight the teachers' case in the law courts, since in this particular school two months' of teachers' pay is generally in arrears.

* * *

This is but one instance out of several to indicate the present quality of educational justice and leadership in Madras State. It shows, what our planners often fail to realise, that expense is not the same as progress or welfare. Money spent on wrong persons who are incapable of guiding their establishments efficiently in the public interest, is not an asset but a cruel liability.

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SOAP POWDER

THE AUSPICIOUS MOTHER

"Lalitha-Sahasranama" occupies a high place among the litanies that are so important a part of the 'Saguna-upasana' of the Hindus. All of them are believed to have incantational power; but this is unique for sheer verbal magic and the breath-taking beauty that it conjures up of the Auspicious Mother, the Divine Energy Who keeps up the play of the universe. Devoutly recited every day or on specified occasions by millions of the faithful, it is believed to have the power of winning Her grace and granting all things good. The esoteric significance of the Thousand Names has been expounded by great adepts of Sri Vidya like Bhaskara Raya in extensive commentaries.

There are a number of translations in English of this inspired outpouring. In offering a rhythmic version of the first sixty-three names, the aim here has been to bring out, not the esoteric significance for the cult, but the entrancing poetry of the original, which in this first sixteenth part, gives a synoptic view of Beauty Absolute. But it must be understood that it is well-nigh impossible to capture the music or mirror the depth of thought which find so natural an expression in Samskrit. It is hoped that this humble offering will be of some use to those who do not know Samskrit and will be particularly acceptable on the auspicious occasion of Vijaya Dasami, which for dwellers in Madras City has been made doubly auspicious this year by the presence in their midst of the saintly Advaita Acharya of the Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha who is also a great 'Devi-Bhakta'.

Some of the technical words of the cult are hard to translate, indeed it might be even misleading. But I have ventured to suggest rough equivalents for 'Sreeman-nagara', 'Chinta-mani-grha' etc., while I have loosely rendered the well-known philosophical term 'tan-maatra'.

Merciful Mother, gracious Queen,
August Ruler on the Lion throne —
To Her, the Most High, Salutations.

She is risen in the fire-bowl of Consciousness,
She has come to fulfil the gods;
Hers is the splendour of a thousand suns risen at once,

and Her arms are four;
She is puissant with Her noose of Desire,
and baleful gleams Her goad of Hate;
Of the Mind She makes her bow of juicy cane,
And the senses are Her arrows five;
In the flood of Her rose-red loveliness
the universe lies submerged.

Brightly bedecked are her fragrant tresses
with *champaka* and *asoka*, *punnaga* and *saugandhika*,

And a high crown set with flashing rows
of topaz gems adorns them;
Her forehead shines like the eighth-day moon,
and like the moon-spot is her *tilak* of musk;
Her face, the auspicious home of Love,
has two gateways, Her eyebrows;
And Her eyes flit like fish
in the streaming glory of Her face.

Like the fresh-blown *champak* glows
the lofty bridge of Her nose,
And in the sparkle of its jewellery
the stars are dimmed;
Behind Her ear bewitchingly She wears
a bunch of *kadamba* blooms,
While for a pair of ear-pendants
She has the sun and the moon;
Her cheeks put to shame
the mirror of polished ruby,
And Her lips abash the fire
of fresh coral and the *bimba* plum.

Like sprouts of the Knowledge Immaculate
light up her twin rows of teeth,
And the cardinals are caught in the fragrance
of her camphor-scented *pan*;
The dulcet melody of her speech
makes Saraswati's *vina* mute,
And the soft glow of Her gentle smile
floods the heart of the Lord of Love;
The dazzling splendour of Her chin
is marvellous beyond compare,
And on her neck auspicious lies
the wedding-knot placed by the Lord of Love.

Her arms are comely with their bracelets of gold,
and the pendant of her gem-set necklace has dangling, orbed pearls;
Her twin breasts are meet recompense to the Lord of Love
for the priceless jewel of His passion;
They are the fruit on the creeper of curly hair
trained from the nursery, Her navel;
From the fact of that creeper alone may we infer
the presence of a waist that sustains it.
Three gold bands, the folds of Her belly,
sustain Her middle under the weight of Her breasts.

Dyed a deep saffron-red is the garment
that blazons the region of Her hips,
And lovely is the girdle she wears
with jewels for tinkling bells.
The soft enchantment of Her thighs
is known to the Lord of Love;
And high Her knee-caps dazzle
like coronets cut from emerald.
Her calves are aglow like Kama's quiver
covered with crimson cochineal.

Fleshed and full are Her ankles, and the curve of Her insteps
vanquishes the turtle's back.

The splendour of Her toe-nails swallows up
the darkness of hearts that seek sanctuary;
The radiant glory of Her feet
leaves the lotus in the shade;
Her bounteous lotus-feet resound
with anklets of tinkling jewels;
She moves, a queen-swan in Her stately grace,
and in Her is all beauty stored.

Dawn-rose She is all over, flawless in every limb,
She is adorned with ornaments of every kind.

She sits on the lap of Siva, the Giver of all boons;
She, the ever-auspicious She, holds Her beloved at Her pleasure.
On Sumeru's central peak She reigns,
Queen of the Bountiful City,
She dwells in the Mansion of Jewelled Thought,
the five Brahmas are Her couch.

She is established in the Great Lotus Wood,
She makes Her home in the *kadamba* grove.
In the heart of the Ocean of Immortality
She lives; Her eyes drop benediction, and
She grants the heart's desire.

KAUNDINYA

PITT TRIED AND ABANDONED EXPENDITURE TAX

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

History has a habit of repeating itself and here we see India today attempting an expenditure tax, which U. K. tried to do in 1797/98 and failed miserably.

In 1797 Britain was at war in Europe. Her prestige was at a low ebb and her finances were very shaky. Money was needed to prosecute the war successfully and so the then Prime Minister William Pitt, the great son of the great Chatham, thought that his novel idea of income tax would lead to too much investigation into the private lives of individuals, and introduced instead his scheme of triple assessment, which was in effect a tax on what a man had spent the previous year. This tax was intended to bring in about £12 millions but according to Pitt in a speech in the House of Commons in 1798, owing to scandalous frauds and other methods of tax-evasion by unpatriotic persons, the tax only brought in about £4 millions. As it thus proved a failure Pitt scrapped it, and in December 1798 he introduced income tax.

Income tax is now prevalent in almost every country throughout the world, but how many realise that this tax as originally introduced in Britain in 1799 was Pitt's alone? He had no example to copy and so this tax took him many months to devise it. What a brilliant and upright man Pitt was! Though, according to present day standards he was a drunkard, drinking several bottles of port at every meal, he never married, he cared not for titles or ostentation and at the early age of 46 he died a poor man in an age when corruption was rife.

Pitt's income tax was as fair a tax as could be devised. The poor were exempted from it. The base line of £60 ensured that only the middle class and the rich were taxed. Incomes between £60 and £200 were graduated with certain allowances for children etc., and above £200 there was a 10% tax applied without distinction to all incomes whether from land, funds, farming, trade or professional earnings. The tax was payable in six yearly instalments and refusal to fill in income tax forms carried with it a penalty of £20 as fine.

The income tax introduced by Pitt was not popular with any member of the community but Pitt left it as a legacy to his country and during a period of seventeen budgets he transformed a cumbersome financial system into practical methods of financing the government. His work was so thorough that the present day Income Tax Acts in U. K. are largely based on Pitt's original legislation.



Versatility

The versatility of women is inexhaustibly resourceful. Gronow, looking back over a long life, throughout which he had kept a keen eye on the sex (as it was called in his day), remarked that even drastic physical changes were not impossible. When he was a young Guards officer little women were all the rage and you never saw large ones about. Then taste changed and you saw only tall lovelies. That was over-stating a good case. But there is a lot in it. The sack itself will not put Cupid out of business. After all, he is blind.—*The Times.*

RAJAJI'S APPEAL IN NEW YORK TIMES

Sri C. Rajagopalachari has made an appeal in the 22nd Sept. issue of the "New York Times" which evoked on the 24th Sept. this cable from the late U.S. Ambassador in India Mr. Chester Bowles: "Many Americans including myself are grateful for your generosity and understanding". The text of the appeal is as follows:

The Editor,
The New York Times.
Sir,

Probably no one has written such strong language as I have so often used to protest against the nuclear weapon activities of the Government of the United States, and if harsh criticism be a bar against making a friendly appeal, I should have no right to claim attention from your readers. But if fundamental goodwill and an unalterable faith in the way of life wherein state regulation of personal behaviour and occupation has no place, gives a title to speak frankly to America, I have a claim. My conviction that the individual's personality should be something inviolable and sacred is a basic creed, and I hope that a fellow-believer may be given a hearing on matters that affect both our nations.

No subject can be of much greater importance than a good and true understanding between the Republic of the United States of America and the Republic of India, which holds four hundred million people who give unqualified support to their present government under a democratic regime.

American aid to Pakistan, by way of military equipment, has again come to public notice on account of the present financial position of India. It was tolerated without much objection until this year's budget debates disclosed the full picture of the armament race between Pakistan and India caused by this American aid to Pakistan. Resources available for our development plans have been eaten into by this unequal race for military equipment between India on the one hand and Pakistan aided by America on the other. This has resulted in severely adverse feeling against America which calls for immediate attention on the part of those who desire Indo-American friendship.

It is widely known that America agreed to help Pakistan in military equipment only in order to build up another outpost against Communist aggression. India also could have taken such assistance and maintained parity, but on several grounds which cannot be dimissed as unreasonable, preferred not to do so. Nobody in India believes—and nobody in Pakistan believes either—that there is any intention or likelihood of Russian aggression against Pakistan. It is therefore felt in India that American aid serves only to increase Pakistan's power for mischief against her neighbour. This belief has brought about a minor armament race in this part of the world. Though this race is a minor one compared with the arms race between the Great Powers, it is a very serious one for India. That the Government of India is forced into it against its own inclination will be obvious to American readers if they scan the Indian Prime Minister's speech in Parliament on September 9. Let it be remembered that he made this speech even while sending his Finance Minister on a mission to obtain a large loan from America to make it possible to execute the second Five Year Plan of development. The very contradiction superficial observers may see in this proves the sincerity and intensity of the Prime Minister's feeling about American military aid to Pakistan and its baneful consequences. That it is necessary to execute the Plan and that it is therefore necessary to borrow money from America are beyond controversy. From the American point of view it is also unquestionably right and wise to give India assistance for her Plan. The question on which differences of opinion may arise is whether America should continue military assistance to Pakistan, when it is now quite obvious that this assitance serves no other purpose but to increase India's military expenditure and widen her Plan deficit.

It is plain enough that the United States Government would stoutly disapprove of any aggressive operation against India, and the people of India know it. But they know also that such disapproval would not serve to undo mischief once it has begun. Nor could it serve even as a deterrent. Hence the public pressure for an armament race against Pakistan *plus* American aid.

I am conscious of the difficulty of any change in policy at this stage on the part of America towards Pakistan. But I believe that when a new situation has arisen and it is necessary to meet it, American statesmanship will not hesitate. It is true that an additional barrier against Communist Russia was the motive for military assistance to Pakistan. Any advantage arising out of that policy must be weighed now against what is happening to Indo-American friendship.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

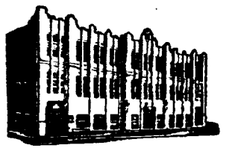
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CAPITOL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

The advent of a new feature perhaps calls for a prefatory note. An unsigned one however saves the writer from self-introduction. And anonymity is not without its blessings. It helps discussion of men and matters in an objective spirit and at an impersonal level. It should really matter less as to who says it so long as it is worthwhile saying or is well said, for names are not unoften a smoke-screen and are capable of creating in the reader's mind a predisposition either in one's favour or against. It is not so much a question of shirking personal responsibility for what is said as one of seeking to shift the reader's interest from the writer to the text. So I wear a mask by choice and prefer to go by the name of 'Junius'.

* * *

I am fully conscious that this particular pseudonym with all its historical associations reveals on the part of the writer an irrepressible propensity to probe, especially in dealing with dignitaries who, because of the pedestals they occupy, would rather welcome silence if they can ask for no praise. Today, nothing is more vital than vigilance. No commentator conscious of his obligations to the public can afford to trot out the excuse that

> There is a door to which I found no key
> There is a veil past which I could not see.

I speak of doors and veils deliberately for, here in Delhi, one is so much confronted with several men of straw, or pantomime figures, veiled in robes of authority, behind doors laden with dust. It is time that 'A Gentleman with a Duster' has appeared on the scene to wipe away, as Harold Begbie did in his day, 'the smears from the glass' out of the conviction that "the worst of all hindrances to true vision is breathed on the mirrors by those self-regarding public men in whom principle is crumbling and moral earnestness is beginning to moulder".

* * *

This hardly means that this feature will be all invective and exposure. While I may not fight shy of iconoclasm I must confess to having wider interests in life. And I would also love to revive old memories as well as reflect on new trends. For instance, I feel I cannot let the week pass without a tribute to the memory of Srinivasa Sastri, one of our rare men. Not many knew that he was a discerning critic of his own party and that he was in no mood to hoodwink himself about its limitations. In 1933 when Sir Samuel Hoare (later Lord Templewood) openly disregarded the Liberal Party, Sastri, in a letter to me, unburdened himself thus in no uncertain terms:

> .....I tell you without reserve—Indian Liberals don't deserve better treatment than Hoare gives them. Pleased, they are'nt much good; angered, they are impotent. For such serious politics has no room; and Tory politics is serious—even to grimness.

Sastri earned lasting fame as an orator. But he was no less supreme as a letter-writer.

* * *

Another term for Shri Dhebar is taken for granted. Maybe he has made himself indispensable. To be fair to Shri Dhebar, he resides in the Bhangi Colony though he functions from a Taluqdari mansion, under the shadows of the Jantar Mantar. Or maybe there is no one else at the higher levels in the Congress outside the enchanted ministerial domains, readily available to shoulder the presidential burdens. This theory of indispensability has been so much overdone in this blessed land of ours that it has become almost sickening. If, on the other hand, it is a matter of paucity of talent amidst plethora of ambition, it reflects no credit on an organisation which, in its first fifty years, had no need to turn to the same person for a second term except in half a dozen cases and had never found one annexing the *gadi* for a second year consecutively. In the new era when there is such a pressing need for blotting pads or rubber stamps, it is perhaps as well that some of our dignitaries love to stay on, though it be for signing across the dotted line. But Mr. Dhebar does not become a Roosevelt by merely having a fourth term. And who knows if, within the context of his own Presidency, the 'smoother' from Saurashtra is thinking—or encouraged to think—in terms of a Five-Year Plan. And, here as elsewhere, it is the Plan that counts, whatever be its cost.

* * *

There is but one topic of discussion in Delhi these days. It is not how Mr. Krishna Menon fares in New York, but how Mr. Krishnamachari fares in Washington. Both of them share the common disadvantage of creating a prejudice against themselves when they make a public appearance. But they also share the common advantage of having the backing of the one man whose individual opinion counts more than public opinion, and will continue to do so till the country's awakened conscience recognises Nemesis as 'a goddess whom the advances of civilisation have not availed to disturb'. That Mr. Krishna Menon continues to grin and Mr. Krishnamachari to chuckle is, however, no indication that all's right with the world—or even with themselves.

* * *

Now let the reader share the latest joke 'Junius' heard—or overheard—in Delhi. Pressed for money by a creditor, a lively adult hurled this at him: "Where's any money? Let TTK return from America".

Not one person but two

One must remember that Mr. Nehru is not one person but two, who—as he himself has written—are torn between two worlds. Something in Mr. Nehru's heart pulls him perhaps to Moscow, even when his head is pulling him as hard to Washington.—TAYA ZINKIN in *Manchester Guardian Weekly.*

INDIA'S HIGH COMMISSION IN MALAYA

By RM. MANICKAM

Kota Bharu (Malaya): Considerable money has been lavished by the Government of India on our Diplomatic Missions abroad. Whether our Consular representatives have served any useful purpose and done their duty to the country and to our nationals in their respective areas is a debatable point that needs careful investigation.

In Malaya which has an Indian population of 800,000 (approximately 8% of the country's total) the majority of whom hail from Tamilnad, we have our High Commissioner and Deputy High Commissioner with the principal office in Singapore and another in the Federal capital, Kuala Lumpur. Sweeping political changes are the order of the day in this sunny and delightful land which has just won its political independence. If Indians in this country enjoy certain facilities, it must be ungrudgingly conceded that their good fortune is due more to the generosity and liberal outlook of this country's leaders than to the efforts of India's consular and diplomatic representatives.

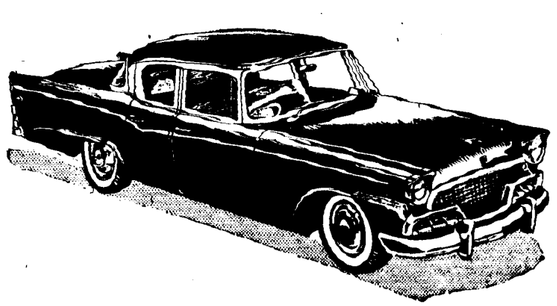
In recent days, the citizenship issue has become one of the most perplexing problems to Indians thousands of whom are still Indian nationals and are not yet eligible for Malayan citizenship. Under Article 8 of the Indian Constitution and under Section 5 of the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955, Indians overseas are called upon to register themselves as citizens of India with the Indian Missions. Thanks to the glorious inactivity and unhelpful attitude of our Mission here, Indians in Malaya are totally ignorant of the implications of these Acts. The only occasion when we hear of these regulations is when the child of an Indian resident in Malaya applies for a passport to the regional passport authorities in India. A cyclostyled letter is then sent to the poor child asking if the father is a citizen of India and if so to produce the certificate of registration or produce a declaration by the father that he would take out Indian citizenship papers as soon as he qualifies himself for Indian nationality. Only then, it is said, a passport could be issued to the child to enable it to join her parents in Malaya.

Here is a glaring example (based on the author's personal experience which faithfully reflects the bitter experience and feelings of thousands like him) of the mess which the watchdogs of our national interests have made of the issue.

Some time in November, 1956 my daughter in India applied for an Indian national passport to the regional passport officer, Madras for travel to Malaya. After repeated reminders, the regional passport officer was pleased to send a cyclostyled letter to the poor girl asking for the citizenship certificate of her father. On hearing of the demand, I approached the Indian Commission authorities for the necessary registration forms which were sent to me only after considerable delay. The forms were duly completed and with the requisite fees forwarded to the proper authority, viz., the Consular Attache, Indian Commission, Singapore on 2nd June, 1957. A week later a cyclostyled letter was sent to me asking for my Indian national passport as evidence of my birth, etc. The passport was forwarded immediately. Following a reminder, came a postcard in which much to the author's surprise he was asked to produce a photostat copy of his Malayan national register identity card and also forward the letter from the regional passport officer, Madras. Left with no other alternative, I spent $. 5.00 getting a photostat copy of my identity card which was forwarded with the letter from Madras also. Nothing was then heard from the authorities and following a spate of reminders, the Consular Attache informed me that the Government of India had not

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decided if it was necessary for me to formally register myself as a citizen to facilitate the issue of a travel document to my daughter in India and therefore the fate of my application and the fate of my daughter's application for a passport still hung in the balance! Obviously, the Indian passport authorities in India and our representatives in Malaya do not see eye to eye on the interpretation of our citizenship laws. It is clear also from the haphazard and uncertain manner in which our Consular Attache in Singapore makes one demand after another that he himself is not conversant with the subject, whereas our Deputy High Commission in Kuala Lumpur has been issuing the certificates without making such a fuss as their principals in Singapore. Nothing could be stranger than this, that two offices representing the same Government in the same country should be unable to agree on the same subject. Is this due to official inefficiency or to reasons that are often whispered and are not apparent on the surface of things?

We who are never tired of chiding the Ceylon Government for its cavalier treatment of applications for Ceylonese citizenship from Indians in that island, should hang our heads in shame at the way the Indian Commission in Malaya deals with similar applications from Indian nationals themselves. While our leaders preach day in and day out advising us to settle down permanently in the countries of our domicile and become loyal citizens there, our authorities see to it that they place all conceivable obstacles in the way of even children joining their parents. One is led to wonder if all this is not organised hypocrisy.

Indians in Malaya are far from satisfied with the conduct of our Mission here. While it is characteristic of any Malayan Government office or commercial firm to give prompt replies to queries from the public, one is never able to get a reply from the Indian Commission authorities without a series of reminders for weeks and sometimes even months. If

(*Continued on Page* 15)

THE TRADE IN MONKEYS

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

The Editor, has sent me the second number of a small journal published in New Delhi, which is called *Why Kill*, and is described as the official organ of the Ahimsak Party*. The aims of the Ahimsak Party are, according to a note printed inside the cover, to establish the rule of *ahimsa*, truth, love, sacrifice and peace. Membership is strictly limited to vegetarians.

The conviction of the Ahimsa Party and of the contributors to their journal is that vegetarianism is an essential foundation for world peace. I do not share this view. Nor do I believe that people who live entirely on fruit and vegetables are always peaceable or are physically, morally, or in any other way superior to those who believe that almost everything that lives and moves can be eaten with enjoyment and benefit, provided it is taken in moderation. Although I was brought up as a vegetarian, I have tried to rid myself of what are merely prejudices and taboos about diet, and have made it a practice to eat the food of the countries to which my travels have taken me, I have not only eaten, but enjoyed, bird's-nest soup, sea-slugs and even stewed snake.

Consequently, some of the articles in *Why Kill* strike me as more than a little cranky. But I consider my horror at the brutalities to monkeys exposed in this journal as even more valuable testimony than the protests of traditional non-killers and vegetarians of India. The paper is doing a very important job in exposing the barbarities and cruelties involved in the trade in monkeys.

India exports two hundred and fifty thousand monkeys annually. When figures get to this magnitude they are difficult to visualise. From time to time reports have appeared in the press describing the sufferings endured by these near human creatures while they are being carried from the point of capture to the port of embarkation for their journeys to other parts of the world. Accounts of the callous and monstrous cruelties inflicted — ranging from intense hunger and thirst to a degree of crowding so dense as to lead to suffocation — are reminiscent of the horrors of the west African slave trade. Identical cruelties are justified by almost identical arguments. Little more than a century ago earnest and religious men could declare, apparently in all sincerity, that slave-ships provided conditions no worse than those to which negroes were accustomed in their own environment, and that since the institution of slavery contributed to the general enrichment of mankind it would be morally, as well as economically, wrong to abolish it. Students of history will remember a famous British Prime Minister who made his maiden speech in the House of Commons in justification of his father's business.

Of course it is true that monkeys are different from men. They are not our brothers, but our cousins. Most of us at some time or other have watched them with feelings of amusement and delight and, too, with a sense of pathos and irony. They are, next to man, the most sentient of living

* WHY KILL. Vol. I. No. 2. Published by Amrit Lal Jindal, Editor, 1/9 B, Asaf Ali Road, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

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creatures, and their suffering, like their play, has an almost human quality. Those who knowingly inflict cruelty on these creatures degrade themselves quite as much as did those who were responsible for such cruelty to their own kind.

The torture of hunger and thirst to which these animals are subjected during transport is nothing compared with the cruelties awaiting them, and for which very purpose they are exported. The agonies to which the monkeys are subjected in the laboratories, it may be argued, are intended to help to reduce the total sum of human suffering. But it is impossible to believe that a quarter of a million monkeys a year are needed for experiments for the advancement of human welfare and which could not be made on less sentient creatures. This cruelty to monkeys seems to me totally contrary to Indian sentiment and tradition.

Apart from the aspect of barbarity to sentient creatures, this export of monkeys has something intimately to do with new methods of warfare. How many monkeys which leave India each year are being used for experiments in biological warfare which, according to recent reports in the British and American press, has already developed techniques far superior to anything devised by the nuclear physicists? What is to be gained by sending a monkey forty miles up into the stratosphere? Is this not merely and purely a military experiment which has nothing to do with alleviation of human suffering? The virtual monopoly in monkeys that India possesses must be matched by an equally great sense of responsibility, both to those whom we look upon as inferior creatures and to our fellow Humans.

My own opinion is that contributors to *Why Kill* go too far in demanding a total abolition of all scientific experiments on living creatures. I may be wrong. But I am of the opinion that science can, without detriment to the progress of knowledge, recognise the need for moderation. The discovery of the evolutionists that monkeys are our near relatives should lead to tenderness of feeling and not biological exploitation based on that very nearness of relationship.

Gladstone, because he was a truly great man, was not ashamed to admit himself to be wrong in his attitude towards the slave trade, and thereafter used his great gifts to end it. Similarly, it is within the power of the Government of India, to control this traffic, and to ensure that it is limited to purposes which are really essential, and which do not revolt the conscience of the people of this country or contribute in any way whatsoever to the development or testing of either new or existing methods of destruction.

PROPHETS AND QUACKS

By B. R. KUMAR

When Gibbon wrote his celebrated passage that history is "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," he did not pause to analyse that the crimes and follies are usually those of the rulers and misfortunes those of the ruled; nor did he analyse further that in most cases these rulers were at one time or another the idols of the public, and that this very idolatry was in many cases the cause of the crimes and follies which led to the misfortunes of the worshippers. The fundamental folly of the public consists in that it ever worships false gods and stones its saviours!

Dr. Besant whose 110th birthday falls on 1st October was one of such saviours and the melancholy history of our last 10 years of independence only heightens the story of our own folly in rejecting her guidance in political affairs, the direct consequences of which we have been experiencing with ever increasing fury since then.

Dr. Besant broke with Gandhiji on the question of the theory and practice of civil disobedience. Ethics she always maintained is not something absolute. Non-violence is the law for the saint, but not for the soldier. Disobedience to the law may be the right and the duty of the saint and the sage but not for the masses. Active participation in politics is the duty of the householder, but not of the student. Of course like all prophets her fate was neglect; but we have witnessed during the past 10 years the consequences of the neglect of the fundamental truth she preached. Our political life is one big chaos; chaos of partition, chaos of communalism, linguism, education, culture, economics, religion, morality. Civil disobedience has left its legacy of lawlessness and hypocrisy on all sides.

Dr. Besant was against universal franchise. In her Commonwealth of India Bill she adopted a system of graded franchise, so that while the villager had universal franchise for local elections as well as elections to the taluk board, elections to the district boards were to be by the members of the taluk boards, to the State Assembly by the members of the district boards, and to the Central Assembly by the members of the State Assemblies. It is commonsense that power and knowledge should go together. But we preferred to yoke ignorance to power. And thus has started the race for the votes based not on knowledge but passions; Governmental policies are being framed not on reason and justice but on popular appeal. And so we have the chaos of linguism and provincialism rampant all round us.

Dr. Besant insisted that religion was the basis of all civilisation and culture and insisted on a fundamental place for it in the education of the young. We in our wisdom are now all secularists! The consequence is of course that there is no cement to hold our society together, and we are fast breaking up into a number of selfish individuals or selfish groups, held together for the time being by the economic motive of group-plunder. The Congress has ceased to be a party of service; it is now only a group held together by the vested interest of

(*Continued on Page 15*)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NULLIFYING VERDICTS OF COURTS

Sir,—Sri Kuppuswami's letter under the caption "Judicial Interpretation of the Law" (SWARAJYA, September 14) should be re-read in the context of the observations recently made by Sri S. Varadachari, retired Judge of the Supreme Court. In the words of Sri Varadachari, "We are not concerned with the rightness or the wrongness of the amendments, but with the attitude of the executive that because they had the legislature under their thumb they could easily set at naught any pronouncement which the highest court of justice in the land made. We are rather concerned with the moral aspect of it, with the effect on the prestige of the court and its strength".

It is thus clear that the question involved is not one of correcting a few drafting errors (to which nobody would take objection) but of fundamental changes in the content of the law itself. This has been done in almost all cases in which the judgment of the court has gone against the Government.

The danger inherent in this procedure is two-fold. First, the judiciary which occupies a privileged position in a democracy, is reduced to a ridiculous status, its verdicts always being nullified by later amendments by the legislature. Second, — and this is more important from the viewpoint of the common man — the citizen is deprived of the only means of getting redress for his grievances against the State. In short, he has to be under perpetual governmental tyranny.

Cuddappah. K. T. RAMACHAR.

THE HINDI ISSUE

Sir,—"Majority and Language" by Sri C. Rajagopalachari (SWARAJYA, September 21) is so well written that it should be given full publicity, especialy in the North. The prestige of his name may make the short-sighted people in the North pause awhile and assess the situation correctly. It might put heart in the 70 odd non-Hindi M.Ps. waging a losing battle against the Hindi fanatics.

On this Hindi question, feelings between the North and the South will get so badly strained that later attempts at patching up may prove ineffective. I am hoping that better sense will dawn on the Hindi-wallahs of the North; and with that hope I am suggesting that over a lakh or more of copies of the article be printed in Bengali, Hindi, Gujerati and Marathi and distributed to people in the various big cities of the North.

Furthermore, Mr. Editor, I request you to address every one of the editors of the papers in the North to publish Rajaji's article. Catholicism in views, sanity and sobriety in outlook and brotherliness towards fellow-nationals have all taken wings; and in their place fanaticism, bigotry, dogmatism and narrowness of outlook have taken their residence in this country. It should be our effort to bundle out these interlopers.

LT. COL. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

Dr. KESKAR AND RADIO CEYLON

Sir,—It is refreshing to note the point of view of Messrs Govindarajan and Satyanarayan Rao, in your issue dated 14th September, on the subject of Dr. Keskar and Radio Ceylon. In this connection Dr. Keskar should also know that there are many films which are affecting the moral and cultural standards of India. For example in a recent film the 'Rock N Roll' dance which attracted many people was a real menace to the moral and cultural standards of India.

Madras. G. V. KRISHNASWAMI.

SLIGHT ON TEACHERS

Sir,—Advocating the cause of B.Com. graduates, a correspondent from Coimbatore wrote in a letter published in SWARAJYA (September 7) that "instead of letting loose on the country a number of young men who are not considered fit for a teacher's job

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GENERAL REVISION OF TIME TABLES FROM 1st OCTOBER 1957

Changes in the timings of trains; introduction of new trains, extensions and alterations to train services; introduction or elimination of halts; the more important of the above items are listed below:

I. Trains Extended

Train No. & Description	Station	Dep. H. M.	Station	Arr. H. M.
	BROAD GAUGE			
*45 Howrah-Bezwada Express	Howrah	16 55	Hyderabad	11 05
*46 Bezwada-Howrah Express	Hyderabad	16 10	Howrah	10 55

* Nos. 45 and 46 will run as Janata Express trains on the Howrah-Waltair Section. First and Second Class accommodation will also be provided on the Waltair-Hyderabad Section.

II. Trains Cancelled

	BROAD GAUGE				
†45 Howrah-Madras Weekly Janata Express	Bezwada	6 10	Madras Central	16 35	
†46 Madras-Howrah Weekly Janata Express	Madras Central	12 00	Bezwada	22 00	

† Nos. 45 and 46 Weekly Vestibuled Janata Express Trains between Howrah and Madras will be cancelled consequent upon the extension of the Howrah-Bezwada Janata Express trains to and from Hyderabad with First and Second Class accommodation also on the Waltair-Hyderabad Section.

	METRE GAUGE				
611 Madras-Shencottah Passenger, renumbered as 111	Tenkasi	12 23	Shencottah	13 20	
612 Shencottah-Madras Passenger, renumbered as 112	Shencottah	14 20	Tenkasi	14 36	

III. Stops Introduced

Train No. & Description	Station
METRE GAUGE	
609 Madras-Trivandrum Passenger, renumbered as 109	Kappil
610 Trivandrum-Madras Passenger, renumbered as 110	Kappil & Perungalattur Halt
667 & 668 Villupuram-Trichinopoly Passengers, renumbered as 167 and 168	Ariyamangalam Halt
699 & 686 Vriddhachalam-Trichinopoly Passengers	Vriddhachalam Town
608 Dhanushkodi-Madras Passenger, renumbered as 108	Kattur
611 Madras-Tenkasi Passenger, renumbered as 111	Kurumalai
606 Trivandrum-Madras Express, renumbered as 106	Manaparai

IV. Stops Cut Out

BROAD GAUGE	
17 & 18 Madras-Delhi Janata Expresses	Ponneri, Ammanabrolu, Vetapalemu and Peddavadlapudi
METRE GAUGE	
611 & 612 Madras-Tenkasi Passengers, renumbered as 111 and 112	Pudur, Punggudi, Kolatur and Samudram
609 Madras-Trivandrum Passenger, renumbered as 109	Bhagavattipuram

V. Changes in Timings

The more important changes in the timings of Mail, Express and Passenger trains are indicated below:

Train No. & Description	From	Dep. H. M.	To	Arr. H. M.
	BROAD GAUGE			
323 Madras-Bangalore Express, renumbered as 23	Madras Central	11 30	Bangalore City	20 40
561 Madras-Cochin Express, renumbered as 19	Madras Central	17 50	Cochin Harbour Terminus	13 10
14 Madras-Bombay Bi-weekly Janata Express	Madras Central	12 45	Bombay	20 20
15 Madras-New Delhi Grand Trunk Express	Madras Central	10 15	New Delhi	8 15
17 Madras-Delhi Janata Express	Madras Central	11 00	Delhi	15 05
44 Madras-Howrah Mail renumbered as 4	Madras Central	19 00	Howrah	12 25
430 Bezwada-Madras Passenger, renumbered as 80	Bezwada	6 15	Madras	21 45

(Continued on next page)

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

(Continued from previous page)

Train No. & Description	From	Dep H. M.	To	Arr. H. M.
	METRE GAUGE			
603 Madras-Tuticorin Express, renumbered as 103	Madras Egmore	21 25	Tuticorin	16 15
605 Madras-Trivandrum Express, renumbered as 105	Madras Egmore	20 00	Trivandrum Central	19 00
619 Madras-Tinnevelly Express, renumbered as 119	Madras Egmore	18 45	Tinnevelly	11 45
609 Madras-Trivandrum Passenger, renumbered as 109	Madras Egmore	20 30	Trivandrum Central	6 10
607 Madras-Dhanushkodi Passenger, renumbered as 107	Madras Egmore	10 30	Dhanushkodi	8 40
611 Madras-Tenkasi Passenger renumbered as 111	Madras Egmore	6 35	Tenkasi	12 25
615 Madras-Madura Parcel Passenger renumbered as 115	Madras Egmore	21 55	Madura	23 30

VI. Changes in Through and Sectional Carriage Services

The more important changes have been notified separately.

VII. Changes in Train Numbers

The numbers of certain Mail, Express and Passenger Trains have been altered both on the Broad Gauge as well as the Metre Gauge. For details, the Station Masters may be referred to.

VIII. Other Details and Timings at Intermediate Stations

For other details, changes in the timings of other Mail, Express and Passenger trains and timings of all trains at intermediate stations, please refer to the Time Tables available for sale at stations or Sheet Time Tables exhibited at stations.

IX. Picking up New Timings and Adjustments for change over

Trains will pick up new timings on the midnight of 30th September/1st October 1957, or as soon as possible thereafter.

Chief Operating Superintendent.

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even, they (the Government) can abolish this (B. Com.) course". The implied statement that the teacher's job is one for which no talent at all is needed, is astounding and stands self-condemned. May I ask the correspondent to consider who prepared the commerce graduates for the wonderful task they are going to perform?

Muthupet INDIGNANT.

India's High Commission in Malaya

(Continued from Page 11)

his is the bitter experience of even educated persons the plight of poor illiterate masses at the hands of our Mission authorities may be better imagined than described.

If ultimately a community of stateless Indians is created in this country the blame should lie squarely at the doors of our own representatives and we certainly cannot attribute our plight to the Federal Government which has till now shown commendable generosity on the issue.

We have had a succession of non-Tamil speaking diplomatic heads to represent a people the vast majority of whom are Tamil-speaking. The need to nominate a Tamilian to represent us here has been voiced time and again by leaders of Indian opinion here and this view has been re-echoed by distinguished visitors from India to these shores. It is time New Delhi evinced greater interest in our Mission here.

Prophets and Quacks

(Continued from Page 12)

power and the fear of losing it to some other group. The P & T men are not the servants of the State, but a group united together by its vested interest and its power over the citizens. And so on.

The difference between the prophet and the quack is that the former always insists that our salvation lies in our own hands, whereas the latter always preaches that he has some panacea for our ills. The political prophet starts with the individual; the political quack with the masses. Plato in his *Republic* starts with the individual; in our days the demagogue starts with the universal voter. Dr. Besant stressed the vital importance of conduct and by this she strove for the building of the individual through education. We believe that our leaders are going to build the country for us, and inspite of us.

When Plato said that mankind can only be happy when philosophers are kings and kings are philosophers, he was only warning mankind against the danger of handing over political power to the hands of quacks. And that is just the trouble with the world today. Political power everywhere is in the hands of quacks. When shall we listen to our prophets?

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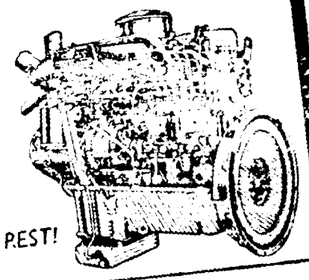
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SWARAJYA

Editor : Kasa Subba Rau

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THE STATE OF THE PRESS

The state of the Press in India today is most depressing. The decisions of the Wage Board roused in journalists expectations of substantial improvement in their economic condition, but these have been belied by the attitude of the proprietors who have shown no disposition to accept the Board's decisions tamely. Some of them have gone to the courts disputing the validity of the new provisions and others are awaiting the courts' findings to decide on the further action to be taken. Meanwhile the relations between employers and their staffs in newspaper offices have deteriorated considerably. The proprietors seem to have got into a panic over the financial implications of the retrospective benefits incorporated in the Wage Board award and in self-defence, as it were, they have embarked already on stringent retrenchment measures. Quite a large number of employees of one category or another are being discharged. Journalism has become practically a closed profession and entry into it for new-comers has become extremely difficult if not practically impossible for the time being at any rate. The journalists, on their side, have developed a new consciousness of group solidarity sharply dividing their interests from those of the proprietors, and as a result the old institutional loyalties are being watered down. It is a remarkable fact that the new leaders of the working journalists figuring in the present set-up of trade union fight for rights are quite different from those who have won renown for professional attainments and achievements. Possibly as a corollary of this, there has been a conspicuous departure from the old traditions of distaste for official intervention, pledged to inviolable devotion to the freedom of the Press. We now come across frequent appeals published in the Press calling upon this or that Minister to come to the rescue when particular members of the staff are punished or discharged or otherwise adversely dealt with.

Members of the Government holding the Press as a portfolio seem to welcome the idea of playing Providence to aggrieved members of the newspaper fraternity, and to enjoy immensely the repercussions of that function on their own power and influence to control the Press from one end of it. In the industrial world, the Government as protector of labour have been able to establish for themselves a position of dominance which has signally reduced the scope and effectiveness of the disciplinary jurisdiction of the industrialists over the members of the labour force employed by them. From this has stemmed the industrialists' terror of authority, so convenient to the ruling party when contributions to election funds have to be canvassed. A similar atmosphere is now being extended to the sphere of operation of newspapers, regarded hitherto by prescriptive right as a sanctuary sacred to freedom of thought and expression not accessible to profane intrusions by any outside temporal authority. The manner in which a newspaper functions is peculiar. Many talents contribute to its production but all the producers do not share legal responsibility for its contents, which belongs exclusively to the editor. The penalties and burdens of liability laid upon the editor by law and convention are such that it is impossible for him to discharge his multifarious duties except on the basis of the fullest confidence in every one of the agents acting as his eyes and ears and in other ways assisting in the production of the paper. His responsibility is analogous to that of the captain of a ship, absolute arbiter of life and death on the high seas, and unless he is armed with equal power and authority and quite as full a discretion as to who is good for what work, he cannot hope to fulfil his functions with a fair measure of efficiency or even safety. This intrinsic fact governing the whole internal economy of the newspaper was not correctly grasped, or if grasped, it was deliberately ignored to suit their own purposes, by the architects of the new Press legislation when they placed journalists on a par with factory workers. The newspaper owner or editor whose professed primary objective is service of the public interest will now begin to wonder if at all it is worthwhile for him to run his newspaper in accordance with the dictates of someone who has managed to get elected to an office in a union. The whole future of the Press in India is involved in this psychology of apathy.

It is not contended of course that newspaper employees have no just grievances. They undoubtedly have, and the exploitation of man-power and talent that has been going on in several affluent newspaper offices must be condemned as deplorable. But in the fight for rights it is alliance with Government that is dangerous, and any seeming benefit gained by any party with official aid will only impose on the Press new governmental fetters and shatter its independence and integrity. There are all sorts and conditions of newspapers and their varied economies do not admit of any settlement of the problems connected with their administration except on an individual basis. Rules can be created by official authority but not the income enabling the rules to be given effect to smoothly in all cases. The proposal now in the offing to wind up the Press Trust of India is a portent of what will happen in the case of many other institutions if the absurd legislation sanctifying an unwarranted measure of official intervention in the internal management of newspapers is not abandoned in favour of other solutions more in conformity with the dignity and true functions of the Press.

Official Phenomenon

Elaborate analyses and discussions are going on in the Tamil journals and in official statements about the goodwill missions in the South and the causes and the character of the Ramnad riots and shootings. Some understand the disturbances to be entirely due to caste tensions. Others attribute a political quality to the whole affair and yet others call the riots a communally political or politically communal affair. The fact is that events are generally brought about by a multiplicity of causes and simplification is not the way to arrive at truth.

Whatever be the nature and the causes of the disturbances, the arrest of Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar is a pure and simple official phenomenon. Why was he not arrested during the fairly long period of the disturbances themselves? How is it that no statement has yet appeared on behalf of the Government of Madras to justify the arrest of a Member of Parliament with no intention of trying him but with a plan to keep him in prison indefinitely? It is now many days since he was arrested, and yet there is no public statement on the question from the Home Ministry. People cannot forget that there is an election enquiry pending against the Chief Minister of Madras, in which an attempt was made on his behalf to avoid the placing of evidence before the tribunal on the charges of corrupt practices alleged in the petition. After hearing eminent counsel on the preliminary question the High Court rejected the point. As things stand, the inquiry into the merits of the charge of corrupt practices must now be taken up. It cannot be denied that Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar played the most leading part along with the Marava community in the Sattur constituency in the great election tussle between the Chief Minister and his opposing Marava candidate. If Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar was not arrested by the police in connection with the riots but was arrested after the election writ petition was dismissed and when the disturbances had subsided, it is natural that people should interpret the event as tactics to prevent evidence coming forward in the election enquiry. It would be well if the Government at least now explained why they have arrested him and what other purpose it would serve to keep him confined at this stage.

THE ANTI-NUCLEAR-TEST MOVEMENT

Thomas Hamilton, prominent columnist in the *New York Times*, writes for the September 22 issue in his survey of the position in the U.N.:

"There is dependable evidence about the increasing amount of radio-activity from nuclear test explosions and the Soviet demand for suspending them will certainly win considerable support. It is up to the Western powers to make a better case than they have until now for their position that nuclear tests should be suspended only in connection with a comprehensive disarmament program".

The tragic fallacy that the world outside the West and the Soviet government, must expose, the truth that must be pushed through the hard skull of the Western powers is that the Disarmament programme is a mutual affair between the Western powers and Russia, but the nuclear test programme is an active war of poisoning the whole world for the sake of Western military strength.

Nothing can be more glaring aggression than this on the lives of people with whom the West has no quarrel. There must be a limit on what one can do to protect oneself — surely it cannot go up to poisoning other people, poisoning the coming generations of those against whom you have no cause of action. This is the plain issue about these tests. The world has already been guilty of too long laches over this patent illegality. "All these sensational revelations, coming in rapid succession in the last few months" writes Giocomo Troiono in "Contemporary Issues" (London and New York) of October-November 1957, "have opened the flood-gates of public hostility to the continuation of nuclear weapons tests. Unfortunately, it must be recognised that this opinion has not yet reached that level of determination which would make it openly decisive for events. The bureaucratic armour of the governments is still able to resist the assaults of a more and more outraged and terrified general opinion."

The decisive lack of the movement as it has developed till now, is according to this writer it's lack of any organisation. That is so from the American citizens' point of view. Outside of America, the position is worsened by the economic aid which chokes the voices of nations struggling to raise themselves on the strength of dollar support. Even the strong voice of India seems imperilled.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



Sotto Voce

The Daniel from Delhi

The Union Health Minister has jocosely suggested that he was probably given his portfolio because he was not a doctor and had rarely needed the services of one. Was it on these Erewhonian principles that Mr. Pant sent to Ramnad a junior Minister who knows neither the language nor the people, much less the gangrenous politics of which the recent disturbances were so odious an expression? "Marava' and 'Palla' must have been just words to him though he was quick enough to adopt the official patter. And he seemed to be hardly conscious of the existence of a powerful *tertium quid*, the Nadars. And yet, after a three days' Baedeker tour of the area Mr. Datar not only gave a clean bill to "the party in power". He declared with breezy confidence that the trouble was basically communal and only superficially political.

* * *

He has dutifully taken his cue from his superiors, Messrs. Nehru and Pant, it will be remembered, blandly okayed the Madras Government's version without waiting for the evidence. A totalitarian bid for power by the Congress in this region has been camouflaged behind allegations of a massed attack of caste prejudice against that Congress mascot, the Harijans. And the hounds of humanitarianism are baying in chorus. But Mr. G. Ramachandran, who cannot be lacking in sympathy for the Harijans, has pointed out that the communities which are supposed to be at each other's throat are living in perfect amity side by side in most of this area. He emphasises that no solution that is formulated will fit the situation unless the part that political intrigue has played is truthfully admitted.

* * *

Mr. Datar summing up with judicial finality said that "the worst incident in this tragedy was the killing of the Harijans in the hall of the Veerambal Church". But he forgot to add that this Marava attack was directly provoked by a much bigger armed invasion of a neighbouring Marava village by Harijans the previous day which was frustrated in the nick of time. Mr. Datar was very definite that there was no need for a judicial enquiry into the Keelathooval police firing in which a large number of people lost their lives. And yet the worst allegations that could b made against the police — of cold-blooded murder — were not contradicted by a single Harijan witness before Mr. Venkateswaran. If a judicial enquiry was ordered into the firing on the Delhi sweepers was there not greater justification for ordering one here?

* * *

Mr. S. Venkateswaran who conducted the Keelathooval enquiry, is an able and respected senior official. I have no wish to anticipate his findings—assuming, of course, that they will be allowed to see the light of day. If the demand for a judicial enquiry has been persistent it is because the Government themselves have done their best to discredit the Venkateswaran enquiry in advance. They seem to be half regretting that they ordered it.

* * *

While the enquiry was going on the Home Minister and the Finance Minister toured the disturbed area. That could have been hardly conducive to the elucidation of truth, so inhibiting is the presence of V.I.P's among humble folk. And when at a subsequent Press conference, Mr. Subrahmanyam said that the demand for the withdrawal of the special police and the transfer of the Inspector responsible for ordering the Keelathooval shooting could not be conceded, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam weighed in with the interesting comment that these demands "had emanated from people who were responsible for these disturbances and troubles". How admirably judicial that was, coming as it did from a Home Minister who had ordered an open public enquiry which was but half way through!

* * *

Mr. Subrahmanyam declared that there would be no more enquiries by senior officials such as Board Members, for there would be no end to this business. And he significantly added, "If the Government had known that the situation was fluid at the time the first firing happened they might have taken a different decision". In other words the Government have from the very beginning looked upon the Venkateswaran enquiry as only a glorified routine enquiry by a taluk magistrate. Is it any wonder, then, that the public, taking the enquiry at the Government's own valuation, have been demanding a regular judicial enquiry?

* * *

Mr. Subrahmanyam said that he had found that the Harijans were no less fiercely partisan than the Maravars; they were no less anxious to make the worse appear the better cause. Surely that was reason sufficient to order a judicial enquiry even if there were no other. But the Government seem to set little value on the ascertaining of the truth. They knew that the police were accused of bias and harshness against the Maravas. But they insisted on keeping the special police there, which may have repressed witnesses who could give useful information. Further, by executive fiat they ordered the detention of Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, the acknowledged Marava leader, without even waiting for the report of the Venkateswaran enquiry. This synchronised with the Chief Minister's sudden change of front on the question of an all-party peace move. And yet we are to believe that there is no politics in all this!

VIGHNESWARA

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A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

THE ARBOREOUS AGE



Some time ago there was the picture of an aged woman on this page: may I now present the snapshot of a young boy? I present him as a type-specimen, for I know nothing about him personally—nothing about his age, or name, or whose sturdy little son he is. I suspect, though, that he likes woodapples.

The old woodapple tree in my backyard is in fruit now; every now and again a woodapple comes down from it with a thud, to be claimed by the squirrels and humanity of the neighbourhood, if its fall has escaped the vigilance of my cook. One morning I found this boy atop my compound wall, looking wistfully at my woodapple tree. From that wall-top it is an easy descent into my backyard, with the sloping, rough-barked trunk of a coral tree (which you can see in the picture) to guide the climb. From the wistful preoccupied look on the boy's face I guessed that he was thinking, thinking how quickly he could get into my backyard, when a woodapple dropped, pick it up, and climb back to safety, into his own territory. I turned my back on him, turned the long lens of my reflex camera towards him, and took the snap when he wasn't looking.

The electronic flash, though brief (as per the makers, it is 1/800 of a second in duration, and perhaps it is) warned him that something had happened. When I had the mirror in place again, I could see him in the groundglass staring suspiciously at my back; he then looked the other way, glared at the woodapple tree as if the very sight of its pendent fruits revolted him, climbed ever so casually down into my neighbour's compound — and then took to his legs! That was the last I saw of him.

Did I say that I knew nothing personal about that boy? But of course I do. Why, but for a purely superficial crust, I have been that boy myself. Long, long ago, naturally, when I was young and climbed trees — but I have the most authentic recollections of that past.

We lived in one of the houses flanking a street in Triplicane then — no compound, no backyard, just tenements all around except in front, of course, where there was the street. But on a narrow pavement, between the street and our front steps, there grew a stately neem tree.

Fifteen feet above the ground that neem branched; there were two thick branches, almost opposite each other, forking out of the bole, and between them and the bole they offered a comfortable, secluded seat to a boy. The many-tiered, cool, green foliage above kept out the sun, and there was an effective screen of leaves all round from the leaves of the pendent twigs. I have spent hours on end in that sheltered retreat, narrowly watching my father's friends talking to my father in the front verandah, finding a strange but deep satisfaction, almost a gloating, in the knowledge that they did not know that I was there, up the tree, following each eloquent gesture and expression as they discussed the Tamil classics.

From that crotch, I remember, I could look into the first-floor balcony of the neighbouring tenement, to our right. There was a Marwari family living there, and every afternoon the lady of the house (a beautifully-made woman of about forty-five, as I recall clearly) used to sit in that balcony, with a large plate-glass mirror in front of her, combing her hair assiduously.

Were I a gentleman, I should be consumed with shame that even as a young boy I hid in a tree and overlooked a lady at her toilet, but you see, I am no gentleman. I am a photographer, an artist and a writer, and I like to observe things closely and then write about them in detail, especially when I have no picture to show the detail. And so I shall tell you about that Marwari housewife's hair-do.

She would sit there on a mat, before her mirror, remove the enveloping head-cloth, and carefully open out her tightly-braided,

SIDELIGHTS : :

At a meeting of devotees at Kalakshetra on Sunday to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Mrs. Annie Besant, Sri B. Sanjiva Rao recalled many interesting reminiscences connected with his long association with her. He saw her for the first time, he said, when he was a student in London. She had invited him for tea and a chat to her son's flat. There were thousands of Indian students in London then and he did not know why she singled him out for attention and hospitality. When they met the effect on him was electric and instantaneous. She said she needed his services in the Central Hindu College. He agreed at once and this meeting turned out to be a turning point in his life. Mrs. Besant became to him not merely a guide, philosopher and friend, but a source of abiding inspiration, a living presence as real to him now after death as when she was present on the physical plane. He believed in the immortality of the spirit. She was therefore not dead to him but as effective in spirit as if she were still actually there in flesh and blood.

* * *

In the Central Hindu College, Sri Sanjiva Rao said, he was professor of mathematics, but very soon he found that the teaching of mathematics was a mere formality. The real work of education lay outside the college classes. It was a fascinating experience to come in contact with young lives and grow with them in sympathy and understanding of their needs. After years of devoted service a day came however when the students of the college would not move a little finger to help him to arrange the preliminaries for a meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Besant. Unaided by anyone he had himself to carry the chairs and benches to provide the seating accommodation for the expected gathering. It was all the result of Mrs. Besant opposing the Non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

* * *

She held very firm views on student discipline. Discipline and obedience to laws represented in her opinion the result of a long tradition running back into centuries of restrained behaviour reflecting a cultivated conscience conceding respect to the interests of others. If this were disturbed, civilized social behaviour between individuals would be replaced by the chaotic confusion of the jungle, and she feared it would be too high a price to pay even for so desirable an objective as freedom. Mrs. Besant's prophetic misgivings have been justified by the intractable post-freedom trends both in our politics and student life, but at the time she stood all by herself swimming against the current, a lone heroic figure against whom the voice of the mightiest leaders in the land was raised in stern and harsh condemnation.

* * *

Sri Sanjiva Rao pictured the scene of that evening's meeting in the Central Hindu College. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was there on the platform. As Mrs. Besant rose to speak she was greeted with deafening noise which was kept up as long as she stood on her legs and not a word of what she said was allowed to be heard. Nehru sat, mute and unmoved, uttering no protest. After the turmoil was over, Mrs. Bexant's comment was that it was the hour of greatest triumph in her life—triumph because her white skin which had been all along an asset had at last turned into a liability, enabling the people she came in contact with to act in a normal way without inhibitions that distorted reality.

* * *

Mrs. Besant, said Sri Sanjiva Rao, had the consciousness of being the instrument on earth of a guiding Master and her whole life was a dedication for uninterrupted fulfilment of the purposes of the Master. It would appear that Sri B. Shiva Rao who was her private secretary for many years shut out from access to her on one occasion a visitor who had called at about midnight. When she learned about this the next day she disapproved of her secretary's action saying: "You have no right to deny to anybody access to me at any part of the day or night. Who knows the visitor did not come with a mission from the Master?"

* * *

These and similar illustrations of Mrs. Annie Besant's consecrated life and mission imparted to this birthday tribute a moving grace and power not ordinarily seen in fervid laudations of the platform. It is not possible to render in description its exquisite quality. For it lacked every attribute that impresses and commands attention, of the finished speaker. Rarely was the voice raised above just the barest pitch required for audibility. It was conspicuously free from the variations of tone and accent that signify emphasis. Yet in its effect it was overpowering, and every listener felt a sense of privilege for his presence on the occasion. For it brought vividly to the fore the picture of a great personality as only a kindred spirit steeped in sincerity and devotion can do. SAK.



"I'LL HAVE TO SELL INDIA"!

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Speaking to some interviewers in America our Finance Minister is reported to have referred to the difficulties of getting immediate response in the United States to his appeals for aid and said that he would have to "sell India" for that. What a grim and unintended meaning lies hidden in the phrase that came so ready to our merchant Finance Minister's tongue! 'Selling India' in a different and melancholy sense is a process involved in more or less degree in every dependence on aid from abroad. It is true, though that was not what T.T.K. intended to admit. Worse than getting our broader policies involved as a result of a monetary bargain is the unspoken consequence of a huge obligation in a world already so greatly entangled in conflicts and alliances for battle, cold or hot. Then there is America's biggest of all plans, to have nuclear weapon superiority no matter what happens to the health of the world or to future generations in the process of acquiring that superiority. Then there is India's moral obligation to resist that process. Of course when the poison is seen to begin working even among the children of New York, the eyes of American mothers even in this generation may open. This has perhaps begun already, leading to an outspoken opposition, to all nuclear programmes in America itself. But American military advisers move with blinkers and policy in the United States is now ninety per cent military strategy and nuclear technique. India loaded with American aid will find her voice enfeebled.

T.T.K. must sell India. And anything is permissible in advertisement. Some papers in India have spoken out roughly and appeal to the P.M. to note contradictions. But public opinion generally is now so mute in India that error will have its way pretty easy.

What has to be done is to summon up the courage to fight with the moral weapons given to us by Gandhiji, which, like the Pandavas we have hidden in the top of a tree wrapped up in skin. Let us see our way to tell Pakistan and America that we are *not* going to run an armament race and if Pakistan insists on ruining herself we shall not help in that process of a drive for mutual bankruptcy. Let us stop this useless armament race and save our moneys for building up prosperity. Let us tell the world that we have unilaterally started disarmament and demonstrate that strength issues out of that policy as day issues out of night. Not arms bought in feverish haste from the armament dealers of U.K. or America or elsewhere, but a prosperous people at home are the deterrents of enemy aggression. And let us provoke a race in prosperity instead of in arms.

THE NEW DOCTRINE OF WAR

At the Tokio anti-nuclear conference last August, Dr. Rofblat, one of the leading nuclear physicists of Britain, spoke important truth. He pointed out that in the course of the 12 years that have passed since the Hiroshima bomb the destructive power of the bomb has been increased several thousand times. It was doubled every year and 2 to the power 12 takes us beyond 4000. After pointing this out, he proceeded to explain that even worse than the increase of the destructive power of the bombs, was the gradually changing attitude of some people towards the use of weapons of mass destruction—the growing callousness and the acceptance of the necessity of using such weapons in certain conditions. In 1945, the world was horrified. That horror has now paled. This growing callousness is not less of a danger than the increased destructive capacity of the bomb itself. Together, they make for a fatal combination.

What Dr. Rofblat did not refer to, and which is equally noteworthy, is the insidious attempt to assume that non-involved nations have no objection to the casualties involved in guided missiles and to inter-continentals flying over their heads with all the chances of error accompanying them. The public law that gave a nation the right of its being left alone up the entire height of space over its head is now openly ignored and denied without any protest being raised. From this to actually indulging in such manoeuvres and battles is a simple step. It seems obvious that the nations must raise their voices at once against such trespass. We have allowed far too many encroachments already by permitting the tests to poison the atmosphere and the waters of the seas that do not belong to the experimenting powers. We cannot allow inter-continental missiles to wage wars over our heads who are not in the conflict. It seems so patent. But the illusion of helplessness created by the nuclear power of two or three nations is so great that the most obvious of rights seem to have lapsed.

We have the right not to be in a war or to be in it. This right is being slowly but surely nullified by the big powers. These think that the whole world must be in any war that may be declared by one or the other of them. All war shall be shared by all — this is the new doctrine. If we mean to deny this new doctrine and if we are resolved to remain out when we like, we must protest betimes against preparations to send missiles over our heads, be it propelled ballistically or otherwise. The issue should be stated and squarely faced by all those who are not in the nuclear race.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

REAL SWARAJ

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luxuriant hair. She would then comb it slowly and rhythmically, first with a coarse-toothed comb and then with a small, flat ivory comb with much finer teeth. A grey hair would be gently pulled out by the root on occasion, but sometimes a little blackening, from a tiny silver container, would be applied to it instead. Then she would oil her hair, rubbing the oil well in with her dainty finger-tips, comb it again, and plait it into three neat, long queues which would, in turn, be worked into a glistening, flat coiffure right over the back of her head. Finally, glittering disc-shaped ornaments would be screwed in place into the smoothly-dressed hair over the scalp, and the cloth, obscuring everything, would be drawn up over the head.

Having set down these recollections in detail, I now have a doubt — was she a Marwari, after all? Some kind of 'Lala', I remember, but would she have been a Marwari? I am not sure, but quite definitely she was a kind-hearted woman. So often, playing on the terrace with her son, a boy of my own age, I have disobeyed my mother's stern injunction and stepped over the brief parapet that separated the terraces of my house and hers to receive a sweet from her, a sticky, pink sweet with a faint after-taste of bitterness that I have searched for, but not found, in later years.

It is a generation since I shifted from that crowded street in Triplicane, with its cluttered-up, confluent dwellings and roof-tops flanking each side of the street, and the squalour and dirt and smell of sheer congestion everywhere. Moreover, I no longer climb trees. I weigh a respectable, middle-aged 163 lb. now, and am frequently mistaken for a gentleman, for one of the worthy citizens of the neighbourhood. I live in the heart of a prosperous community, which boasts of some of the finest intellects in South India, intellects which can distinguish and define the most tenuous point of law and then neatly split it into four, or instantly point out the slightest and most formal defect in a vital argument. My neighbours are opulent and well-known, and most of them live in heavy mansions set in spacious compounds, with outhouses and garages and posh automobiles, and, as I have already assured you, we are so very intellectual. In short, I very much doubt if the nabobs of my distinguished neighbourhood have ever climbed a tree, even as a boy.

LUNAR LAMENT

Say! let's not start weep-weep
For a Moscow made beep-beep.
This concern with its trip
Is unamerican;
Signals from a ship
Sound Satellitian;
Russian radio speech
Is always isky-risky
Myjinsky-god-damn-o-vitch:
Smithsonian astro-physiesy
(Excuse the end in bolshie)
Shows whole thing red-rag, false;
Beep-beep my aunt! there is
No satellite. The calls
Are hoaxed by comrade Krushch;
Say! wait and see our moons
Equipped with man and all,
Then the binoculared loons,
The twitch-eared beepy coons,
Will see some moon! a ball
From Kingdom come to Schenectady
That signals John Brown's body
So let's not start weep-weep
For a god knows what beep-beep.

VISWAMITRA.

JUDGING THE JUDGES

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Recently at the Law Ministers' Conference at New Delhi on 18th September 1957, Prime Minister Nehru let himself go at the High Court judges in his characteristic manner. The place of the judiciary in a democracy and the function of the judiciary are well known to all. Mahatma Gandhi in his crisp and clear way stated that Rama Rajya, politically translated, means a perfect democracy in which justice is prompt, perfect, and cheap. Democracy means the reign of law. Pandit Nehru agrees with these basic truths and admits that the law should protect the citizen against the vagaries of the executive and that "the dighity and supremacy of the law must be maintained". He is quite right in warning that the process of law should not be allowed to be utilised by persons to delay things and defeat the very purpose of the law and that "the law should not become the refuge of the scoundrel". No one can challenge these fundamental truths. But the sting in his remarks lies in his suggesting that the judges are prone to function "in an ivory tower" and that they do not realise "the social forces of the day". He stated also that 164,000 cases were pending in the Indian High Courts and that the existing delay in the disposal of cases must be avoided. He was referring in a humourous way to Parkinson's law — the more the number of officials the more the work—and doubted whether the appointment of additional judges would solve the problem of arrears. He referred also to the existence of corruption in the clerical and procedural levels in the courts.

Strangely enough, at the same conference the Law Minister hinted that the ordinary courts were not properly equipped for dealing with the new spate of administrative laws in a modern Welfare State, as such laws have as their main aim the settlement of disputes without much of procedural complication. The Prime Minister also had said the same thing in another way and emphasised that the average court of law was not always suited to consider such specialised problems. The Home Minister also wanted to overhaul and modernise the prevailing system of judicial administration and said "our laws flow in a continuous stream, as if from a fountain, from all the 14 States and also from Parliament with the result that there is a possibility of confusion and maladjustment".

These utterances by eminent politicians and statesmen and administrators deserve our keenest and most balanced consideration. But the real facts of the problem lie elsewhere and have been missed. Can the executive say that the judges are chosen on account of their ability in law and the volume of work in courts? Is there not much lobbying and wire-pulling? While inveighing against casteism and communalism, are such considerations kept out in the selection of judges?

Further, what about the drafting of our laws? Is not that work done in a perfunctory and slip-shod fashion, leaving a trail of confusion and doubt about the meaning and intention of the laws. It may be that the laws are an artesian fountain but is the water clear or muddy?

There is much confused thinking and talking about *le droit administrate* and administrative tribunals. Wherefrom are drawn the so-called specialised and skilled judges who are supposed to be endowed with superior skill which the ordinary humdrum judges of the ordinary courts cannot be expected to possess and do not possess? Who finds them out and selects them? We know how well the judges of the ordinary courts are chosen. The same wise persons select also the judges presiding over the administrative tribunals. There is much talk about the need for he total separation of the executive and the judiciary. Who can guarantee that the judges of the administrative tribunals will not be too much

Headlines

October 1: Japan was elected to the U.N. Security Council, and the U.S.S.R. stated the decision to be a violation of the Charter. In British Guiana Dr. Cheddi Jagan demanded a West Indian Federation with dominion status.

October 2: At the U.N. the Saudi Arabian delegate said Syria's defence build-up was no danger to her Arab neighbours. Eisenhower stated at his press conference that the Middle East situation seemed to be "solidifying".

October 3: In Washington a special committee was set up in the State Department to examine India's economic development plans and recommend the extent of U.S. aid. Mr. Nehru left New Delhi for Tokyo.

October 4: Eisenhower told Kishi that the U.S.A. would not stop nuclear tests and that hazards were slight. West Germany criticized a Polish proposal to ban nuclear weapons from both Germany and Poland. The Iraq delegate at the U.N. said certain powers were using the threat of Communist aggression as a pretext for their infernel designs.

October 5: The U.S.S.R. rejected the Japanese plea for the stoppage of tests, and it was announced that the U.S.S.R. had won the race to produce the first earth satellite. Buenos Ayres reported that the Argentine Government had declared a state of siege to defend its plans against sabotage.

October 6: Dulles and Gromyko met and discussed current issues. In Japan, Nehru pleaded for a ban on nuclear weapons and called for a unification of the ideals of Asia. In Paris Mollet told a Socialist Party meeting that he refused to form a government.

October 7: *Tass* announced that the U.S.S.R. had exploded a powerful hydrogen device. The U.S.A. made its last explosion in its current series. Nehru declared in Tokyo that India would not submit to continued aggression in Kashmir.

under the thumb of the executive?

We must also not forget the fact that the so-called social trends and forces and urges might often turn out to be perilous quicksands and are not evidently capable of precise formulation. Pandit Nehru's concept of social urges may be different from that of many others and every man would shout some social slogan or other. Judges should not make laws but should only interpret them. No doubt in the process of interpretation one may take a rigid and narrow view or progressive and liberal view. But if we once let the judge sit in the saddle of lawmaking under the guise of interpretation of law there will be all sorts of queer upsets and quixotic crashes by his following the will-of-the-wisp of the spirit of the times. If the law-drafters do not make clear in their laws the social objectives of the laws, how are the judges to blame?

Some persons think that judicial disposals will be quicker if written arguments are presented. But this implies that advocates are always clear-headed and brief in expression. The facts do not warrant such a theory. Further, who is to guarantee that the judges will read the written arguments critically and fully? In practice the written arguments are generally followed up by oral arguments. Advocates are often unable to know if judges follow their oral arguments. How can they ensure a full comprehension of written arguments? I tried that method in a few cases but ultimately gave it up.

Of course the clumsy and rigid procedural techniques can and ought to be simplified. Corruption in the clerical ranks can be easily checked if the judiciary and the bar co-operate.

I do not see why the mofussil judges should work on Saturdays and have short vacations and retire at 55 while High Court judges do not work on Saturday and get long vacations and work till 60 and Supreme Court judges do not work on Saturdays and get tremendous vacations and work till 65.

It is to be hoped the present Law Commission will give wise solutions on all these matters and that the Cabinet will implement them.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS

By V. G. RAMACHANDRAN

The recent announcement of the Government of India that they would set up administrative tribunals as Central Government agencies to decide revenue disputes and matters relating to discipline of Government employees, in a way ousting the jurisdiction of the High Court in such matters, calls for immediate public scrutiny. The Bar Associations of the Calcutta High Court and the Bombay High Court have entered their emphatic protest against the proposal and we are informed the Madras State Bar Federation has appointed a committee to go into the question.

The need for such a machinery is not real. The objective of quicker disposals is not so real as the disinclination of the Government to face inconvenient decisions of the High Courts upsetting the mode of their administering tax laws or service regulations. Administrative tribunals will satisfy executive needs though they may not satisfy public and judicial requirements. There has been for long scathing criticism of these so-called administrative tribunals. In his classical work *The New Despotism* Lord Hewart throws a flood of light on delegated legislation and administrative tribunals. He calls it in one trenchant phrase "Administrative lawlessness". Commenting on Indian conditions after India became a republic, the senior statesman and lawyer Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar says: "Where, as in India of today, the legislature is really dominated by a single party and where the Press is not functioning fully as the fourth state of the realm, the executive must be kept in bounds until the opposition grows into a conscience of its own. Authority has tended to give the executive a taste for blanket powers which it is almost impossible to contest in a court of law. The last of our defences, the judiciary, is being rendered less effective by our laws which make it almost impossible for the actions of the executive to be questioned".

It is only in the Prerogative States such as France that the executive is protected by a special system of administrative law. In Common Law States such as America and England the concept in vogue is that the executive is subject to the rule of law and deserves no further protection. In France there were in the eighteenth century frequent conflicts between the royal administration and the law courts. By the time of the Revolution the interference of courts to the detriment of good government necessitated separation of powers. The executive and judicial functions were made quite distinct and the ordinary courts were forbidden by law to take any action that invaded the executive field. Thus in France two distinct sets of courts grew *pari passu*.

But such a crisis never occurred in England or India where the judiciary always kept up a high tradition and earned the confidence of the public as well as the executive. If now and then a few reverses are suffered by the Government, they make no case at all for a separate administrative tribunal. That the latter will cater better to the needs of the Government is the very reason why there should be no public sanction accorded to it. The very idea is against all canons of jurisprudence. Where law is no respecter of persons, there should be complete equality before the law, be it the citizen, the Government, the labourer or the agriculturist.

This is what Mr. C. F. Strong, a reputed jurist, says of administrative tribunals: "The administrative tribunals where they exist, should be completely judicialised and made entirely independent of the executive. Furthermore, in certain cases there should be an appeal from the administrative tribunal or the decision of

ACC HONOURS THE CODE

3

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As for welfare activities, employees of the ACC's 17 factories and two collieries have for a long time been enjoying a large number of amenities for their security and social welfare, namely: provident fund and gratuity; schools, hospitals and dispensaries, creches, canteens, cinemas, clubs, playing grounds; welfare and benefit fund, and co-operative societies.

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a Minister to a judicial court. In this way we should diminish the danger to individual liberty which lurks in these modern qualifications of the rule of law".

It must be admitted that there is certainly a greater air of legalism in Common Law States than in Prerogative States where administrative law holds the field. In the former, judges can make law. In the latter they cannot do it, and if at all they can, it can only be under the direction of the executive. While jurisprudence characterises Common Law States, political decisions (in contra-distinction to judicial decisions) have wider scope in Prerogative States. The question is: Is the judge or the politician the better custodian of democratic rights? The vote should certainly be in favour of the judge and not the politician for trusteeship of democratic rights. So our aim must be to strengthen the hands of our ordinary judiciary.

Even if the contemplated ushering in of administrative tribunals becomes an accomplished fact, yet no case is made out for whittling down the powers of the Supreme Court or of the High Courts under the writ jurisdiction *vis-a-vis* Articles 32, 139, 226 and 227 of the Constitution. If such whittling down is done it will be a major disaster affecting the very basis of natural justice. In fact the provisions in Articles 226 and 139 should remain intact as also Articles 227 and 32. The writ of *certiorari* should be available not only in cases of defects in jurisdiction such as excess of jurisdiction but also to errors apparent on the face of the record, violation of canons of natural justice and irregularity of procedure contrary to the principles of natural justice.

POPULAR EDITIONS OF TAMIL CLASSICS

Sri Rajam's popular editions of the Tamil classics need no introduction to the public. On Vijaya Dasami day at a pleasant function held in the Rajaji Hall, distinguished men of letters commended the eighth and the ninth numbers of the series *Ashta Prabandham* and *Kalladam*. *Ashta Prabandham* is an anthology of eight poems by Pillai Perumal Ayyangar, otherwise known as Manavaladasa. The poems are all in praise of Vishnu and embody in themselves the beautiful traditions of the Alwars.

The author lived about the 12th century A.D. and has employed all the well-known techniques of poetical composition. Diverse devices, including the art of pun, have been employed to weave a rich tapestry of song and devotion. To the traditional Tamil scholar the work is said to yield rich dividends, sharpening his intellect and enriching his *repertoire* while its devotional charm holds him captive to the Lord. It is singularly free from rancour and radiates the sweetness and light of tolerance.

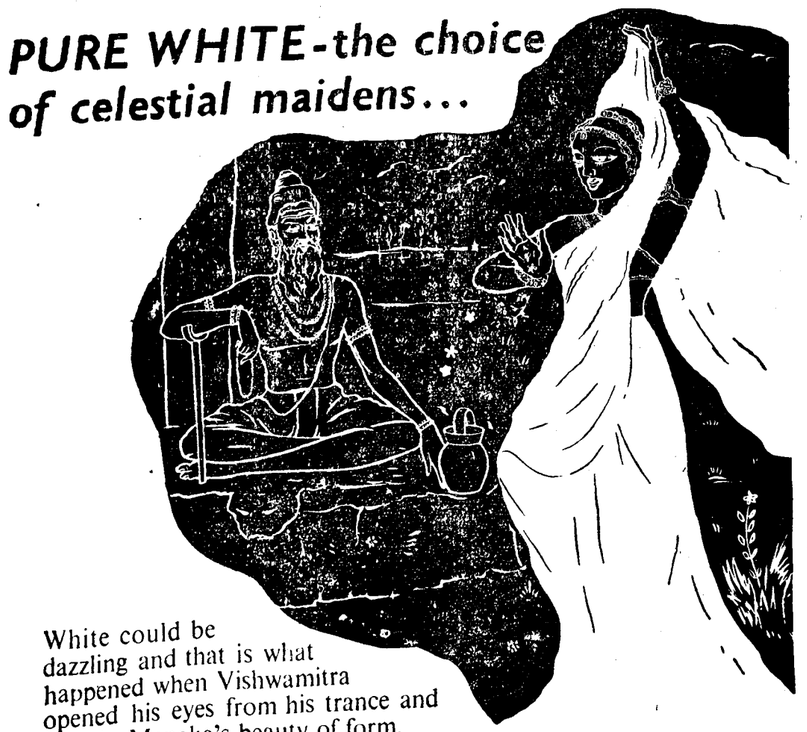
Kalladam, a Saivite classic which saw the light of day at about the same period, sports a difficult style patterned after the antique language of the ancient classics. The study of *Kalladam* was a 'must' for the traditional Tamil scholar. Its theme is praise of Siva. It is mainly devotional and contains rich references to the arts, swordplay, gems and the like. It refers to the immortal Thiruvalluvar as one who belonged to the whole world and proclaimed the eternal verities without subscribing to any creed.

Other titles, planned in the series include nine works (in ten volumes) which constitute the famous Sangam classics. *Kamba Ramayana*, *Villi Bharatam* and the works of later poets are next on the cards. The total number of titles planned is roughly fifty, embodying classic Tamil literature from the earliest times down to the recent past.

A proper knowledge of the classics is necessary for the effective development of any language. Many of those who are anxious to enrich the ideational qualities of modern Tamil and endow it with the modern milieu suffer under the grave handicap of total or partial ignorance of the classics. Some difficulties have stood in the way of the general reader acquainting himself with this wonderful body of famous literature.

Word conjunctions, the difficulty provided by each line of verse being cut up into segments according to the tenor of the metre, complete lack of punctuation marks, lack of an adequate and easy glossary and the high price of editions in existence are some of the difficulties impeding popularity of Tamil classics on a wide scale. Sri Rajam who experienced all these difficulties in his attempts to study the classics, has eliminated them in this new edition. Distinguished scholars encouraged him in the idea of publishing popular editions with all the difficulties mentioned above totally removed. A beginning was made with the hymns of the Vaishnavite saints in four volumes. The cordial response of the public encouraged Sri Rajam into planning a series of 50 books comprising all that is worthwhile in the world of Tamil classics. In less than eighteen months he has already published nine volumes. The publisher has taken upon himself this stupendous task at considerable financial sacrifice, as a service to the Tamil country and its people. Rajaji has praised this effort in a warm message and has called upon all good men to shower their blessings on it.

A. G. VENKATACHARI



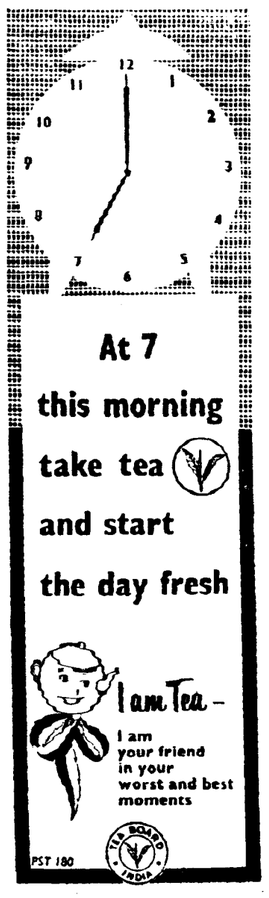
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S. Krishnaswamy,
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAILWAY ZONES

Sir,—New railway zones are being created in the northern parts of India. Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal was able to persuade the Railway Minister to locate one more zone in West Bengal. We see today in Calcutta that thousands of unemployed local men are finding jobs in the railways. Similar is the case with Assam, which by organised agitation has secured a new zone at Pandu. There is great need for a new zone in the South with either Bangalore or Secunderabad as its headquarters, but the just claim of the people of the South for a new zone goes unheeded.

Calcutta. K. V. RAMANI

IMPORT OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS

Sir,—Banning the import of foreign publications would not be a very wise step, by whichever Government it is taken. Intellectual freedom in a country would be completely undermined and there would not be the least scope for an exchange of ideas if such a thing were to happen. The foreign exchange spent on books forms but a small fraction of that spent on such expensive items as heavy machinery.

If Indian publications have to compete with foreign books, why, let them do it. Let them raise their standard, and then surely they can face the competition successfully. Further, it cannot be maintained that imported cheap foreign journals compete with the established Indian journals. Surely the Indian reader knows what is worth his money.

D. LAXMAN RAO

Chilakalurpet.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE JUDICIARY

Sir,—I have had the advantage of reading the editorial in SWARAJYA of August 31 and also the letter of Sri A. S. Kuppuswami published in the issue of September 14. I do not see that the editor has anywhere argued that there should not be a frequent pruning of the laws, bringing them in conformity with the changing social customs and conditions. What I could gather from his comment was that the executive very often tried to interfere with the functions of courts and nullified their decisions by an amendment of the Act concerned. The comment of SWARAJYA was only to emphasise the importance of the independence, integrity and impartiality of the judiciary and not out of any failure to realise that the laws should keep in march with the times.

Nandyal. P. NAGARAJA RAO

THE WAY OF THE POLICE

Sir,—As a result of recent disclosures in the papers the fond belief that the victim of theft or cheating could rush up to the police with the hope of succour is shattered. That the preservers of law and order should themselves band together for the violation of it with all the ingenuity they could command is a tragedy of great magnitude. To the incipient and potential criminal this will serve as an encouragement and not as a warning. To one and all the oft-repeated praises of the Police department by the Government would seem to be misplaced.

When I expressed my surprise about this to a visitor he rejoined that it did not surprise him. To him the surprise was that the happenings have come out in the open. People who are in the know of things are aware that the Police department is no place for a man who wants to do his duty conscientiously. The key to promotion and personal advancement does not lie in the zeal with which the servant of law attends to his duties. In the wake of this comes the report of the police firing at Keelathooval taluk. It is not happy reading. If even a part of the statements of the witnesses at the enquiry is true, the police have shown themselves masters and not servants of the people. The rifle and the baton are with them.

Individually and collectively, in private and in public the members of this department have shown themselves to be redoubtable. Woe unto those who come under their benign notice! K. N.

GRADUATE L. D. Cs.

Sir,—Anent Sri T. Parthasarathy's comment (SWARAJYA, Sept. 14) on the plight of Pass-graduates seeking appointments in Government offices as lower division clerks, let me say that Pass graduates who are not employed as L.D.Cs are more blessed. The pity is that if a graduate entertained already as L.D.C. applies for a post as U.D.C., his application is very often not allowed to be forwarded through the department in which he is working and he is thus denied further promotion.

If it is the desire of the higher officials that graduates are to be treated as no better than the less qualified, they may, by advising the Service Commission or any other appointing body, stop their being entertained in L.D.C. grade.

A GRADUATE L.D.C.

PERMANENT CURE OF LEPROSY

Sir,—It is now well established that sulphone therapy leads to permanent cure of leprosy, provided treatment is given adequately and carefully and, where indicated, over a long period. Happily the drug is very cheap and could be administered orally under medical supervision. It is difficult however to get the patients to take treatment regularly and for sufficient length of time. Local interest and local co-operation can alone break the apathy of the patients and lead to energetic effort to control leprosy. Today if a locality wants to get rid of leprosy it can do so by evoking local effort and co-operating with official and non-official agencies.

The medicine is ready. What are you going to do in your area?

T. N. JAGADISAN
Honorary Secretary,
Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh,
Madras Branch.

DEEPAVALI GLADNESS FOR ALL CHILDREN

Sir,—For many years now, some of our elders have advocated the celebration of the greater festivals of our land as national holidays by all the people, Hindu, Christian or Muslim. This is a gesture that would go straight to the hearts of men, leading to a revolutionary upsurge even in spiritual values and national prestige.

Any child whose face is lighted up by a coloured match on Deepavali day is beautiful. And Deepavali is a unique Hindu festival. I do not know if the other religions have an exact counterpart to it in all its colourful details.

On the evening of the Deepavali day all Hindus who could afford it may gather round them a few Christian and Muslim children, give them sweets and a box of coloured matches or sparklers each.

Even Jesus, the Lord of Love, I feel we could worship. Those of us who love English may delight once again in that great Miltonic melody, *Nativity Ode.*

Krishna or Christ, the Saviour ever uplifts. Let us open our hearts to Their Blessing.

Palni. DEVI DASA

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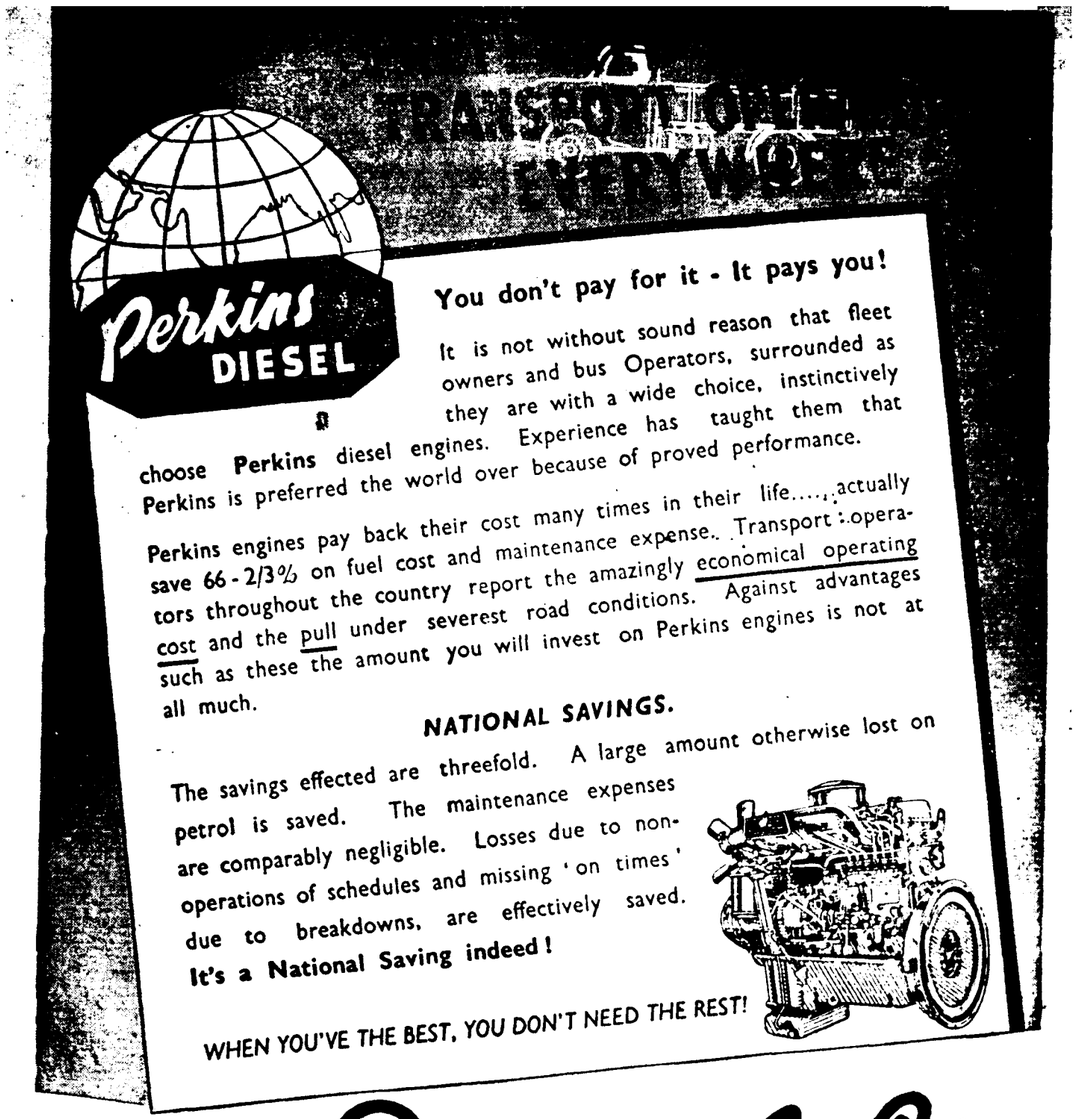
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Vol. II No. 15 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1957

THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

In pursuance of the decision of the recent conference of State Labour Ministers in Delhi, the experiment was launched in Madras during the last fortnight of admitting labour to participation in the management of industry on equal terms in the public as well as the private sector. The Simpson and Group Companies were selected for the experiment in the private sector and the Madras State Transport Department in the public sector. Labour-participation in management in the public sector is however quite different from the same thing in the private sector. In the former there are only two parties, the Government and the workers, and in the event of a dispute, the superiority of advantage lies with the Government which has at its command the whole of the power of the State and can employ it at will. The plea of emergency can always be invoked to suspend laws not favourable to the Government and to make ordinances arming the Government with powers enough to put down labour if it is deemed to have transgressed beyond safe or permissible limits. This indeed is what happened earlier in the year when the Government were faced with the prospect of a postal strike.

In the private sector, there are not two parties but three, the third party being the Government. In industrial disputes in the private sector, the advantage lies with the party which has the Government on its side. Government attitude to the parties in the industrial disputes arising in the private sector is not regulated strictly on principles of intrinsic justice or fairplay or propriety. The normal official disposition is to favour labour even without an impartial assessment of its demands for the reason that its command of votes, the real source of political power in the last analysis, is greater. It is true of course that money power also counts in elections, and the leaders of the ruling party need plenty of it at election time to maintain themselves in their positions against the onslaughts of rival candidates and prospective supplanters. If ever therefore Government deviate from their natural disposition to side with labour against their employers in industrial disputes, it is likely to be in favour of industrialists that had been more splendidly useful to them in the elections than others. The combined effect of these two varieties of discrimination has been to instal over the heads of industrial managements a sort of Damocles' sword filling them with dread of the future. They know quite well that the option of receding if things go wrong, which is open to the Government and which is undoubtedly the protective armour enabling the Government to suggest more powers of control and management for labour, is not available for the handicapped members of their own order under the present pattern of official economic planning and practice.

It might be that these basic facts of the employer-employee relation as hitherto operated on from their own angles of interest by the ruling authorities, were responsible to some extent for the apprehension which was mixed with the welcome which, as Chairman of the Simpson and Group Companies, Sri S. Anantharamakrishnan extended to the new experiment of labour-partnership in the management initiated last Thursday. The Chief Minister and the Labour Minister who participated in the day's function promptly came out with a pledge to ensure the success of the experiment. This must have been very heartening to those to whom it was addressed, as it was delivered with all the confidence springing from a consciousness of power. In times of peace and truce, as representatives of the reserve force comprised in the State, Ministers carry weight and their words are laden with the awful majesty of sovereign status. But even Ministers have not discovered the secret of controlling, for all time or with cocksure certainty at any time, the frankenstein of excessive labour hunger for power and pelf which under one kind of political urge or other, they have let loose on the industrial world. The Government too have their own dilemmas to confront and overcome, as for example at this very moment when a threat of strike to commence a couple of months hence has been thrown into the air by railwaymen. How then can they save the private indus-

trialist from something they are unable to save themselves from, and what reliance can be placed on their pledges and assurances in this regard ?

The intractable factors in the present state of labour evolution in India are indiscipline, undependable leadership and an excess of zeal and concern for the individual interest over the collective. Demands for equality may be buoyed up by quite justifiable notions of social justice, but many that demand equality only ask for a different sort of inequality really ; they want to be rich when they ask to be equal. The question is : Will the men that demand equality, the would-be partners in management, accept the obligation to *fail*, yielding when necessary for the common welfare, as well as the opportunity to *rise* as equality's consequence ? This is the real and basic issue in the present experiment of labour's promotion to the responsibilities of industrial management ; and it arises, not in the public sector where Government dominance impinges on equality rendering it illusory, but in the private sector where the parties are not too unevenly matched and there is scope for each of them to influence the other by example, character and leadership. There is a reasonable likelihood of the new experiment proceeding auspiciously in the setting chosen for it in this State, for the administrative leadership hitherto prevailing in its management has been competent, consummate and liberal — all excellent in their combination for the tutelege of new entrants. However, here too as in all democratic experiments, the future depends, as a great authority on the future of government has it, on whether democracy occupies the first place in one's loyalties, "it is not important by what a short distance it wins the race over so many other competing values so long as it *does* win by a margin." If responsibility confers on labour the capacity to achieve this sort of winning by however small a margin, nobody will need ever to regret the present experiment, for it will have cured labour of most of its debilitating ailments and vices.

Beautiful Japan

Twenty years ago I came across two remarkable books, *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern* and *An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern*, both translated by Asataro Miyamori. They first introduced me to Japanese poetry and art, and also gave me an idea of the Japanese way of life. Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*, which I read sometime later, was another eye-opener to me.

It is broadly true that the rise of Japan as an industrial and political power has made a more immediate impression on most people than Japanese poetry or art. Politics is news, literature is unfortunately not. I am therefore all the more happy that my first visit to Japan was as a guest of Japanese men of letters, the P. E. N. Club of Japan.

Japan is enchanting and captivating. Nature and man have both taken a hand in making these islands beautiful, and Mount Fuji is their synoptic centre. While Tokyo Central is as modern as London or New York, the Japanese countryside retains its traditional sylvan beauty and freshness. It is sad that the H-Bomb tests in the Pacific should be such a cruel danger to the safety of so beautiful a country.

Japan's recovery and reconstruction within a short time after the most disastrous war in her history is one of the amazing achievements of modern times. The industry of the people, their sense of order, their native charm and fine manners, their innate artistic sense which reveals itself in all their actions, and their passionate, almost religious attention to detail,—all this must be obvious even to a casual observer. I have met nothing but kindness in Japan, and I have been gratified to find India loved and our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, respected everywhere.

The P. E. N. Congress at Tokyo and at Kyoto has opened a truly significant chapter in East-West collaboration, and fruitful results may be expected.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

The Toy Moon

The U. S. Government say they are now ready for space-missile control talks. Mr. K. W. Gatland, a British astronomer, has now realised that the legal issues of international law regarding the sovereignty of the air space above the countries of the world, should be carefully studied.

It took the launching of a Russian satellite for these intellectual realisations and thoughts of world control of what endangers the world and infringes the sovereignty of many nations. So long as it was not quite certain that Russia had her inter-continental ballistic missile technique, these issues of international law were not recognised as important, or even referred to. The definitely established superiority of Russia has, however, made a great change. Better late than never!

The artificial moon has put the U.S.S.R. achievement beyond question. The U.S.S.R. can undoubtedly shoot a missile carrying deadly mechanism across horizontal space between the Urals and the Rockies, if we have seen with our own eyes the successful vertical propulsion of the heavy satellite to where it has been circling for some days past. And so they say we *must* control this unwanted and excessive power.

It is not these toy moons that should cause worry. It is the power behind them. How one wishes we had learned to admire and fear the Power behind the Sun and Moon and all the stars !

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



Sotto Voce

A net with gaping rents

I have read with every care Mr. S. Venkateswaran's report on the Keelathooval shooting. It fully confirms the impression that the truth could have been got at only by a regular judicial enquiry. It is a pity that Mr. Venkateswaran should have unnecessarily imposed upon himself certain restrictions regarding the procedure to be adopted. He decided that in cross-examination only those questions would be put by him, from among those suggested by the lawyers, which he approved ; and he intimated that he would not hear arguments on questions of fact. He felt that, having regard to the scope of the enquiry which was a fact-finding one, that was the proper procedure to be followed. Further, he was confident of arriving at the facts without the help of the lawyers.

* * * *

Much of the work of purely judicial tribunals, including the highest, is concerned with fact-finding. And the judges are acknowledged experts in cross-examination and in the analysing of evidence. But they do not on that ground dispense with the aid of lawyers. While it is always open to the judges to refuse to allow improper or irrelevant questions to be put to witnesses, they give in fact a wide latitude to lawyers both in cross-examination and in argument. That is the only way of ensuring that they have before them all the data before they proceed to form conclusions. Mr. Venkateswaran should not have handicapped himself in the way he did.

* * *

In regard to the summoning of witnesses, again, Mr. Venkateswaran made the same mistake. At the suggestion of the police he refrained from summoning not only a number of Harijans who, according to the Report, had privately endorsed the police version. Even more unaccountably he decided, again agreeing with the police, not to call two Thevars whose evidence would have been of material value, as they had subscribed to the police version at the inquest. He says that the police had pleaded that these men, if they testified against the villagers, might be later made to feel the weight of their wrath. While one may admire his humanity, one cannot approve his judgment in accepting that plea.

* * *

After all a Harijan did testify against the police version though in the prevalent state of Harijan-Thevar hostility in that area he might have feared retaliation at the hands of his own community. And more Harijan witnesses might have been forthcoming if Mr. Venkateswaran had not declined to call any, broadly suggesting that he felt that no Harijan in that village would tell the truth out of fear of the Thevars. Was it not equally likely that the police discreetly preferred not to call any witness from the village lest they should be hoist with their own petard? The story that the two Thevars were nervous of a caste vendetta does not square with their having dittoed the police case at the inquest, when they must have known that inquest proceedings could not be kept secret.

* * *

Mr. Venkateswaran makes much of discrepancies in the evidence on behalf of the villagers and concludes that they have been parrot-like repeating a concocted story. But these discrepancies pale into insignificance before the whale of a story told by Inspector Ray of a hostile crowd of a thousand armed men on the rampage. Mr. Venkaetswaran holds that, like Falstaff's men in buckram, this is a lordly exaggeration ; he thinks the crowd must have been nearer three hundred. And yet he did not see the need for examining Chella Thevar who parrot-like repeated at the inquest this preposterous police story.

* * *

Mr. Venkateswaran agrees that the Harijan-Marava relations in Keelathooval were quite cordial. He rejects Mr. Ray's story that large numbers of Thevars from neighbouring villages had collected there and helped to swell the unlawful crowd. He thinks that the first hint the villagers had of an impending police raid was the appearance of the police buses at one end of the village. Surely it is incredible that the whole village organised and rushed to an attack in a matter of minutes, and that too merely to prevent the arrest of two suspects. The Thevars are familiar enough with firearms to know that sticks and staves don't avail against modern rifles. Mr. Venkateswaran candidly admits that his theory is all conjecture ; but where lives have been lost conjecture is not enough, and he didn't use all available means of getting at the truth.

* * *

Mr. Venkateswaran regards as a clincher the fact that two of the men alleged to have been victimised were found to have been shot in the back. If the police had, as they aver, to open fire into an *advancing*, phrenetic crowd, how did these men, who were supposed to be in the thick of it, *come to face the other way?* In the villagers' version the men who faced a firing squad had been blindfolded and had had their hands tied up ; but their feet were free to move. Is it wildly improbable that in a desperate bid for life they turned and fled at the moment of firing and got their shots in the back ? Is it not, on the other hand, stretching the long arm of coincidence a bit to suggest that the crowd was so thick that every bullet found its billet and yet not so thick as to result in a second man being struck or killed by any of them ? And talking of improbabilities, how comes it that, when the majesty of the law had been so gravely affronted, there have been no arrests ?

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS : :

The report I had given two weeks ago (SWARAJYA, October 5, 1957) of the treatment meted out to Sri V. Sarangapani Naidu, headmaster of the Kalyanasundaram High School, Tanjore, is bringing me quite a spate of correspondence disclosing other examples of equally reprehensible injustice. Of these, the case of Sri A. Shama Rao calls for particular attention as it runs on almost parallel lines, hinting at the veiled existence of a widespread evil not so well publicised as it ought to be. Sri Shama Rao had served for eight years as a teacher in the B. E. M. High School, Mangalore, when he was appointed headmaster of a high school just then started at Innanje in Udipi taluk under the management of the Sode Vadiraja Mutt. The school flourished under his care and succesive District Educational Officers testified to his efficiency and good work. Then, about three years ago, the late Swamiji of the Sode Vadiraja Mutt died and in the regime of his successor a new correspondent assumed charge of the school. The new correspondent and the old headmaster did not get on together. The strained relations that developed between them reached a crisis in August last year, when charges of 'insubordination' were framed against the headmaster. One fine morning when he came to the school he was called up before the committee of management and required to tender an apology in the presence of all the members for some alleged misdemeanour. On his refusal he was presented a cheque for three months' pay and his services were then and there terminated.

* * *

Against this order of dismissal, the headmaster appealed to the District Educational Officer, Mangalore, and through him to the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Coimbatore, and also to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. The D. E. O. and the Divisional Inspector ordered his reinstatement, but in the interval the district of South Kanara in which the school is located, passed on into the administrative jurisdiction of Mysore State. The headmaster therefore took his case to the Director of Public Instruction, Mysore. After months of delay the D. P. I. decided the appeal in the headmaster's favour, but the school management continues defiant, not giving effect to the D. P. I's order, and threatening to bring up new charges and to take the case to the Supreme Court, if need be. Worn out by harassment and continual unemployment, the poor headmaster has joined another school as an assistant. The only difference between the headmasters of the two schools at Tanjore and Innanje, who had thus passed through the same ordeal, is that one of them, fortunate in the sympathy and assistance he got from a teachers' organisation, is still carrying on a vallant fight for justice against heavy odds, whereas in the case of the other, unemployment, poverty and the consequential strains have subdued the spirit of fight for rights and forced the victim to seek the means of survival elsewhere. Either way no credit is reflected on the respective Directors of Public Instruction in the two States concerned. It is for them to see to it that their orders are carried out, given effect to, instead of throwing the burden of getting them honoured and implemented on the teachers, just the persons who seek relief from the manifold ills of their lot through those very orders.

* * *

Not only are teachers underpaid, which is an open scandal, they are subject to clandestine pressures which morally impugn the Minister and his administration even more than they hurt the teachers economically as well as in their self-respect and dignity. From the aforesaid letters received and other oral representations, I gather that though Government grants to schools are regularly paid, teachers' salaries are often allowed to remain in arrears. They are at times made to give receipts for larger payments than they receive. Their services are terminated on the eve of the annual holidays. They are given work unconnected with their service contracts. I am told of a particular institution of which the head is interested in films and the teachers are in consequence pressed into service to make themselves useful in the various activities connected with cinema work. Communists in Kerala have made the grave indictment against the educational system of their State (a heritage from old Madras) that the victimised condition of teachers there justifies their Education Bill. It is not necessary to endorse the Bill in all particulars to realise the validity of the indictment part of their pleading. There should be an end to the dubious practices and the sins of omission and commission of which the D. P. I.'s office has become the source and repository.

SAKA

Sri B. Sanjiva Rao writes about last week's *Sidelidhts* : "There is one error in the report of my speech. The meeting at which Jawaharlal was present and which was continuously disturbed by students was in Allahabad and not in the Central Hindu College. I did refer to an anniversary meeting held in the Central Hindu College. But this has got mixed up. I feel that I should correct this error. Jawaharlal never came to the Central Hindu College. He attended the meeting in Allahabad."

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A FALLACY ABOUT RELIGION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

An attempt to speak without speaking any particular language is not more hopeless than the attempt to have a religion that shall be no religion in particular. — SANTAYANA.

Someone wrote in 1903: 'Scepticism is acquired now-a-days in the womb'. We have improved since then. We are less sure of our 'science' now than in 1903 and less sceptical. But in this part of the world in the South the half-educated have been taught by less than half-educated leaders to deny everything generally held sacred. And they deny it most cocksuredly. There is no sense, they think, in reverence, in worship and in the rituals associated with religion. Occasionally they condescendingly concede a supreme Power to whom they attribute the usual qualities of universal immanence, omnipotence etc. but refuse to subscribe to any particular form of worship, except such academical mental concession as just described, if that be counted as worship.

Conceding immanence, they do not stop to enquire whether the Incomprehensible may not be after all worshipped through anything whatsoever in this wonderful earth, even 'stocks and stones,' painted pictures and figures in three dimensions as well as through mental figures of a more or less elusive form.

Every Hindu seeks to worship God Almighty through the images and pictures and symbols before whom he prostrates, as when one offers homage to a hero's photograph one pays it to the hero and not to the picture. The devotee does not put the image as against the "true God" and attribute a power to the idol to war against Jehovah. The image is a holy focus for what his religious philosophy has taught him through the ages.

A place of worship is chosen even by those who have forbidden images. Holy books are revered just in the same way. But apart from this, why cannot we take it that the incomprehensible all-pervading Power is in the stone or the tree as He is anywhere and everywhere else? Is it that He is everywhere else, but not here on which the devotee pours his abundant and unquestioning faith? It would be as cruel as illogical to hold that view. The Power of the incomprehensible Supreme Being is in the smallest atom that is fixed in the material world as in the hazy pictures we make in our minds or we think we can form in some anthropomorphic shape out of verbal descriptions.

Those who aspire to bring up a boy or girl or to persuade an adult to be religious must teach him or her to be a Jew or a Catholic or a Protestant or a Hindu or a Muslim or something else. There is no escape from this limitation. We cannot teach a person to revere beauty, if we at the same time habituate him to hate women and to treat a rose or jasmine or towers and spires with contempt and disfavour. To love or revere the abstract, doing the opposite to concrete things that possess in some measure that very abstract and through which one can contemplate the abstract, is an attitude born of ignorant conceit. You cannot love the Indian Nation whom you contemplate in your mind if you dislike every individual Indian or group of actual men and women of India whom you see with your eyes. The general is the mental product of the particular, and cannot be isolated and put in opposition to the things that actually hold the general. The dawn holds the hues, and the hues themselves hold the joy of colour. You cannot worship or admire just colour. You have to worship and admire the dawn.

"Be true to your own religion, grasp the general that is contained in the particulars of the worship that is taught therein"—this is the only way to teach men to be religious. And it is the best teaching we can give to one another if we belong to different faiths and disciplines. We cannot make new synthetic or deparicularized religions in cold blood. They will turn out to be shoddy stuff. They will be as uninspiring as index pages or official forms given to us to fill up.

We teach religion only when we do something beyond conveying knowledge. Letting a man understand what the doctrines are is just giving knowledge, not teaching religion. Religion represents total ways of life, patterns of thought, feeling and action. We really teach only when we induce the person taught to adopt certain moral and aesthetic attitudes, certain views and beliefs, which at once begin to shape his behaviour and his life.

Of all the more important religions in the world, Hinduism is one that specifically includes in its tenets and in its discipline the faith that "all ways lead to God." It demands an equal regard for all forms of worship. Other religions do not seem to go so far as Hinduism does in this respect. That this is so is due to historical

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causes. Whatever the causes may be this catholicity in Hinduism is unique. By reason of this, Hinduism is a religion that makes it quite easy for one who is devoted to it to say to others, whoever they may be, to be true each to his own faith and his own religious observances. It is a recognition of holy truth, not latitudinarianism or indifference. Hindu managements of schools and colleges can therefore find no difficulty in accepting all kinds of religious instruction for which the *alumni* may opt. Indeed Hinduism not only permits but enjoins an attitude of equal regard for all faiths.

What is His form is the eternal and unanswered question about God.

இவ்வதும் உள்ளதும் அல்லது அவன்
உரு. எல்லே
இல் அந்நலம் புல்குபற்றற்றே.

So sang Nammalwar. "HE is not like anything that is known or anything that can be imagined. Infinite good is HE. Hold on to *HIM* desiring nothing else". Yet Nammalwar who said this poured his soul out in the temples where the people offered worship.

Everything that is good holds something of HIM and from it flows its own particular goodness and its particular beauty. You can enjoy Goodness and Beauty only by surrendering your love and reverence to the good and beautiful things that you see around you or to a symbol that you build up for the purpose of contemplating it. You cannot deny Divinity to the symbols that men have worshipped and hope yet to build up and sustain a mental idol of your own or teach others to do it through words or a fleeting idol that you make in your mind which in comparison is probably no better than that which faith and reverent ardour have found for themselves in the temples, myths, legends and sacred books of the millions. It is the faith that gives the "idol" its quality and its power. That is why Hinduism asserts that all ways lead to God and not only this way or that.

If he believes in the catholic tenets of his own faith let no Hindu think less of any faith because it insists that its way is the only truth. Even this is an incident of that faith which, as I have pointed out, a true Hindu has to tolerate and respect. The claim for exclusive truth is just the shape that extreme devotion takes in those cases.

Can you speak without speaking a particular language? asked George Santayana. Some may say that music is such a language that speaks to all. A little further thought however would show how far only and not more, music can play the part of language. Religion without being some particular religion, even if it could be conceived, could only go so far as music can do in communication of thought. Again, when you sing, you must sing a particular *raga* or a few *ragas* one after another. You cannot produce music in the abstract. He who does not enjoy any *raga* in particular but admires music in the abstract is an essayist, not a lover of music.

There are people who believe that morals can be taught and sustained without belief in a Supreme Being and without religion. What gives to the looking-glass or mirror its ability to function is the tin and mercury foil behind it, the silver as it is called. If that wears away you may carry on for some time. But when it is gone altogether the glass will not work. When God and religion are gone, morals will be just that kind of mirror.

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TALKING OF GANDHIJI

BOOK REVIEW

The four radio scripts about the life and personality of Mahatma Gandhi which were produced on the B.B.C. Third Programme towards the end of last year had a great success. They have since been repeated by the B.B.C. in both its Home and Overseas services and, as Indian listeners know, by A.I.R. They have now been issued as a book, with an introduction by Francis Watson, who wrote the script and acted as narrator, and an explanation by the producer, Maurice Brown, of the technique employed.

An immense amount of work went into the project, which was by far the largest ever undertaken by the B.B.C. for the presentation of a single personality. Francis Watson started making plans for the programme as long ago as 1952, and for two years he and Maurice Brown devoted a major part of their time to collecting and recording material. They spent three months in India, and another member of the B.B.C. staff visited Manilal Gandhi in South Africa. Tape-recordings of the recollections of friends, admirers, disciples, critics, associates and casual acquaintances of the Mahatma ran to a total length of fifteen-and-a-half miles. In the final production more than sixty voices were heard, some in fairly lengthy statements, others in conversational snippets, all of them linked together by a narration designed to give the effect of informal, continuous, real talk. British contributors to the pyramid that emerges include a London bus driver, a labourer's wife who did Gandhiji's washing for him during the Round Table Conference, as well as Lords Mountbatten, Halifax, Templewood and other well-known personalities. Since the programme was devised for British listeners, Indian speakers were limited to men and women who could speak fairly good English; but the list contains the names of almost though not quite all of those among Gandhi's prominent associates who were alive when the recordings were made, a little more than two years ago.

I did not have an opportunity of listening to the original programmes. But I had heard so much praise of them that I seized on the book with avidity, ready to agree with the publisher's blurb that it is a "striking and impressive record .... sure to be welcomed by a wide public." It was, however, not long before the interest with which I had begun to read, changed to irritation. Finally I felt a deep sense of sorrow that such a great opportunity should have been lost. The words of a large number of serious and intelligent people have been put together to create a picture not of greatness but of what I can only call endearing triviality. The Gandhi that emerges is warm-hearted but pig-headed, irrational but good-humoured, and very charming. That he played a great part in the shaping of history is just indicated. Francis Watson explains that "a certain level of educated knowledge" on the part of listeners was assumed, and those responsible for the production did not wish "to give time to the revival of past misunderstandings and dead animosities". Many of the most important events in Gandhi's life are either glossed over or not mentioned at all. The desire to prevent the revival of "dead animosities" has not prevented Mr. Watson from composing conversation out of Dr. Ambedkar's attacks. Twice in the book prominent place is given to Dr. Ambedkar's accusation that Gandhiji wanted "only that the Untouchables should not oppose his movement of Swaraj. I don't think beyond that he had any real motive of uplift."

The portrait as a whole fails for a reason even more serious than the neglect or distortion of history. There is very little in any of these scripts about the essential nature of Gandhiji's teachings, and nothing whatever to show that they are of immeasurable importance today not only for India but for the whole world. Perhaps it was the skilful omission of almost everything essential to a real understanding of greatness that made me wonder again and again what a life of Christ would have been like if it had been scripted by two condescending young Romans.

The author of the script first came to India in 1938 and lived here for some time, so he can hardly be accused of ignorance. The fact is that the B.B.C. like most official bodies in every part of the world, plays for safety. Nothing is less safe than an idea which is still a living force. Hence, the things that could have made *Talking of Gandhiji* a really important contribution to the understanding of his personality, beliefs and practical teaching were no doubt eliminated as a matter of course. The final production, though some of it may appear to be important controversy, adds up to little beside chatty personal gossip.

The producer in his essay points out that a pair of scissors can be used to change the whole meaning of a tape-recorded statement. Notwithstanding Francis Watson's dictum about honesty, there are many things that made me doubt. For instance, I came upon a statement by Rajaji which seemed to me to be wholly out of keeping with his character, and phrased with an incoherent clumsiness of which I have not found him generally guilty. The story begins with Kaka Kalelkar saying that the first thing about Gandhiji that influenced him was his spiritual urge. To this the narrator makes the odd comment: "But not for a guru like Mr. Rajagopalachari." I would have expected Kaka Kalelkar vigorously to protest. But instead we have Rajaji made to say: "A new technique, that was the attraction. His sainthood and his good quality was an incident to that technique. You want a good man to use that new technique, and here he was ...." How much indeed can a pair of scissors change the meaning of any tape-record!

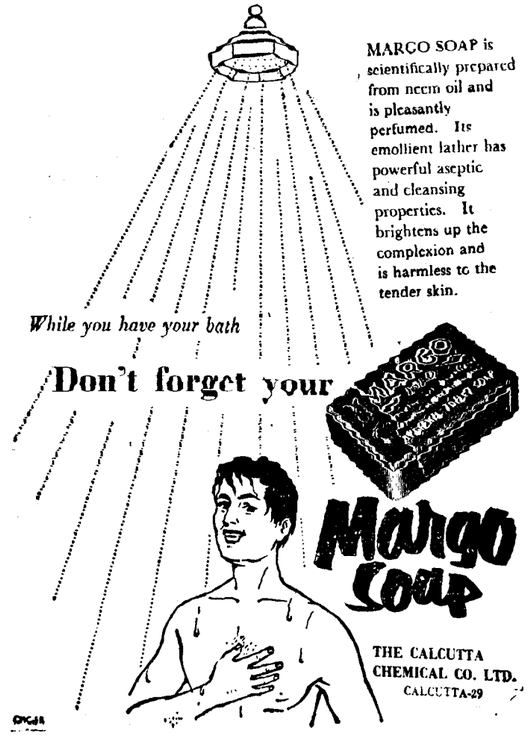
Talking of Gandhiji: Four programmes for Radio first broadcast by B.B.C. Script and Narrative by Francis Watson. Production by Maurice Brown. Orient Longmans. Rs. 6.

And this is what Rajaji said when I read the passage to him: "Seven years before the Rowlatt Act and the campaign against it, I found a little book in my friend B. V. Narasimha Aiyer's house. We were both young practitioners at the bar in Salem. He subsequently became a very pious devotee of Ramana Rishi and Sai Baba, and was gathered unto peace a few months ago. The name on the cover of the book was *The Duty of Civil Disobedience by Thoreau*. It was then a completely new book to me, and I took it home and was soon absorbed in it. Later, when I read Gandhiji's account of his jail experiences in South Africa, published in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, I could see the connection between Thoreau's philosophy and Gandhiji's Satyagraha. When Gandhiji came to Madras in January 1919 I had no difficulty in understanding or pursuing his plan of attack on the British Government in India."

This account tallies, as one would expect, with Gandhiji's own account of his first meeting with Rajaji. A comparison of this version with that presented by Francis Watson makes me wonder whether similar acts of violence have been done to the contributions made by other distinguished people. Lord Halifax's recollections are presented in several long paragraphs. Mr. Nehru is made to contribute only a few short and colourless passages. A little more justice seems to have been done to President Prasad.

Would it not be possible for someone in authority to suggest to the B.B.C., which presented a copy of the recorded final version to A.I.R., that the precious raw material should be presented to the Government of India so that possibly a worthier "talk" may be made out of it for the people of the English-speaking world? The future of humanity depends on the emergence of the will and the power to put into practice some of the teachings of the great man to whom the B.B.C. has paid such inadequate homage.

MONICA FELTON



H-BOMB TESTS
Bertrand Russell's Warning

Bertrand Russell's Foreword to a recent book on Radioactive Fall-out*, it is obvious, was not written in a hurry as usually forewords are. He very fully covers the political aspects of the tests even as the eminent men of science who have produced the book have fully dealt with the technical aspects.

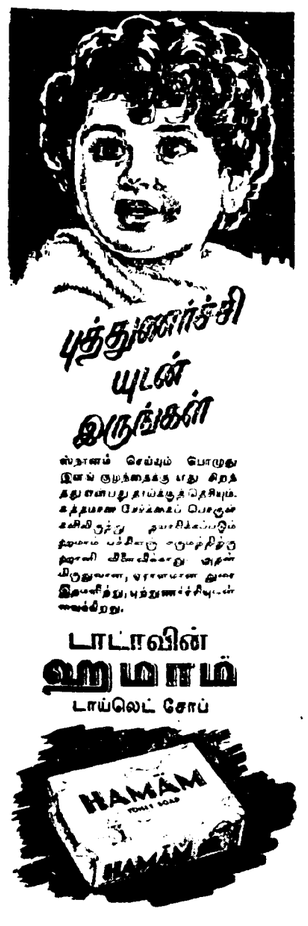
Bertrand Russell has brought out very clearly five important points among others: (1) that nations which belong to neither camp resent experiments which cause unknown hazards in every part of the world and not only in the countries which conduct the experiments; (2) that to make the halting of the tests wait for a general agreement on disarmament in the larger sense is to postpone the matter indefinitely "if past experience of the disarmament conference is any guide"; (3) that supposing the West fail to reach agreement with the Russians, even in that case, Britain should explicitly and emphatically abandon H-bomb tests; (4) that Britain should realise that the role which she can play in the world is one she cannot do through power but through wisdom, and therefore she should join with those who proclaim that "those who persist in tests of which the danger cannot be estimated are perpetrating against the human race a new kind of crime of which the immense turpitude fails to be realised because of the insane delusions connected with the outdated game of power politics"; (5) that the search for security has led to greater risks of war than ever before and that even from the point of view of security the wisest course would be to abandon the tests and the manufacture of H-bombs.

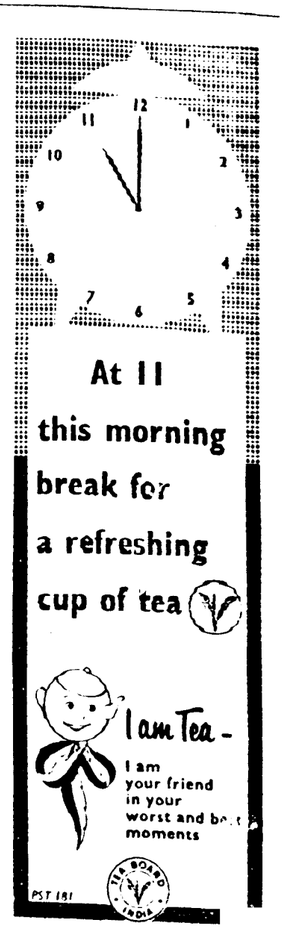
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

* *Fallout*. by A. Pirie M.A.,Ph.D. and others, MacGibbon & Kee, London.



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ANOMALIES OF GOVERNMENT'S LAND POLICY

By A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

Is the Government's land policy, both in the Centre and the States, in consonance with the Directive Principles of State Policy under Part IV of the Constitution? This will be an acid test for the policy. The Directive Principles form the basic steel-frame for economic and social justice for each and co-operative welfare for all, under the Constitution. The land policy has therefore to be examined from the standpoint of the Directive Principles with reference to each of the four sectors of the agricultural economy *viz.* (a) the small land-owner; (b) the bigger land-owner; (c) the landless labourer and (d) the cultivating tenant.

To the small land-owner, his holding is his only means of livelihood. It is far below the level of adequacy. Article 39 (a) of Part IV of the Constitution enacts that, "the State shall direct its policy towards securing that the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood". The State policy should therefore secure for the small owner a reasonable opportunity to raise his low income to an adequate level. Instead of being given such State aid, he is victimised in two respects. The Central Planning Minister recommends in a Note to the A.I.C.C. that, "steps should be taken immediately to reduce the level of rents in States where it exceeds one-fourth or one-fifth of the gross-produce". This rent reduction is not based on any enquiry or investigation. It is purely arbitrary. Its object appears to be steep reduction of the compensation that has to be paid for the owner under land-policy. The compensation is a multiple of the rent. The Planning Commission's arbitrary formula for fair rent has been adopted by the Madras Legislature as the sole ground for the statutory fair rent of 40% of the gross produce under the Fair Rent Act. The only recent public enquiry on the quantum of fair rent made so far, is an enquiry by the Tamil Nadu Congress Land Reform Committee. The Committee finds that a crop share of 50% for first class wet lands will be fair rent. Any reduction below 50% will thus, *prima facie*, be in breach of Article 39(a).

The second onslaught on the small owner's economy is made by the Madras Legislature under Section 4-A of the Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act XXV of 1955. The small owner has been effectually prevented under that section from resuming his land for personal cultivation, which is an obvious avenue for better family livelihood. The right of resumption is recognised in theory under Section 4-A of the Act to the extent of one-half of the extent leased out to each cultivating tenant up to a ceiling of five acres wet. The right, however, is effectually defeated by a number of improper restrictions such as: (i) the tenant can veto the exercise of the right if he offers to pay the pre-1955 rent; (ii) assessment to profession tax or sales tax is a ground of disqualification for resumption: (iii) the small owner should contribute his own physical labour or that of the members of his family. All these and other restrictions effectually prevent self-cultivation for increased income. They are in breach of Article 39(a).

As for the bigger landowner, his holding is, no doubt, subject to the principle of distributive justice, enunciated in Art. 39(b) and (c). Clause (b) directs the distribution of the material resources of the community so as best to subserve the common good. Clause (c) prohibits the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. A ceiling on big holdings is therefore imperative. Subject to a ceiling for landholding, the ownership rights require proper investigation. Two issues arise. The first is compensation for the excess lands above the ceiling. The Standing Committee of the National Development Council has on 15th September 1957 decided on payment of compensation in cash instalments. The reduced rent of one-fourth or one-fifth of the gross produce *minus* the land-revenue is to be the basis for compensation, according to the Second Five Year Plan. This reduced rent is far below the proper rent as discussed above. The higher rate as found by the T.N.C.C. Land Reform Committee should be substituted for it. A graded multiple of the net rent will alone be equitable compensation. The second issue is the right to hold the land below the ceiling. As a principle of distributive justice, under Art. 39 (b) and (c), the bigger owner is entitled to his own share in the distribution. His share is represented by the extent below the ceiling. He is entitled to hold this reduced holding without any restrictions. Any restriction on the enjoyment of the reduced holding which is the owner's share in the distribution is opposed to the principle of distributive justice. The restrictions on his proper rent and his right to resume land for personal cultivation, in so far as they are limited to the reduced holding below the ceiling, are unconstitutional.

Thirdly, landless labour. Art. 43 confers on labour the right to a living wage. This right, so far, exists only on paper. Even the pathway to its realisation is yet to be discovered. It is recognised on all hands that rural labour is far too difficult to organise. A likely solution is co-operative organisation of agriculture, subject to a minimum wage for

(*Continued on page 15*)



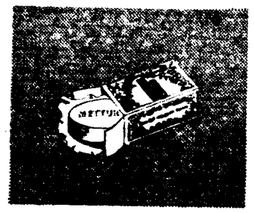
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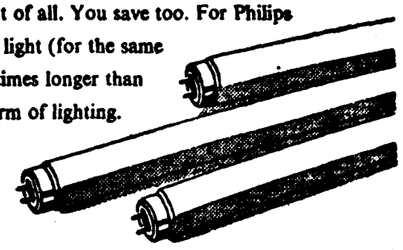
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FLUORESCENT LAMPS and FITTINGS

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

It was of Lloyd George that Simon once said: "What he says today is no indication of what he will do tomorrow." In an amended form, this is so true of our own Prime Minister. What Mr. Nehru says today is no indication of what will happen tomorrow—and, if I may add, even under his own auspices. Not that Mr. Nehru is, like Lloyd George, volatile. But he is not purposeful. If what Mr. Nehru says—I am convinced that he says only what he means—turns out to have no relation to the things that happen under his nose, it only means either of two things. Either he is more interested in saying things irrespective of their logical sequence, or he just loses sight of the things that one is led to expect from his pronouncements.

Now let me descend from generalities to particulars. He was known to have shocked the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting by saying at a conference that the Five Year Plan had no effective publicity. If it is a fact, what has he done to get the whole machinery overhauled—and get things done as he would have liked them to be? If, on the other hand, it is not a fact, should he have airily said so, without making sure that those responsible for the publicity of the Plan were just dawding?

Again, he was known to have frankly told the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting that in every news-reel wherein he figured, there was too much of concentration on him—a thing which he did not obviously like. That, in successive news-reels there should yet have been no attempt to tone down the 'personality cult', meant that what he said made little or no difference.

Instances can be multiplied. Let us take the Law Ministers' Conference. Did not the Prime Minister publicly decry the tendency to increase, and go on increasing, the number of judges while there was no prevention of, or check on delay in administering justice? Three or four State Governments have since asked for more judges despite Mr. Nehru's minatory counsel! How can one be reconciled to the hiatus between the Prime Minister's pronounced views and governmental decrees? Should it be merely a case of 'words, words, words' which have no larger meaning or deeper purpose?

Mr. Nehru cannot be too careful when he makes a public appearance for, what he says, anywhere, on anything, is good copy for the Press, as much abroad as in this country. Any public speech he makes, however casually, comes in handy for ready comment, sometimes for acute annotation. Considerable importance is attached to what he says; expectations (of one kind or another) are raised in the light of his observations. But when nothing happens or something happens, almost the reverse of what he has said, people are intensely surprised. And they begin to wonder why he raises his voice in the public at all when his views are given no serious consideration by his own men either in the party or the Government. This creates an awkward situation, and a very embarrassing one too.

More. It affects the Prime Minister's own reputation. And Mr. Nehru is conscious that he is, indeed, more than the Prime Minister of India. Should he then unconcernedly go about saying what he feels at a given moment without bothering to realise whether, and to what extent, he thereby commits his Government or creates for it quite a different situation? And there is another aspect to his discursive, however well-meaning, effusiveness. The impression is gaining ground that some of the very men around him, immediately or intimately associated with him, make him feel that they agree with him whenever he speaks strongly on this or that matter, by nodding their heads and that later they manoeuvre things adroitly by making him compromise his own position, if not resile from the line he had taken up—in all seriousness. Never was there a greater slump in his reputation, than when, after his forthright speech about the inadvisibility of a second term for high placed men—particularly the aged or tired ones—the Prime Minister was, however reluctantly, obliged to acquiesce in a situation created for him by more astute minds inside the party caucus.

It seems that Mr. Nehru can find an easy remedy for these difficulties if only he refrains from thinking too much aloud in public. The amazing confession that he arrives at a public gathering often, if not always, with a blank mind only adds to his discomfiture. A Prime Minister may, if he so likes, give a blank cheque to any of his favourites but he just cannot afford to carry with him a blank mind! He should at least see that, if or when the mind is blank, the tongue is silent. He may recall Polonius:

> Give thy thoughts no tongue
> Nor any unproportioned thought his act...

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TEACHERS' PLIGHT

Sir,—"Sidelights", in your issue of October 5 is an honest exposition of the plight of teachers in Madras State. Indeed they are a pitiable lot, subjected to cruel treatment. It is not uncommon that competent teachers and lecturers are got rid of under various pretexts. In colleges under private management, but affiliated to the University, the practice of compelling the staff to perform all kinds of work other than what is expected of them under perpetual threat of dismissal is still in vogue. In all these instances, it is the poor teacher who is the ultimate loser. Chaucer's aphorism, "Gladly would he learn and gladly teach" no longer applies to him or to the taught. This sorry state of affairs in our educational institutions demands immediate attention.

AN EX-TEACHER

RIGHT APPROACH TO LAND REFORM

Sir,—The protagonists of land reform reveal both lack of objectivity and indifference to middle class people. Their claim that land reform will lead to increased production and reduction in disparities in wealth and income has been found to be erroneous. The small landholders are facing an economic crisis as a result of new legislation. In Bombay State the landowners are working as labourers in their own fields and under their tenants. In Madras State many small landholders have to go to courts to get their share. All this legislation has embittered the relations between people in the agricultural sector and struck at the root of rural economy. It will be discriminatory to fix ceilings on income from agriculture when similar ceilings are not put on income from other sources like business.

The complicated land problem can be tackled by evolving a policy along the following lines: There should be no ceiling on land holdings. Those who hold less than 15 acres should be exempted from all the provisions of the Rent Acts. Those who personally cultivate their lands above this limit should be taxed by way of "personal cultivation tax". In the case of lands leased out, the tenant should get 45% and the owner should take 45%. The tenant should also pay 7½% as kist and contribute 2½% towards the village development fund. Such a tenant should not be evicted under normal circumstances. These measures will not only maintain cordial relationship between both sections but will also bring about prosperity in the village. This reform based upon a give and take policy will pave the way for the gradual evolution of an egalitarian society.

Chidambaram V. R. KRISHNAN

BLUNDERING ON BLINDLY!

Sir,—I agree largely with most of your criticism of the second Five Year Plan. The core of the Plan will prove unpalatable as all will realise in due course. Nehru himself is groping and cannot see the wood for the trees but the Plan like a morass holds him fast.

Blundering on blindly! It all mounts to that. Are people any happier these days than of yore? Of course not, they are becoming miserable and soured as taxes are piled upon them and the Government army of snoopers goes on expanding to harass and pester them.

Every grandiose scheme which can be, should be halted and a new outlook cultivated. Let us not do a single thing more unless it will contribute *to the happiness and contentment of the nation.* This is the core—not your iron and steel which is so much talked about!

There is no living person or body of persons fit to plan for and direct the lives of 350 million people as our legislators imagine they can do. War calls for sacrifices, but there is no sense in austerity and belt-tightening just for benefits to come in the distant future—which benefits will never really materialise. A hundred years of natural progress compressed—like dehydrated potatoes—into a five year package! Believe in it and you'll be deceived by it.

Nandyal W. H. COLE

CHANGE YOUR VIEW, OR QUIT!

Sir,—"River Waters" (SWARAJYA, Oct. 5) makes very irksome reading. The quiet agreement between the Chief Ministers of Madras and Andhra Pradesh is discouraged by you. An attempt is made to entice Sri M. Satyanarayana to revive his agitation. In theory it suits you to utilise water resources of any river without territorial limit. But in practice, and especially when Andhra comes into the picture, you are allergic to your accepted theory. How then can the dreams of many, notably of Amarakavi Bharathi, to bring the waters of the Ganges to the South with the Kaveri, be fulfilled? If you resist the idea of sparing the surplus and wasteful waters of Godavari to Madras, why should one resist the temptation to bid you quit Madras with SWARAJYA lock, stock and barrel? If you are so narrow in outlook you are directly feeding persons with points to clamour for some *sthans.* It would be fair to revise your thoughts over your "River Waters."

Madras P. THIRUVENGADAM

Anomalies of Government's Land Policy

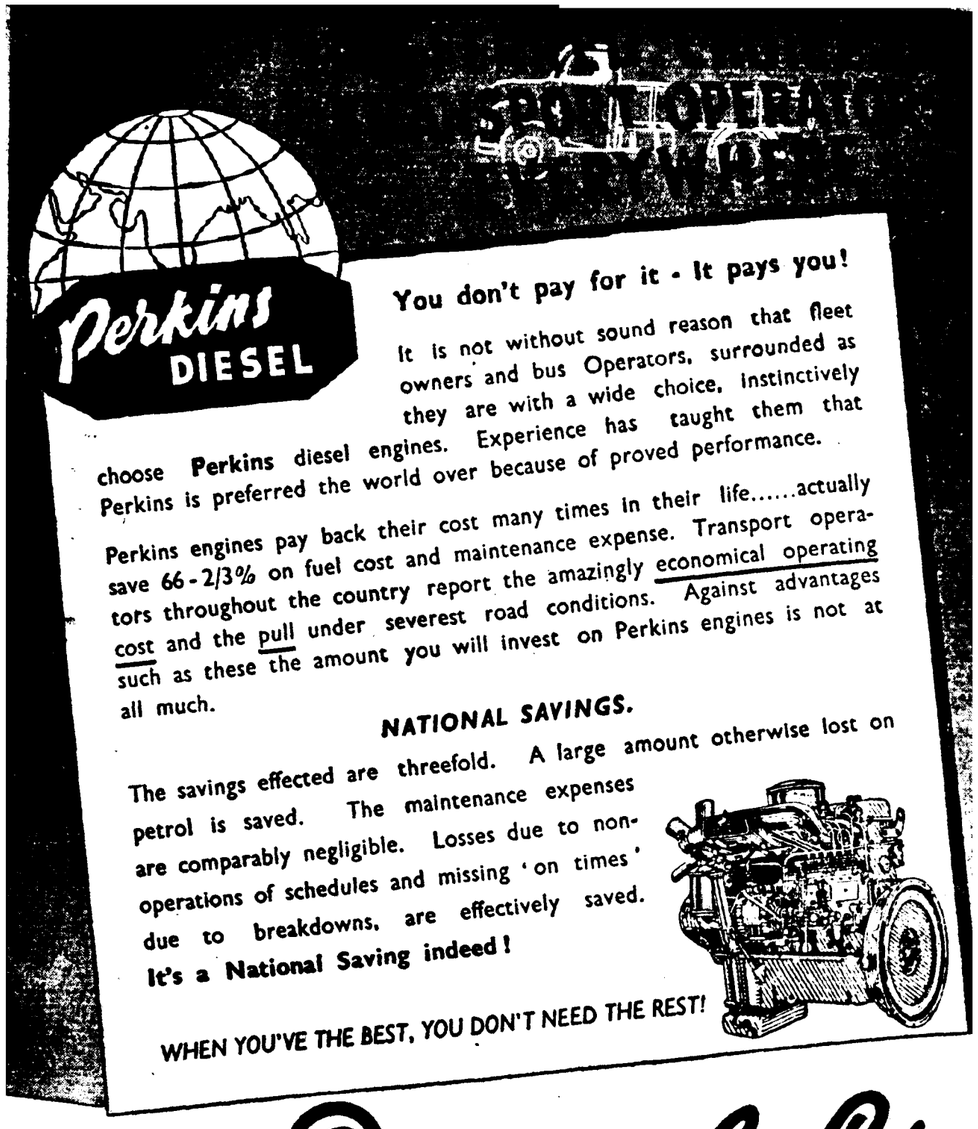
(*Continued from page* 11)

labour and without prejudice to individual interests. This suggestion requires full examination. If it succeeds, there will be all-round progress for all the sectors of the agricultural industry. It will also give a fillip to increased production. It will also help to restore the co-operative harmony of village life.

The cultivating tenant is no doubt entitled to a living wage under Art 43. This wage has to be ascertained after necessary deduction for his cultivation expenses and all the incidental risks of the agricultural industry. His crop-share may be fixed as 50% of the produce as recommended by the T.N.C.C. Land Reform Committee. He should have full security of tenure in respect of the surplus lands of the bigger landowner. The small owner's holding and the biggest owner's reduced holding below the ceiling will, on the contrary, be subject to resumption.

It follows from all this that the Government's land policy is in breach of the Directive Principles of State Policy under Article 39 Clauses (a) to (e) in regard to ownership rights. It is ineffective in regard to the right of labour to a living wage. It requires, therefore, a fundamental revision. It has to be brought in line with the Directive Principles. Social justice, fair play and commonweal in accordance with the Directive Principles should be the motto for the new policy. This is essential for increased agricultural production with all its value and urgency for the national Plan. It is also of high value for the reconstruction of rural life. The alternative is internal discord within the nation's basic industry and serious short-fall in production as its logical consequence.





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SWARAJYA

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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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Vol. II No. 16 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1957 15 Naye Paise

MORE STATE CONTROL

The distinguishing feature of democracy is that it is a system of government by discussion and not merely by authority. We have all the appurtenances and procedures of democracy but the ruling party has failed to cultivate the self-restraint and respect for reason and commonsense that are so essential for democratic administration. In Andhra Pradesh just now, they have roused a furore of controversy, wholly uncalled for, over the nationalisation of buses. The Government have announced that they will take over the buses in Krishna district and run them as a State service with effect from 1st April next. Now there is already a State service of buses in Andhra Pradesh. It operates in Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities and certain areas of Telengana. In no respect is this service superior or even equal to the one that is sought to be taken out of private management in Krishna district and transferred to Government control. As it is, the Hyderabad bus service is to the public more expensive than the Krishna service. Its fare per mile is 12 pies, twice the rate in Krishna. It is alleged that it makes a profit of 7 lakhs a year, but this profit is dependent on the high fares and if the fares were to be reduced to the level of the bus service under private management, the profit will disappear and be replaced by a deficit. The Krishna bus operators, in addition to maintaining a cheaper and more efficient service, pay the Government Rs. 30 lakhs a year in taxation. Every consideration that has anything to do with the public comfort and public interest, emphasises the continuance of the present system of bus transport in Krishna. On the other hand, as the Government have made a sorry mess of the buses wherever they have been running them, there is a sound case for the winding up of the Government transport department, handing over the government buses to private operators who have already shown themselves to be so much more capable.

It is not as if any vast accumulation of property has taken place under cover of the private bus system which the Government are now anxious to break up in their egalitarian zeal. There has been the widest possible distribution of ownership in the matter of Krishna buses. Out of a total of 327 vehicles, there are only six cases of operators owning more than 6 buses. Fifty-four own single buses; fifty-seven, 2 to 3 buses; and eighteen, 4 to 6 buses. Under this sort of owner-distribution, it is not surprising that borrowed capital should be the basis of enterprise. It is estimated that the bus operators in Krishna district owe Rs. 2 crores on their collective business, and if the buses are taken from them, they would have no means of paying their liabilities. Even if the Government should remain impervious to the human side of the tragic distress involved in their proposal, they cannot in their own interests afford to be unmindful of its disastrous economic repercussions and their impact on internal stability in the State.

Representations setting forth the arguments against the proposed transfer of control have been made to State and Union authorities, but they have deigned to take no notice of them. They no doubt know that they cannot sustain their proposal with reason; so instead of meeting argument with argument, the State Government merely go on reiteriating their decision. Commonsense has fled from Government planning; it makes no sense in terms of the ordinary balance sheet of profit and loss, wisdom and folly comprehensible by ordinary people.

Bull Point

The Chief Minister of Madras was at some pains to show, after his return from talks at Trivandrum with Kerala Ministers, that the waters that would be impounded under the proposed project were only those that fell in the Madras State area—"only the proposed dam site was within Kerala territory". This being the real position, he saw no reason why the people or the Government of Kerala should raise any objection, but he conceded that in order to allay any apprehension on the part of the Kerala public it would be necessary for the Gov-

THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The riddle of the universe, the great 'open secret' as Carlyle would call it, has baffled man ever since he began to think deeply. It must ever remain an insoluble paradox. But we cannot reduce its importance by confessing our inability to solve it nor by refusing to look at it. If we cannot tender our awe and reverence to God as the seers of the world did, if our modern knowledge has rendered us too conceited for this, let us confess our humility before at least this paradox.

What is the Hindu attitude to and interpretation of this eternal riddle? The attitude is one of reverence as opposed to conceit or indifference. The 7th, 9th and 15th chapters of the *Gita* contain the interpretation of Hindu philosophy on this matter.

The universe moves according to what are known as the laws of nature. This code of nature that we derive from observation of the sequences of material phenomena is according to the Hindu interpretation the manifestation of the Supreme Will. God Himself is not seen as such and as a whole. What we see of Him we are content to call by the name of Law, physical and moral. The universe moves on as if wholly independent of God.

Earth, water, fire, air, space, thought, reasoning and individual consciousness these are the eightfold divisions of My nature.

GITA: VII-4

This physical nature that I have described is My lower manifestation. My other and higher nature is the life-principle by which the universe is upheld.

GITA: VII-5

Understand that these two constitute the womb of all being, I am the origin and that into which the universe dissolves.

GITA: VII-6

The dependence of all things living and non-living on the Supreme Spirit is illustrated in the five *Gita* slokas following this. Notwithstanding the fact that God supports and governs all, we are ignorant of it, as the process of His governance is inclusive of ourselves and all our perceptions, thoughts, reasonings and emotions. He rules through the Law and it seems as if the Law rules and not He. God is the Law and the Law is He. The two are not different, nor can there ever be a variation between them.

He is not a pretender to the throne of whom we can ask: Show your power by varying your Law. It would be like asking Truth to prove its power by untruth. So perfect is God's rule that He disappears from the scene, but he is ever present in the Law itself. This is the Hindu view of the riddle. *Yoga-maya* as it is termed in *Gita* VII-25 and the rule of Law described as *yogam-aisvaram* in, IX-5 contain the Hindu interpretation of the relationship between the Law and God.

All this world is pervaded by Me in unmanifest state; all beings abide in Me but I stand apart from them.

GITA: IX-4.

And yet beings are not fixed in Me. Behold the scheme of My sovereignty, Myself the origin and support of beings, yet standing apart from them.

GITA: IX-5.

Using nature, which is My own, I create again and again all this multitude of beings dependent on and bound by Nature.

GITA: IX-8.

Under My ever-seeing eye, Nature brings forth the moving and unmoving and keeps the world rolling on.

GITA: IX-10.

Reflect on this, that as the mighty air everywhere moving is yet fixed in space, even so all beings are dependent on Me.

GITA: IX-6.

The unchangeable Law is an ever-present restriction, though within that limitation beings are free to act.

The *Santi* mantra of the Upanishads

Om, poornamadah poornam idam, poornaat poornam udachyate,
poornasya poornam aadaaya poornamevavasishyate

has put the matter in terse form. The universe which has issued out of the Perfect Being carries with it that quality of perfectness. The universe seems self-sufficient and perfect, because of the quality it has obtained from the Perfection out of which it was born. *Poornasya poornam aadaaya poornam eva avasishyate.*

---

ernment of that State to explain the real position to their people. This great bull point which the Madras Chief Minister has expounded for the benefit of the Kerala Government, is not available to Andhra Ministers in the case of their agreement with Madras State for diversion of the waters of Krishna and Godavari. In this case the waters do not flow in the natural courses of the rivers but they are taken hundreds of miles out, and diverted from one State to another. How much greater, then, the need for public explanation and discussion on the part of the Andhra Ministers before committing themselves to an arrangement under which no conceivable benefit can be shown to accrue to the people of the area they govern?

The Language Issue

We have printed in this issue the full text of Rajaji's speech on the language issue at the Christian College last week. Once before we printed *verbatim* another speech of his dealing with the budget. These are departures from the ordinary tradition of SWARAJYA and they are in response to the needs of special occasions. In each case we have made the departure deliberately in order to present our readers with a complete and valuable exposition on an outstanding issue of great public importance. Everything that has got to be taken into account—argued for or against—for intelligent discussion and settlement of the language issue is comprised in this careful analysis of Rajaji.



Sotto Voce

A True Bhagavata

The other day there passed into the peace of Brahma a man who might be justly described as a *rishi* of our time. But our metropolitan arbiters of taste, with their phoney culture and false gods, do not seem to be so much as aware of the fact. A. V. Gopalachariar had a pawky sense of humour, and he might have been tickled by this philistinism where it concerned another. But with the humility of the true *bhagavata* he never seemed to suspect that recognition was his due. And he would have disclaimed with alarm the applause of the market place.

* * *

Mr. Gopalachariar, the inestimable privilege of whose friendship the present writer enjoyed in the last few years of his life, lived to be eighty-five. He was a *grhasta-jnaani* of the type which, by a brilliant stroke of sympathetic imagination, he identified, in his stimulating study of *Sad Vidya*, with Uddalaka Aruni, the immortal author of the Brahman-Atman equation. He was a distinguished and successful lawyer; he filled elective offices and gave without stint of his time and money to worthy causes. The Srirangam High School and the Sankara Gurukulam benefited by his practical sagacity and administrative skill. But, important as was the part he played in the life of the community he lived in, his inner life was far more important.

* * *

He wrote abundantly — far more than he published. He had studied English literature with the intensity and enjoyment which his generation brought to all that it undertook. His Samskrit scholarship was massive. He won his spurs in Purva Mimamsa at a time when that discipline had fallen into almost complete neglect in this part of the country. He was as much at home in all the systems of Vedanta as in Vyakarana and Tarka. The poets were his constant companions; no wonder that he instinctively preferred the aesthetic approach to Truth. He put the *summum bonum* in typical poet's language: "Brahma Santi is the only true *rasa*".

* * *

His favourite among the Vedantic analogies was the honey-bee who culls many a different essence and flavour and blends them into a distinctive product of surpassing sweetness. There is astonishing virtuosity in his early study of the *Isavasya Upanishad*. The exuberance of his opening manifesto,—"It is our purpose to run through the Upanishadic literature and exhibit its charm and fine sense of humour, careless of what system of Vedanta they might support," — was somewhat subdued later, but his joy of discovery never abated. There was however nothing sloppy in his thinking. With his scrupulous scholarship and his regard for tradition he was the very antithesis of the dilettante rhapsodist.

* * *

But he did not try, nor would it have been easy for him, neatly to fit into any of the traditional systems. The pattern of his thought was being constantly remoulded by his *anubhava*. And he had no taste for the acerbities of doctrinal disputation. He went as often to Kalidasa and Magha and to the superb poet of the *Bhagavata* for illumination as to the scholastic commentators. There could be no finer tribute to his catholicity and comprehensive vision than that his fascinating discourse on the Advaitic interpretation of the *Sad Vidya* of the *Chandogya Upanishad* should have been undertaken at the suggestion of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi.

It is in his studies *con amore* in the poets that we have Gopalachariar, the *rasika*, at his best. Here he used Samskrit, Tamil and English with equal effect. Kalidasa and Bhartrhari, Sri Vedanta Desika and Alavandar, Sankara and the Samkshepa Ramayana are all dealt with in a way which is not the way of orthodox commentators. They either rigorously limit themselves to the elucidation of primary meanings and grammatical peculiarities — the great Mallinatha is the leader of this austere school — or they too often lose themselves in unrewarding discussions of the poet's matter. Gopalachariar combines the insight of Charles Lamb with the often bewildering scholarship of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

* * *

This may be annoying to the businesslike reader; but Gopalachariar aimed to report his adventure among masterpieces, and his discipline as a *sahrdaya* safeguarded him from the pitfalls of a trivial subjectivism. One feels grateful to him for leavening our traditional literary criticism with this *udaara* (large-hearted) manner. Outstanding in this respect are his commentaries on the Samkshepa Ramayana and Brahmsri Sivaramakrishna Sastri's *Bhagavata-Chatussati*, in which the *Bhagavata* is retold in four hundred verses. The latter commentary not only uncovers with infectious enjoyment the many subtle felicities of Sastriar's original, it is in effect a new commentary on the *Bhagavata* itself; which is as it should be, as Suka's teaching supplied the warp and woof of Gopalachariar's spiritual life. His friends will always remember him as the *parama bhagavata*, the joyous honey-bee that sought the sweetness in the heart of the flower, the primordial Poet concealed in the beguiling mystery of His Creation.

VIGHNESWARA

Family life is not a right but a duty arising out of the obligations of the individual to society.

— KURAL

...as beauty does

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subjects, words which are not English, but which have come from Greek, Latin and other languages, in the same manner we have to use these terms, and the main language in the higher education classes would be something like the language which our people use whenever they sit together and talk about various matters, referring to the satellite, for instance, just as satellite, using the word as it is, and adding to it the grammatical suffixes and terminations. There is nothing wrong in that. Just as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and other languages in the previous decades used Sanskrit words, we could likewise use technical terms which are used in standard textbooks today. My view is that while the teaching may be through the Indian medium, it is not necessary to wait for textbooks to be written in the Indian languages on all these subjects. People may translate and introduce new books, but we need not wait for it. Another thing about these translations is that they are not very readable. We may use the books which we have, and the lecturers and students might use them because, as I am going to tell you, we are not going to and we should not give up the study of the English language. It is absolutely necessary that we should maintain the study of English language and literature as one of the important subjects to be pursued in higher education. All students should study English language and literature, although the lectures on the various subjects may be in the Indian languages. English language and literature should be studied, so that there will be no difficulty in maintaining a sound knowledge of the English language all through. The present textbooks could be continued to be used just as you can have the Sanskrit textbook of *Bhagavat Gita*, and have lectures in Tamil on the way of life the Gita teaches. We could likewise teach chemistry in Tamil, botany in Tamil, having English textbooks, and utilising them fully. Students may read them but they may not be compelled to express themselves in every context in the English language. They may talk and write in Tamil, and they may freely use English books. I have dwelt so long on the medium of instruction because it generally is the subject matter of confusion. My main point is that the mother-tongue should be freely used, and that English should be maintained and should be studied because it is necessary in the modern world when we educate our young men and women that they should be conversant with one important international language, and that is English.

Inter-State Correspondence

The real position about the official language is divided into two parts. There is the question about the official language of the State and there is the question of the official language of the Union of India, and the inter-State official language. So far as the State officiál affairs are concerned, my view is that we should use the language of the State. For example, in this State, Tamil should be the official language of the State; in Malabar Malayalam, in Mysore Kannada and so on. But for inter-State official work, a report which is to go from Madras to Delhi, or a report which is to come from Delhi to Madras, or correspondence between the officials of the Fort St. George Secretariat in Madras and the officials in Hyderabad or Bengal, what should be the language? The issue now disputed is this question, namely, what should be the language of the Union Government official work and inter-State official work? I say and I maintain that it should be English and not Hindi, whereas the Government of India's desire is to make Hindi re-

PROBLEMS OF LAND

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"If the good man fails to bestow personal attention on his farm, then like a neglected wife, the land will turn its face away in anger". Thus did Tiruvalluvar put it in his chapter on agriculture.

செல்லான் கிழவன் இருப்பின் நிலம் புலர்ந்து இல்லாளின் ஊடி விடும்

The duties of a farmer cannot be delegated. He must be ever attentive to earn the loving response of the land he owns, even as a husband mut be watchful to get and retain the affection of his wife. Ownership from a distance will not work. It is obvious that even in Tiruvalluvar's time, the soil had been overworked.

Again, land is very different from air and water. These may belong to all. For air and water require nothing to be done before being breathed or drunk. All that is needed is not to let the air or water suffer contamination. But unlike air and water land requires to be looked after very carefully with skill and knowledge and manure and livestock before it can yield. Especially is this the case with land in our country where it has been exhausted by exploitation for many thouands of years. It is not every tiller that can be turned automatically into an owner-farmer. The farmer has to have the power to put into the land a great deal which the mere tiller has generally not the ability to do.

Yet, those who cannot be farmers have their share in the work of agriculture. They cannot be done away with. The land needs both farmers and labourers. This is what history has shown and what prevails in other countries which have the best farms.

Can we replace farmers by adding all the villagers together into one theoretical person. We can form co-operatives and give them all the land. But if we know the nature, the capacities and the incapacities of the individuals making up the co-operative, we shall see that the good farmer cannot be replaced by logic or arithmetic.

If we make all the holders of land in a village form themselves into a co-operative, holding all the land in the village, where do you draw the line? And do you exclude any of the villagers? If you solve all these problems, who will enforce the discipline among them to work for and on the land? A manager will come into being and he may be an oppressor. What sort of bureaucracy or zamindari system will grow we cannot tell, and what joy or welfare issue out of it we cannot tell either.

We have done away with the old joint family ties. Why did we break it up? Can we manufacture joint families anew? Can rules and regulations fare better than blood and family affection did? Let us look back a little while we march forward and let us weigh ourselves by history, rather than by wishes.

SIDELIGHTS : :

The latest issue of *Blitz* reveals that "passengers travelling first class from Madras to New Delhi by the Grand Trunk Express are the victims of a neat little racket for sometime now". I can vouch for the truth of this revelation from personal experience. On two occasions I had to reserve berths for close relations proceeding from Madras to Hyderabad. Though the application was made well in advance I was told that all the available accommodation had been booked already. A miracle happened however and the alleged unavailable accommodation was made available when an influential friend intervened and took the matter in his own capable hands. What was my surprise when, on both the occasions scheduled for travel, I found, not the packed compartments which the reservation clerks had led me to expect, but plenty of vacant seats! It was only recently that the secret of this phenomenon dawned on me through accidental awareness of the epic efforts of an intrepid ticket-examiner of the Southern Railway to put down ticketless travelling.

* * *

He was on special duty between Katpadi and Arkonam. At Arkonam he detected a sub-inspector of the railway police travelling without ticket in a first class compartment and demanded from him excess fare. The ticketless passenger grew wild saying "What, don't you know who I am? Do you want to get yourself into trouble?" Finding all this browbeating unavailing the police officer picked up his suit case and attempted to get out of the compartment. When the ticket-examiner objected to his leaving without paying the fare the police sub-inspector laid rough hands on him, got him between the door and the wall of the compartment and injured him in the elbow and the chest. By this time the station master arrived on the scene, and eventually a fellow-passenger who was presumably the police officer's friend paid on his behalf the excess fare due. It may be mentioned here that earlier in the day another regular passenger who had bought and paid for his ticket was given considerable trouble in connection with finding accommodation for himself by this ticketless sub-inspector! The train left Arkonam after a detention of 18 minutes and for his pains the ticket-examiner was asked to furnish his explanation for the delayed departure of the train by the higher railway authorities.

* * *

Another incident with which this ticket-examiner had to do occurred between Jalarpet and Madras. When he arrived for duty at Jalarpet, his suspicions were aroused the moment he looked at the reservation chart with the guard. For he found there four berths from Bangalore to Madras reserved in a second class compartment (compartment SCQ 1947 IIA & B) for the Inspector, Railway Police, Madras Central; the Deputy Superintendent of Railway Police, Coimbatore; the Deputy Superintendent of Railway Police, Madras Central; and the Deputy Superintendent of Railway Police, Bezwada. When ordinary members of the public wish to reserve accommodation they have to buy tickets and produce them before the reservations can be made. But, police officers are privileged and they have card passes which enable them to obtain not only reservation but also priority at any time over every kind of ticket-buying passenger. Probably because of conventional inter-departmental trust or courtesy, it may not be even necessary to produce a card pass to obtain reservation of a berth for a police officer. Apparently the thing can be done over the phone. In whatever manner obtained, in the berths reserved for the four police officers mentioned above, our enterprising ticket-examiner detected four persons travelling without tickets or passes.

* * *

It transpired that they were closely related to the departmental head himself of the Madras Police (not the present one but a predecessor of his). This relationship would have been an irrelevant detail but for the fact that the mantle of police protection was spread over the ticketless travellers throughout the journey. A sub-inspector of the railway police accompanied them. At Arkonam he seems to have bought tickets to cover their exit at the destination. At Central Station he had the assistance of another police officer to spirit away the party out of the railway platform through the unauthorised entrance gate. In presenting to the proper railway authorities the ticket examiner's complaint about this police interference with him in the performance of his duties, the forwarding officer, in allusion to the all-powerful head of a mighty department, makes this comment: "Sir, ...If a brother-in-law of his residing in Bangalore takes it into his head that he can exploit the official position of his relative by requisitioning the assistance of RPSIs at Madras Central to escort him and some of his kin from Bangalore to Madras without tickets, ... we are at a loss to know why the administration is taking so much pains to tighten up the checking arrangements so vigorously. It is a known fact that Central Station is a spring board for the RPSIs to secure promotion to higher grades. Their main job seems to be to assist distinguished personalities to obtain reservation on trains by unscrupulous methods".

* * *

In 1956, as many as 9,43,938 passengers travelled without tickets on the Southern Railway alone. Of these, excess fare amounting to nearly 17 lakhs of rupees was collected from 8,88,129 passengers. 9543 were fined. 14,547 were imprisoned. More than 31,700 escaped without penalty or punishment. The complicity of high-placed officers in contriving violations of law which it is their plain duty to prevent, is one of the most disquieting features of the present set-up of government in this, as in so many other departments.

SAMA

HINDI SHOULD NOT BE IMPOSED

RAJAJI'S VIEWS ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The most complete exposition of his views on the language issue was given by Rajaji at a meeting of the students of the Christian College, Madras, which he addressed last week. Principal Macphail presided. In view of the importance of the subject, we print below the full text of Rajaji's speech on the occasion :

Mr Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can speak to you on one of many subjects. I am sorry I was not able to decide on it and I postponed my decision to the very end. I could speak to you about the need for God and religion in our daily life and in our national life; I can speak to you about the great mistake the Government of India is contemplating to commit (Laughter) by replacing English by Hindi; I could speak to you about the connection between the Ramnad riots and our democracy (Laughter); I can speak to you about the H-bomb and the latest Russian invention; I can speak to you about the Kashmir dispute and the military expenditure of the Government of India; I can even speak to you about the loan the Government of India is trying to raise in America (Laughter); but without any special reason, I have chosen to speak to you about the replacement of English by Hindi that is proposed by the Government of India, as the official language of the Union.

When we were under a government by outsiders, foreign nationals, when we resolved to fight against Great Britain for our independence, we could afford to lose ourselves in emotion; not only did we do it, but we did more, we emotionally roused the national feeling in favour of freedom from foreign control. When we deal with any such point at issue it is permissible to be emotional, and it is allowed in all countries. But when we have to quarrel among ourselves, when we have to settle an issue of an internal character, we cannot afford to lose ourselves in passion and prejudice; we have to be intellectually very reasonable and calm. Otherwise we would be really hurting ourselves. That is the difference between one kind of issue and another.

Thirty or forty years ago, forty years ago roughly, we were fighting the British in a very excited manner. But when we have to fight, for instance on this issue of official language, it is not permissible to fight in that way. You have to be necessarily calm and reasonable because the effects of any loss would be immense. It is like taking medicine to cure a disease. Often a bad medicine itself will leave us in a worse condition than the disease itself. Supposing we begin to fight very acutely on this question of official language and allow our feelings to run riot, what will be the consequence? Things would be worse then; that is why I wish to tell you that whatever opinions you may have on this issue, we should carry on our work in a different way from what we did when we fought the British, or for that matter, when we have to fight any foreign power, the Russians, the Americans or even the people of Pakistan. We can afford to lose our temper in the one case and we should not in this case.

What are the various questions that we may possibly have to deal with in our talk on this subject? The language issue is not a simple issue. One question is, what should be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges? That is not in fact a matter at issue now, and I shall not detain you on this except to state straightaway that the language through which we should teach, through which we should learn the subjects taught in the schools, should be the mother-tongue, that is to say, the language of the particular region, because we have quite a number of mother-tongues in India. In this part of the country, it should be Tamil; that is, whatever we learn we should learn through Tamil in the schools and that is my view.

Medium of Teaching

Again in respect of the teaching medium, what should be the medium in schools, and what should be the medium in higher institutions, colleges and in the higher forms of the high schools? I should say, there also, the medium of instruction should be the regional language in each State—in Madras, the regional language of this State, namely Tamil, in Bengal the regional language of that State. So also in Gujerat, Poona and so on. Instruction should be given and taken in the regional language, not only in schools, but also in colleges. There is not much difference of opinion about this medium of instruction in schools. But in regard to the medium of instruction in colleges there is some difference of opinion. Because I stand up for English as the official language, some people believe that I might also be advocating English as the teaching medium in colleges. I do not. My view is that the medium of instruction even in colleges should be, generally speaking, the mother-tongue of the boys and girls of the area concerned. I say *generally* because there may be certain institutions which are specifically allowed to have a large number of students from outside so that there may be some place where such students may get instruction. We may have to provide for such special cases. But generally speaking, even in higher education we ought to have the mother-tongue as far as possible for teaching the various subjects including sciences.

There is again another confusion which I would like to clear up at the outset. Supposing you have a subject like science and it should be taught in the mother tongue. It is generally thought that words for oxygen, hydrogen, electricity should be laboriously worked out by Tamil pandits, that we should find out new words for these words. I say I do not agree. I think we should save time and energy by utilising the technical and scientific words that are in common use in the world, that have been used in India for a long time now, during the last more than hundred years, in the teaching of the science subjects and such other subjects. We should therefore teach chemistry, even high chemistry, through mother-tongue of the area, by using all these words that are for the present being used in the teaching of the subjects through the English medium. In my opinion there should be no change in these technical terms. I repeat that while the teaching should be in the mother-tongue, the technical terms now in use may be used as such.

Translation of Scientific Terms

Purists, however, may think this is impossible and ask, how can you say sulphuric acid in Tamil. We can say it. There is nothing wrong about it. We could freely use, in using the mother-tongue medium, the technical terms in whatever language they may be. Just as we are actually using in the English medium the foreign words for much of the technical terminology introduced in science

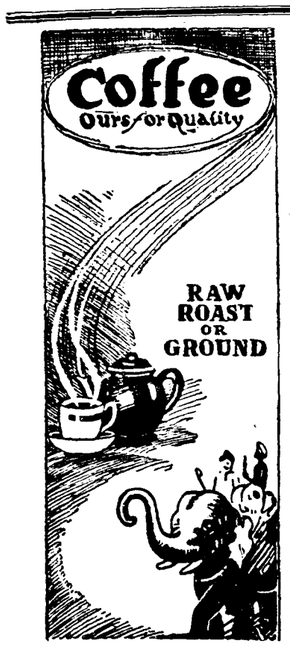
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place English. The State language should be the official language of the State, the official language of the Union and the language for inter-State correspondence should be English and not Hindi as proposed.

Why? Many people write to me now about it, for it is well known that I have advocated English. Many of my friends from Upper India write to me rather abusive letters, asking me, what has happened to you? (Laughter) They say, you are one of the pillars of India. And they are surprised that I should stand up for English and against Hindi.

But, what exactly are the facts at the outset in this matter on which we have a quarrel with the Upper India people? We should understand the facts and analyse them and discuss them without passion or prejudice. There is no use acting on prejudice or passion. Let us see how things stand now. What is the claim for Hindi? If you take Hindi to be the language of the majority of the people of India you would be wrong. It is not the language of the majority of the people of India. The position is that only two-fifths of the population of India could claim to have Hindi or some variation of Hindi as their mother-tongue, and three-fifths of the population of India speak other languages. But it is true that these two-fifths are the largest group, while the three-fifths are divided into a number of groups. We are not fighting that position now. Those who speak Tamil, Malayalam or other languages together make up the three-fifths of the population But the two-fifths are a compact population in Central India and U.P. These people speak Hindi or variations of Hindi. But the people in Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and South India all speak different languages. Therefore three-fifths are non-Hindi and two-fifths Hindi-speaking. In democratic France, the largest group forms the government, though it may be a small minority against the rest of the representatives. In that way the Hindi people claim that the language of the two-fifths should be accepted as the common language for official purposes. It is rather hard to accept that position. It is hard upon the three-fifths of the population for this special reason. The two-fifths are not spread all over India. The people who speak Hindi are not spread all over India. They are in Central India and U. P.

Only Two-fifths

If you go, say to Bengal, compact masses of humanity speak Bengali; if you go west, compact masses of people speak Gujerati, Marathi and so on. Likewise people speak Punjabi in the north. In the south, compact masses of people speak Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam. If the Hindi-speaking population had been spread all over, although only two-fifths, there would be some meaning in claiming the right to push their mother-tongue as the official language. But for the present, because the non-Hindi people are cut up into definite masses of people speaking different languages, it would be oppressive to have Hindi as the official language.

Take another position. Suppose you have one government and one State in Europe. Would they make any one language, say the German, the official language of Europe because the largest number of people speak it? No. Even the language of Italy or of smaller nations like Denmark or Finland, would be recognised. They would not accept the majority rule, so to say, in this matter. In this particular case on hand, the total number of Hindi speakers is small but they are a compact group in India. If you have fifty Indians, you will find twelve of them speak one or other of the various Indian languages: twenty speak Hindi; twelve speak the Dravidian languages; ten speak Bengali and Oriya; four speak Punjabi; three Marathi, and one will remain over to cover all the others. Therefore if you have fifty young men and women, you have twelve of them speaking non-Hindi Dravidian languages, and ten speaking other languages and so on, while the twenty people speaking Hindi claim that their language should be accepted as the official language of the whole body. That is the actual statistical ratio. It is better to be clear on the facts because people in Upper India are carried away by the feeling that Hindi is the language of India, and they ask, why are you objecting to it becoming the official language? They say, we are Hindus in Hindustan, and Hindi must be the language of the country.

Names for areas are given by people who do not speak the language of the area. Tamil, for instance, or Dravidian, was not called so by people speaking it. Dravidians did not start with that name. It is the non-Dravidians that gave the name Dravidian to the Tamils. It is the Christians that gave the name Pagan to the non-Christians, it is the non-Aryans that gave the name Aryan to the Aryans. The name therefore should not decide the matter. But in Upper India, the people there honestly believe—due of course to ignorance—that Hindi is common to all the people. Not only that, they believe that there are some cantankerous people down in South India who do not want to speak Hindi. They do not believe that it is impossible for us to speak and learn Hindi in the manner in which you can speak and learn English. They say, you have learnt English so well, why don't you learn Hindi?

200 years of Oppression

The English people came and settled down here for 200 years. For two hundred years they were here, they would not go whatever we may do

(Laughter). We therefore learnt English, because we could not get any job without it, we could not make both ends meet without a job. Therefore I say 200 years of oppression, excuse me, Mr. Principal for saying this (Laughter), induced our facility in English. Unless you go through another 200 years of oppression you would not be able to learn Hindi in the manner in which we have learnt English.

No man is able to put himself in another man's place, and that is the misfortune in the world. Every man thinks his own convenience is the convenience of everybody. So people in Upper India imagine that Hindi is easy, that it is an easy language, and therefore it should be learnt. All of us would be of the unanimous opinion that Tamil is an easy language. But I will give 25 or 30 or 50 years to the Upper India people, would they be able to read and write Tamil as well as we? Not at all. They would not be able to do that. What is easy for one man is not easy for another man. Many psychologists would tell you that language-learning is a very peculiar thing. It is to be learnt from childhood, from the mother, it has to be learnt every day through numerous things; then only you get a good command over the language. Merely reading or studying a particular language is not enough. We would not be able to acquire that amount of knowledge of Hindi, which we have acquired in English through these 200 years of oppression. Now they say, why not learn Hindi for the sake of unity? Every nation has to be independent and wants to be independent, and for that it should have a national language. Therefore, they say, you must accept Hindi, and that is their argument.

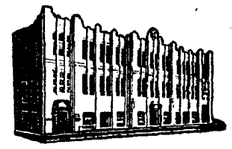
I say the question of national language is a question of fact. If the language is spoken by more people, if more people speak the language, there could be no objection. But the official language is a matter not of fact, but a matter of decree and legislation. They say, accept this as the national language, and that is where we start. Friends, you are all young and you do not know what we had to fight against when we fought against the English people. They told us on the platforms and in official documents and even in schools and colleges, they told us, you are a people with many religions, with many languages, therefore you cannot become a nation, you have no one national language; therefore you cannot be free. That is what they told us. We answered them by saying, what if we have many religions and languages, we should be very tolerant to one another, we wish to be free even though we have many religions, what if we have many languages, we shall have Hindi as our national language. And we said so in a hurry (Laughter). You had to say things like that then. But when we actually got rid of the English people, and when we take up the question of official language, we now find difficulty.

Language of the Educated

So far as the English language is concerned, it is the language of our diplomatic corps, the diplomatic department, it is our language when we go to America or France. The question now here is shall we accept Hindi as between Delhi and Madras? Speaking illustratively, the same thing applies to the case of Delhi and Hyderabad. Imagine the difficulties that will arise then. It is true that because we had prejudice, and we so disliked the Englishmen, we said we shall not have English, we shall have Hindi. Now that we have sent away the Englishmen, the anger has gone, and we have become calm and quiet. We now ask, why should we give up English? Is it anybody's private property, is it, as we say in Tamil, your grandfather's property (Laughter)? The Englishman has left it here, it is not his property. So far as property is concerned, you can remove it, and you can leave it in one place, and if you do so, you cannot have it in another place. So far as English is concerned, this law does not apply. English remains here, it remains in England, why, the English people went to America, and it is the language of the Americans. After 200 years here in India, English has become the language of all educated people in India. It is the one language which is the language of every educated person in India, wherever it be, whether Calcutta, Bombay, Hyderabad or Madras. It is the one language which all educated people know in this country. Because it was the result of foreign domination, must we throw away English along with the Englishman? I do not say we should, I say we should not. We have not thrown away the railways, the telegraph wires, we have not even sent away the statues that remain here (Laughter). I for one would not like to send away Munroe's statue, though his people may like to have it for themselves. There are certain things which should remain over, the English language should so remain over. It is not something which you can remove. It is a treasure which you cannot remove. A number of people know English and English they consider is our language. All these things cannot be given up. It is a treasure which cannot be valued in terms of rupees, it is much more valuable than the railways, the telegraph wires etc. They have left it behind and the English language is there in India, and to replace it would be foolish and bad.

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students who have been educated as professors, teachers and managers, or do you think we should pull down this building put up by the Christian mission? Are we to pull this building down and reconstruct it? It would be foolish, it would be even more foolish to pull out English, so to say, and try to replace it by Hindi.

Wanting in Imagination

If only the people who propose this had imagination to see what really the loss would be, they would not have recommended the idea. They are wanting in imagination, that is really the reason why they ask us like this. They imagine they can pick out words from dictionaries and express everything through Hindi (Laughter). To that language itself, all these words are new. You do not know how hard they are working to find all these new terms. For instance, take the word defence, appeal, judge, clerks, sheriff, mayor—so many names there are. Even for simple things like that, they are struggling hard to find new names, to coin new names, the same thing as getting new books written. Each time you like to read an official report, you have to open the dictionary and find out suitable words. I say all this would be tragic, as tragic as anything. I therefore say we should not lose English.

There is one strong point in the argument on the other side. They say the language of the Government should not be a language which is strange to the people that are governed. This is no doubt a very important principle. The language of the people in Madras is Tamil, that in Mysore is Kannada. The Government of Madras and that of Mysore will conduct their official work according to my formula, in Tamil and Kannada. I say therefore there is no divorce between the language of the people and the language of the Government.

It is only in regard to correspondence between State Governments, and correspondence between a State Government and the Centre, that I suggest that English should be retained. So far as the people are concerned, throughout the length and breadth of India, according to my formula, the language of the people will be the language of the Government. The language of the State Government in each case will be the language of the people of the area concerned. But if the Delhi Government corresponds with Fort St. George in English, it makes no difficulty for the common man. The work of the State Government will all be done by the Government in the language of the State, and thus there will be no divorce between the language of the Government and the language of the people in actual fact. The argument is therefore wrong that the principle of identity of language between the Government and the people should support Hindi as the official language. The argument is wrong in two ways. Even though the official language of the Centre and of the State which corresponds with it is English, the people and the Government speak the same language in every State. In another way, I say, the argument is wrong. Supposing it is done in Hindi. Is it the language of the people of either Madras or Mysore or Malabar? No. Then there would be complete divorce in certain provinces, and in other parts, (three-fifths of India) say in areas where Marathi, Bengali or Tamil is spoken, there would be no identity between the language of the people and that of the Government. So the argument that the Government should be run in the same language as the language the people speak, cannot apply to India as a whole, because we are a multi-lingual nation. The very fact which was pointed out against freedom by the people who did not want to lose their domination over India has not altered now, and it remains. We cannot therefore make the wish the farther to the thought and say that all people here speak Hindi. We cannot make such a statement. There is no use in granting that Hindi is the language of the Union. It will be a strange language to many people, as strange, perhaps a little less strange but nearly as strange as any other language. There is no advantage whatsoever in making Hindi the official language even in respect of that argument put forward by them. I therefore say that English should remain.

Should not a Man Change?

Some people have written nice letters to me and to the Press. One of them says in a letter to the Press; "Here you are. You in 1928 wrote an introduction to a Hindi self-instructor in which you advanced arguments in favour of a study of Hindi. You said then that everyone should study Hindi, but now you say Hindi should not be the Union language. How inconsistent you are?"

I say I am an inconsistent person. I will admit it in a way. I can tell you the reason why. I do not wish to quarrel with the man who says I am inconsistent. I know I am not inconsistent, and it is unnecessary to quarrel over an unnecessary issue. Let me admit I am inconsistent. But I ask, should a man keep the same opinion all through 40 years? (Laughter) Should not a man change his opinion? I declare I change my opinion whenever occasion arises, not without reason, but for good reason. If you prove to me I am wrong, I am prepared to accept it. Therefore mere inconsistency cannot lead me to say that Hindi should replace English. Should all our people, in Malabar, Tamil Nad etc., suffer on account of my consistency? Certainly not.

At the time—that was 40 years ago, it was much earlier than that, even on earlier occasions I have said it — 40 years ago, I had recommended strongly the study of Hindi. It was not a question then of official language, it was only a question of study. Is it my fault, is it wrong on my part that 40 years ago I saw what was to come? I saw, when different people joined together to get independence, what would happen when they became free. I knew well enough the people who were in the majority. I knew they would love to enforce their language as the language of the nation. I did not want my people to lose the advantage, and to be at a great disadvantage for want of a knowledge of that language. I said, therefore, from now on study Hindi, so that when we become independent, we would be ready to take up the highest office even though Hindi might become the national language. This was 40 years ago. If people had taken my advice then, they would be able now to meet the situation. I advised them to take to a study of Hindi. But what happened? They would not learn it, they refused to learn it. They were emotional. They said Tamil is such a beautiful language, why should I learn the other language? They did not imagine really that the British would go and that we would be having an Indian Government.

Now I must tell you, somewhat with feeling, about the political life of those days. Do not misunderstand me, I shall describe only the facts. At that time all the people who were thinking with their heads, not with their hearts, thought and were sure that the British would continue to rule over India whatever noice we make. Those who were thinking with their hearts desired that the English people should go and that we should govern ourselves. Those who thought with their heads believed that the Englishmen

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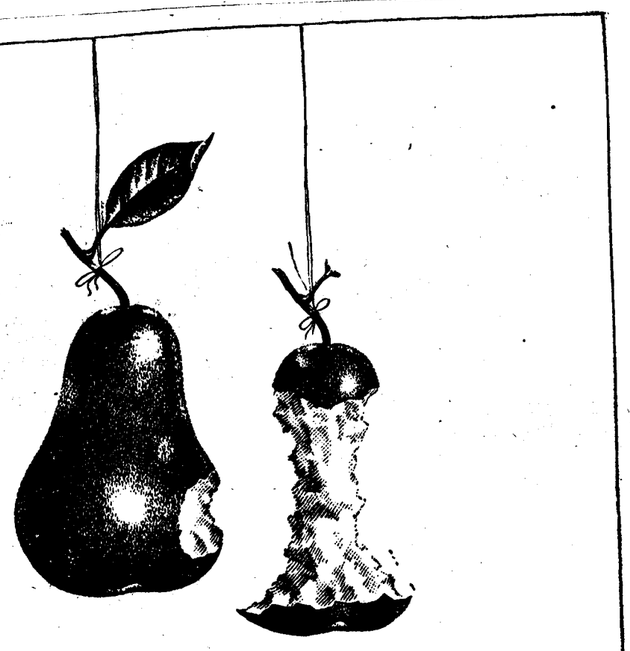
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would never go, therefore they did not bother about this question of language at all. But the people who thought with their hearts had to answer the objections raised by them, and they had to state the case for Hindi. We did not know then what kind of government would come after independence. Today we know it, today there is a Constitution, we have a number of States, and the States have formed themselves into a Union, it is a federal structure of government. Every State has its own language, and therefore the position now is clarified. When every State has its own language for its official work, the position is clear when we go in for the language for the Central Government and for inter-State work. It was not so clear at that time. That is why I say today that it is difficult to impose Hindi. I say the poor boys will be at a disadvantage not only now, but for many generations to come. Why should whole masses of people be put at a disadvantage because we have Hindi as the Union's official language? We cannot possibly agree to that position. It is not possible to press forward such a proposal. It would be unfair, it would not be just, to make a permanent advantage for those to whom Hindi is the mother-tongue and to make a permanent disadvantage for those to whom Hindi is not the mother-tongue. Apart from justice, a whole mass of people would be relegated to a politically subordinate position. In order to realise what I mean, friends, you have to be older than you are. If you are older, then you will know how everyone who spoke English, every Englishman used to be looked upon as of a higher caste. Therefore I say, everyone who has his own mother-tongue as the official language will be looked upon as of a superior status hereafter. If Hindi is imposed in the place of English a whole mass of people will be relegated to a position of subordination. They would have to look upon the Hindi speaking people to whom Hindi is the mother-tongue as superior because they speak it much better than we can possibly do. People speaking Hindi as their mother-tongue would be looked upon as a superior sort of people, having a superior status in the governance of India. It would be an unfair position which cannot be tolerated. Even if practicable, this would be wrong.

Large Injustice not Practicable

Luckily large injustices are never practicable, and this is the law. Only up to a limited point injustice is practicable. But beyond a certain magnitude, injustice is not possible. It would not be therefore possible to impose Hindi in the manner they propose.

Supposing I advise my son to buy a raincoat, because it is going to rain, it is not my fault that I knew that the rain would come. My son does not know that the rain would come, and he refuses to invest in a raincoat. But when the rain actually comes, am I wrong, because he has not carried out my advice, am I to drag him out in the rain? (Laughter) Is it wrong that I advised that Hindi should be studied in schools from the youngest age by the students? It was not done. But must I not change my opinion now, and say it is not possible to make Hindi the official language? Must I drive my son in the rain because he did not carry out my advice? It would be exactly the same thing now. I love my people, I have not ceased to love my people on account of the simple fact that they did not accept my advice. Therefore I say, there is no inconsistency in my position. It is really consistency on my part in the matter of my affection and concern for my people. The same affection for them, the same concern for them, that made me tell them 40 years ago that they should learn Hindi, because I then knew this sort of a situation is bound to come, the same concern now makes me stand up now against my friends in Upper India and say to them, you cannot impose Hindi, and you should have English continued. That is my answer to the charge of inconsistency against me.

Regarding the possibility of learning Hindi, let me tell you, a language is not learnt only in school. You know how we learnt English. If you examine the position carefully, you will see it takes many generations for us to learn a language properly. A boy learns not only in school, he continues the learning at home and it is only in that way that English has been learnt. If we must learn Hindi and if it is to be imposed by official decree, we must have it introduced as a compulsory language in all schools at all levels, in the primary stage, the secondary stage and in the colleges. It must be used not only in the colleges and schools, the children should be made to learn it also in their homes as well. Therefore it is that I say it would take three generations at least before we can reach a proper standard. But those to whom Hindi is the mother-tongue, they are proceeding fast, having the advantage in their favour. All the energy we put up will not enable us to catch up with them as they will also be advancing, so that we would at all times be at a disadvantage. It would not be a temporary injustice, it would be a permanent injustice. It is up to you to see this fact. It would be a very gross injustice which we cannot allow.

Voluntary Learning

It does not mean that we should not study Hindi. It is one thing to learn Hindi for the purpose of trade and commerce and unity with our neighbours, but it is another thing to accept domination under the decree of official life. The official language should be English, and we can learn Hindi, for we should learn a neighbour's language. We are living in modern times, communications are quicker and everything is now wider. Therefore we should know our neighbour's language, otherwise we will be illiterate persons. The most important neighbouring language is Hindi, and so we should learn it. Otherwise you would not find it convenient to do business. Hindi is of greatest importance because it is the mother-tongue of the largest part of India in one solid group. Therefore we must learn Hindi. Those who accept my views in this matter should not imagine that we are for discarding Hindi. We are neither for discarding English nor for discarding Hindi if we want to be a nation of importance in the world. Our educated men must know English. They must be able to speak it, as Mr. Krishna Menon is speaking in Washington, and to handle that language with power. We should also know Hindi because we may have to go up to North India. Our young men should not be merely narrow-minded Madrasis. They should be able to speak Hindi well to the people there. If I had known to speak Hindi well, I would not be speaking to you about this subject here today but I would be speaking in Hindi against the imposition of Hindi itself, in North India (Laughter). Do not make the mistake of imagining that I am one of those who do not want Hindi in our schools. It should be taught if not absolutely compulsorily at least as compulsorily as mathematics or English or history is taught.

It should be part of our educational system that Hindi should be learnt. If my friends want to impose Hindi as the official language, if not now, at least a hundred years hence, they will have to introduce compulsory Hindi today, and keep it up with the police force, otherwise they will not be able to do it. Apart from that compulsion, we in our own interests, if we wish to advance in trade and commerce as citizens of India, should learn Hindi. It is not as if it is enough to be political. If we should do business, if the handloom weavers from Salem and Madurai are to send their goods to Upper India and sell them there, they have now to depend on agencies, and how long can you depend on agents like that? If we want to have direct business economically and well, we should know the language of the people with whom we have business dealings, therefore Hindi should be learnt. You may not be able to learn Marathi or Bengali, but one language which is spoken by a large number of people should be learnt. There should be no mistake in understanding my position in this matter. We should have a full study of English and a comparatively light study of Hindi in order to develop commerce. To be able to read textbooks in sciences, and technology, to carry on diplomatic business, we have to have a study of English of a very high standard. But so far as Hindi is concerned, it is enough if we are able to do business in North India.

One Advantage from Slavery

My dear friends, I have given you my views on this subject. Do not be misled by anyone saying that Rajaji is inconsistent. English today is much more important than before. Forty years ago when we were fighting the British with non-cooperation, boycott and things like that, English was not so important as it is today. Thanks to the influence of America which is a great power today, English has become the language of the most powerful group of nations in the world. Luckily, along with the disadvantages of the British rule in India, we had some advantages also, we went through the slavery, but we learnt their language. The Negro was taken to America from Africa for slave work but today he is a citizen of America and highly advanced, far more than his brother Negro in Africa. Therefore the misfortune of India carries with it some advantage also. As a result we have today a knowledge of English among the educated sections of the country which gives us a great advantage in the councils of the world. But for the English language, our leaders would not have been able to play the part they do in international affairs today. So I say, do not give up English. It should be maintained in the same high standard as we have been maintaining so far. We should also learn Hindi. But we should resist the attempt to impose Hindi as the official language. I repeat that in the State Governments the language would be the language of the States. Who are the people who will suffer if English is to go? They are your own younger brothers. All of us will suffer. Therefore we have to fight this imposition. How to fight it? I do not want you to lose your temper or make extraordinary demonstrations. You have your associations where you can discuss the matter and come to conclusions and express your views. Do not become politicians. But this affects your future. That is why I take up this subject not merely as a matter of discussion on the political platform. This affects every one.

Some of you know that there is an article in the Constitution which was resolved upon by the Constituent Assembly that Hindi should be the official language of the Union. At the time the Constitution was made, we did not see how things will shape. We have had the reorganisation of States which we did not think of at the time. The reorganisation has created new State boundaries, dividing up the States mostly according to the languages. When each State maintains its own language it is time that we should reconsider the position regarding the Union language. The Constitution should therefore be altered. English should be retained as the official language of the Union. But how are we to change the Constitution? We have changed the Constitution several times even during the last ten years. So we have to ask the Indian Government to change the Constitution, if necessary. My own view is that if the Government of India make up their mind, they can even without changing the Constitution do the right thing. But if necessary we may change the Constitution also, there will be no harm in doing so. This is what we should get done and in order to get it done, public opinion should be formed, especially among the younger people. In conducting a campaign on an internal issue like this, we should keep our heads cool and calm, and we should not lose ourselves in passion or emotion. We have to get our work done without passion or emotion.

This is a very important issue, and I know that all people engaged in the education of boys and girls are greatly perturbed in South India about this Hindi matter. I think what I have said is not unwelcome to those engaged in education. (Continued cheers).

No Memory

The funny side about us human beings is that we are born without a sense of collective memory. We don't learn from history, not because we forget, but because we don't remember. We can't remember that the world was in chaos again after the seventh day of creation, and that ever since the young men have blamed the old ones for it and have been in turn blamed by the generation that followed. No memory.

— Andre Drucker in B.B.C. talk.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

Hardly a week passes by in Delhi without a stream of dignitaries from the various States for one conference or another. Shortly, Chief Justices will be here; later, Finance Ministers — and then, who else. Speakers of Legislative Assemblies seem to be a more imaginative lot. They have chosen Jaipur as their venue; they could have hardly thought of a better place. It is but right that Speakers who are always obliged to hear, should occasionally also see and there is much to be seen and admired in that far-famed city which, despite the march of modernity, has preserved not a little of its antique charm.

* * *

It is one of those ironies in life that a Speaker is not expected to speak. Though nowadays we find Speakers who suffer from no such handicap and are even known to be voluable, the office of Speakership rests on the twin virtues of cultivated reticence and timely, if effective, intervention — in a voice that shows firmness and in a language 'imposing in its dignity'. The Speaker of the House of Commons — the greatest of all democratic assemblies — is its ceremonial head, its first member, and the only man indispensable to it. The Speaker's job, said Gladstone, was to give the House protection against itself. Baldwin described the Speaker's eye as 'the most elusive organ that Nature ever yet created'. And, above all, a Speaker is credited with an unusual faculty of sampling the speeches. Yet, according to a contemporary commentator: "The office of Speaker does not demand rare qualities; it commands common qualities in a rare degree". Perhaps it is the lack of this very commonness that accounts for the rarity of the ideal Speaker who, by his personality, can ensure the rights and liberties of the House. V. J. Patel filled the old Central Assembly with a sense

we. No State Assembly was

der the domination of its

the Madras Assembly of old under the late Sir P. Rajagopalachari. Ours is perhaps no longer the era of giants though our opportunities are gigantic!

* * *

All said and done, India's Nehru is her only pilot. About that there is no mistake; there has never been any. But whom has Pakistan got to vie with him? Not all the aid Pakistan may get from abroad can supply this deficiency in her leadership. The men around Jinnah were not like those around Gandhi. Amidst so much that is sometimes cheerless, there is the sustaining hope for India that there are still some men left who can ensure continuity of tradition and consistency of example. No foreign aid, military or economic, can build up a country which lacks the element of political stability. And Pakistan politics is the merest gamble. It is a sight to see on the political scene in pampered Pakistan

> How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
> Abode his Hour or two — and went his way.

And now it is for Mr. Hasan Suhrawardy who talked bravely in his day to have made room for the sixth man in succession, Chundrigar. Who next? And for how long?

* * *

The Prime Minister's visit to Japan deservedly attracted wide attention. Wherever he goes, he is received as a popular hero — and it is 'roses, roses all the way'. Not less eventful, though much less publicised, was the Vice-President's visit to the Far East. It is a tribute to his personality that, whether in the West or the East, he is received more as a prophet than as a 'plenipotentiary' and acclaimed not so much as the Vice-President of India as a teacher of the world. And it is India's supreme good luck that she has one like him who is readily accepted in any part of the world as a man who, having 'lived his life deliberately and consistently upon a higher plane', has earned the right to teach men and nations 'to govern themselves by schooling their passions'. In the very first lap of his journey, by an unfortunate accident, his little finger on the right hand was jammed and he was asked whether he would like to return to India. 'No going back', he said and went forward, not failing to keep a single engagement despite physical pain and the bandaged finger. It was so earlier in Rome when he was in the hands of a dentist. Not all men can claim his will power. Half of Dr. Radhakrishnan's strength, it seems, stems out of the tranquillity of mind which envelopes even the restlessness of his spirit as he reads the signs of the times.

* * *

One of the disheartening features of public life in India today is a temperamental reluctance on the part of some of our aged men to become unfettered despite friendly counsel and even the warnings of nature. It seems to be more an English habit to take serious notice of 'a diminishing capacity for prolonged labour' and go while yet one is wanted. There was the case of the great Gladstone in 1894 when the condition of his sight and hearing weighed with him in deciding to get rid of office. "God bless you all", he said to his Cabinet colleagues one day and went out of one door while the others filed out of the other. But here in our country no physical disability becomes 'a serious inconvenience', if only one can conveniently cling to the trappings of office or hold on to its allurements. It is not a particularly exhilarating experience to see more and more of the type of the man who

> Still on the stage desires to tarry
> Unwilling to retire though weary.

School Aims

Schools are aiming far too much at teaching pupils the content of other men's minds, and too little at training them to discover the capacity of their own. — R. R. HANCOCK, President of the Incorporated Society of Headmasters, England.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SAVE COLLEGES FROM D. P. I.

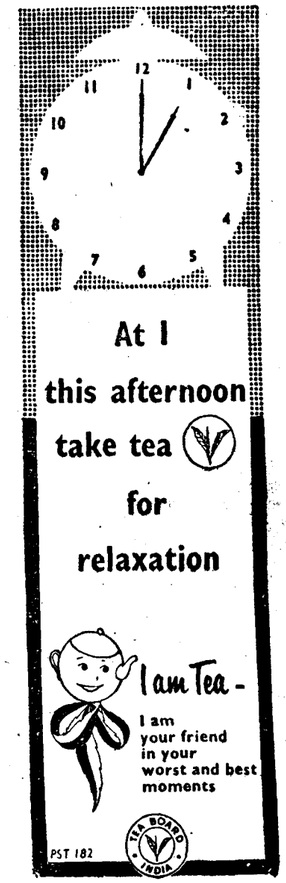
Sir,—*Saka's* dignified comments on the top administrative direction of education in our State (SWARAJYA, October 5, '57) are welcome on two counts: first because they are undeniable, and second because they expose a grave inadequacy and worse in the conduct of the Department of Public Instruction. *Saka* takes as one example the case of the Kalyanasundaram School in Tanjore. But the colleges in the Madras State have been bearing the brunt of not merely adminsitrative inefficiency but (incredible though it seems) its active hostility. Everyone is agreed on the need for raising standards in education, and the only way of attracting first-rate talent to our colleges is by offering pay scales that are the same, or at least approximate to, the I.A.S. scales. Brilliant young men join colleges for a year or two just to keep themselves occupied before they enter the ranks of Class I officers of the Central Services. But the D.P.I. has, after he assumed office, succeeded in cutting down the pay scales of the gazetted officers in colleges. He is reputed to have so far stood in the way of proper pay for assistant lecturers, tutors and demonstrators. The Government seem to think that teachers in colleges are lazy because they lecture only for ten or twelve hours a week! Is lecturing to students to be reckoned in terms of physical hours like tinkering or carpentering? Everyone knows that any intellectual effort consumes energy at four to five times the rate of manual labour or mechanical deskwork.

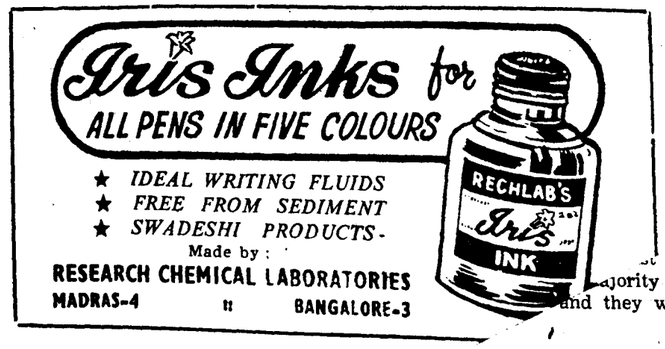
Permit me to mention here just one instance of how the Department has been behaving recently (in sheer cussedness?) A certain lady in a government college was awarded a scholarship for her M.A. in the U.S. by the University of Wisconsin, and she was even granted the passage money as well as a part-time job. The Government of Madras were not called upon to spend a single naya paisa to enable this lady to qualify herself further in her subject and come back to this country to give the benefit of her advanced training to our students in colleges. When she requested the Director for study leave (without pay, of course) the request was brusquely turned down and she was asked to resign if she wanted to proceed to the U.S.! The lady resigned, and her services have therefore been permanently lost to the Education Department.

Theachers in colleges are caught like snakes in a fork; they are now not being allowed even to apply for better jobs, and their present low scales of pay are apparently frozen for ever.

Saka thinks rightly that public money spent on such departmental heads is a cruel waste and that no harm will result if the department were wound up at an early date. We agree, but as we do not hope that such a consummation will occur, we suggest in all earnestness to the Minister for Education that it would be very much a step in the right direction if the supervision and administration of the colleges in this State were taken away from the D.P.I. and were vested with the Secretary for Education. We might hope for progress at that level, certainly not under a department whose thinking is so clearly antagonistic to all the refining and uplifting urges which ought to accompany higher education.

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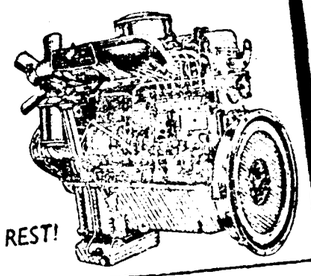
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MADRAS

THE LAND REFORMS MUDDLE

Andhra Pradesh is now torn by a clash of opinion between Professor Ranga and the provincial leaders of the Congress over the Government's land reform proposals, particularly the projected ceiling on land holdings. In the controversy going on in the Press and on the platform, the Congress leaders have sought to make capital out of the argument that Professor Ranga has placed himself in a position justifying the infliction of disciplinary action against him. Technically they might carry the day. Discipline has no longer much to do with an agreed code for good behaviour. It has gone into the keeping of organised cliques to be made into whatever they can out of it, but more often than not, it is employed as an incentive to conformity less with intellectual persuasion than with threats of the consequences of non-compliance. By means of discipline it is possible for the Congress to hold the conscience of its members in suspension and secure party authority for autocratic courses condemned universally by public opinion. The policies of the Madras Government in the matter of the Ramnad riots and the treatment of the late Inspector-General of Police are instances in point.

It is fortunate for the public interest at the present moment that Professor Ranga is not daunted by fear of being branded as indisciplined by the powerful Pradesh Congress leaders. There is some chance therefore of the impending land reforms being considered from standpoints other than those deriving power and significance from the Congress steam roller majority. None is more qualified for this service of disentangling the Congress reform scheme from its authoritarian base than Professor Ranga himself. For he is more well versed in the intricacies of agricultural economy in South India than all his antagonists put together. While they feed on slogans he has knowledge and experience to sustain him, and for integrating the interests of landlords and tenants and also of the vast army of landless agricultural labourers, there are few that possess his qualifications and resources of comprehensive knowledge and understanding. He has failed in the political game in which every politician strives with all the means at his disposal to seize power. But his standing as an economist of distinction with unrivalled comprehension of the problems affecting land, still remains unchallenged, and Pradesh Congress leaders would do well to give serious attention to what he says and deal with it on its merits, instead of running helplessly to the High Command in Delhi to get the weight of their disciplinary authority put on him to gag and silence his arguments which they are not able to meet otherwise.

Professor Ranga seems to us on the present occasion to be emblematic of democratic freedom. Congress leaders have mistaken democracy as the pampering of the numerically strong, victimising for their benefit smaller minorities in the proportion of their smallness. This is a gross travesty of that honoured system of government. The true conception of democracy permits of no depredatory onslaughts on any section, however powerless politically, and under it none would feel unsafe because others stronger cast covetous eyes on his inheritance or property. Merely to concede this point would suffice to drive home the injustice of the confiscatory orgies indulged in by the Congress in the name of land reforms and the Socialistic pattern.

Mere possession of land does not facilitate its cultivation. It needs credit more than capital, and the customary avenues of credit in rural areas have from immemorial times sprung out of the proprietory status of the landed agriculturist. The Congress handling of land has squeezed value out of it and rendered it unsellable, with the result that the traditional forms of credit have disappeared from the countryside. Having destroyed rural credit, the Government are desperately casting about for ways and means of remedying the destruction they have wrought. The Prime Minister has announced that *co-operation* is the great *maha mantra* for renovation of our agricultural economy. In practice the basis of security essential for business deals of any kind when money changes hands does not exist in the case of the vast majority of tenant-cultivators, and they will

find the proprietory status thrust on them more harassing and burdensome than their earlier condition. In the name of co-operation we are drifting towards collectivisation, with its inevitable concomitants of wage slavery and bureaucratic control and tyranny at a time when even Communist countries are giving it up as unworkable.

Peasant proprietorship of land has in India preserved a large area of freedom and economic and cultural independence, which even foreign rule has not been able to disrupt with its subversive pressures and influences. Successive invasions of alien authority passed over it, leaving its integrity in a national sense undisturbed and unimpaired. This treasure of an asset through which the nation's spirit of freedom has been preserved through all vicissitudes, the Congress rulers have now set out to destroy, paving the way to a new dreadful state of affairs where, on land as in industry, nobody can live and earn a livelihood without grace of the ruling power. Some premonition of this mass misery worse than slavery must have impelled Professor Ranga to raise the standard of revolt against the so-called land reforms of the Congress.

E. V. R. on the Rampage

The Penal Code makes no distinction between the use of force and threat to use force. Both are defined as punishable crimes and no discrimination is made as between the one and the other in the matter of punishableness. By calling upon his followers of the Dravida Kazhagam to kill Brahmins and burn their localities, the leader of that organisation has placed a section of the population entitled to the State's protection in fear of death and injury ; and if the murderous and incendiary words attributed to him in the newspaper reports are proved against him, he has to be adjudged a violator of the law like any other offender and dealt with as such. Yet there is no sign on the part of the governmental authorities of proceeding with the task of prosecution laid on them as an administrative duty. In contrast to this, how different is the alacrity they have shown in casting in prison Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar, a member of Parliament, without any desire apparently even to bring him to trial before a court of law on specified charges ! All this is an indication that the present Congress rulers have politicalised the administration so that the rights of citizens to protection and their liability to penalties, have become related to political considerations instead of depending on uniform principles of right and wrong. This is not democracy but the very reverse of it — and it is quickly disintegrating the State established as a fit instrument for freedom by the labour and struggles of the patriots in the land. One need not blame E.V.R. any more than so many others offending against the law or who in the intensity of hatred for fellowmen have been thrown out of mental equilibrium. The prime culprits are the rulers who have created conditions clothing with security and even prestige these evil men so dangerous to society. It has to be confessed, however regretfully, that at the head of all these rulers is the Prime Minister himself with his over-all responsibility for good government in the whole country. The splendour of his international renown as an architect of peace is unfortunately belied these days, among other things, by the phenomenon of E.V.R. on the rampage within the boundaries of the jurisdiction of his own Government.

Khruschev and Zhukov

The post-Stalin struggle for leadership in the Kremlin has found one more illustration in the 'release' of Marshal Zhukov from the Defence Ministry. It has been Mr. Khruschev's endeavour all along to discover how best to be rid of his rivals in the competition for power without endangering his own position. Stalin was never worried about having to do away with opponents who potentially threatened his power. But having come to power himself on denunciation of the terrors of a past mixed with Stalin's regime, Khruschev could not achieve security by repeating what he had started by denouncing. Till now he has used the Generals for his ascent. They lent no hand in past purges and provided only the blood for them. They were therefore the only men who could look fearlessly into the past. But just as Khruschev is not Stalin, Zhukov is unlike any of the others whom Khruschev has put out of the way, he is the greatest living idol of the Russians, and it cannot be taken for granted that his demotion will in coming days serve Khruschev and not draw on him grave unexpected retribution.

India in England

During eight days now past, Saturday through Saturday, I have read 58 issues of English newspapers, looking for news about India.

Unless I missed one or two, there were seven stories with Indian datelines in all 58 issues.

Two snippets, bare of detail, reported the Madras caste killings. *The Times* had an article on Mr. Nehru's journey to see Vinoba Bhave, and the *Manchester Guardian* had one article on untouchables and another on T. T. Krishnamachari's hunt for cash overseas. The others were background pieces : straight news was scarce, and in the mass circulation newspapers, totally absent.

Now in all fairness, this may have been a dull news week. But two weeks later, the score had not gone much higher : to English newspaper readers, India ranks above Latin American or the Scandinavian countries, but below the United States, or the Soviet Union, or adjacent Europe, or the fractious Middle East.

The reasons for this neglect of India, if neglect it is, are, in part, the trivial character of the English press today, which following bad example elsewhere, pours out page after page on hip, waist and bosom dimensions of film stars. Newsmen in New Delhi certainly must cable home far more than sees print in London.

A likely cause of the news shortage, too, is the bent of

(Continued on Page 15)



Sotto Voce

Sovietising by Santi Sena

Anyone who has watched a football or racing crowd will not have failed to notice its rapid and hysterical changes of mood. It squeals with delight or shrieks with agony as its favourites' fortunes go up or down. It gets its kick by its subconscious identification with the players and the vicarious aggrandisment of its personality. One is reminded of this by the way in which our Governments have been reacting to the monsoon. When we had two good monsoons in succession it was triumphantly announced that the First Plan had ushered in the agriculturists' millennium. When the next year we had a flood or a drought the blame was put squarely on Nature while the wizards of Planning fell again into a trance of divination.

* * *

Bihar and Orissa and parts of Madhya Pradesh are in the grip of a severe drought. It is not perhaps severer or more disastrous than the droughts and the floods we in the South have known with unblest regularity. But what happens in those regions reverberates much more loudly in Delhi. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain was earnestly assuring the people of Patna the other day that the resources of all India would be brought to their succour. But even in the middle of a catastrophe he could not refrain from an exercise in Coueism. He breezily informed the State Ministers' Conference at Srinagar that the Second Plan was going to effect an increase of 27 per cent in production. Parrot-like he repeated that the miracle would be achieved without any substantial addition in outlay on the agricultural sector.

* * *

At a press conference a day or two later he added casually that the target of agricultural self-sufficiency by 1960-61 would be achieved "if there were no floods or drought". Mr. Jain would make an excellent professional sooth-sayer—so safe and sound is his system of fortune-telling. But I admire his nerve — or, shall we say, his gift of happy inconsequence ? After this one is not surprised to find that Mr. Jain, who had on a Friday declared that the delay and uncertainty in carrying out the land reform programme was holding up agricultural production, should on the succeeding Monday have discovered that the threats of ceilings etc. had created great frustration in the minds of land-owners and inhibited investment on land and it was necessary to allay their fears.

* * *

"Co-operative farming was inescapable," says Mr. Jain — because, I suppose, Mr. Nehru has said so. But there is nothing inevitable about it. What is inevitable is that once the small peasants are shepherded into the co-ops, the co-ops should become collectives after the Communist pattern. (Is it a mere accident that every Socialistic prophet from Vinobaji to S. K. Dey finds Communist Kerala singularly receptive to his ideas ?) But Stalin found, as Krushchev has been doing after him, that no slave-driving on the collectives could be a substitute for the unforced enterprise of the peasant working on his own. On the question of ceilings Mr. Jain cautiously agrees that farm management studies are essential before accurate policies can be framed. But Mr. Sanjiva Reddi has no use for such disabling knowledge. Prof. Ranga has no difficulty in showing that the Planning Commission's *ipse dixits* as to the need for eliminating uneconomic holdings by the liquidation of millions of small peasants have been spawned in a state of blissful ignorance of agricultural realities.

* * *

Meanwhile the apostle of *gramdan* is finding it roses, roses all the way. It has been authoritatively explained that *gramdan* aims at the euthanasia of the landowner, big and small alike. Only, instead of the Ogpu it is the Santi Sena, with the sainted Acharya himself putting on war-paint as Commandant, that will go into bloodless battle against these 'feudal relics.' Private property in land will be not the only casualty in this war, but merely the first. The Acharya is devising *dan* after *dan* to kill the demon of property with kindness. And the State is loyally implementing his inspirational policies. It is pushing the people into the 'co-ops' lethal chamber and sovietising the countryside. We are to have panchayats that will have *chota* Big Brothers to rule over them, men who acknowledge the restraints neither of *dharma* nor of religion.

* * *

A Communist leader has accused the Madras Government in another context of seeking to promote a cleavage between the intellectual classes and the masses. The Communists prefer, as we know, to rope in the intellectuals first and then use them to decoy the proletariat. But that does not alter the truth of the Communist charge against the ruling clique. The Congress, with the *mantram* of non-violence and democracy on its lips, has been systematically undermining the individual's freedom by putting a premium on docile obedience which only the herd can give. That is the logic behind its programmes for the elimination of private property, the establishment of a State monopoly of employment opportunities, the destruction of intermediate foci of authority like local bodies, the corruption of education and the browbeating of the Press.

VIGHNESWARA

I don't think the future of Dukes anywhere is very high. I think the future of a man is as high as it ever was.—The Duke of Bedford.

SIDELIGHTS : :

There has been a lot of controversy over T. T. K's interview published in *The New York Times* but the full text of the relevant portion of that interview has not been placed in its entirety before the Indian public. I therefore reproduce it below. It is taken from the issue of *The New York Times* dated September 14. The author is Mr. A. M. Rosenthal, a star reporter of that celebrated newspaper of worldwide renown, whose very selection for the coverage of Indian news is in the nature of a fine tribute to the importance which this country has acquired in the eye of the most influential and respectable institution of the American Press.

India, to fulfill her aims, needs about $1,500,000,000 in foreign exchange more than she has coming in, Mr. Krishnamachari said.

"I am told that the temper about loans and aid is not very good in the United States, and I can understand that", he went on. "The people must get tired of the idea of foreigners always coming to put a hand in Uncle Sam's pocket."

The Finance Minister said he thought part of the trouble, as far as the attitude towards India was concerned was that Americans thought New Delhi's policy was pro-Communist.

"We have to try to explain to them that the battle here in India is a battle against Communism too", he declared.

"We lost the State of Kerala to the Communists, and one of the reasons behind it was that we could not spend enough money for development there".

Mr. Krishnamachari said the United States sometimes seemed to forget that Washington's military aid to Pakistan meant that India had to spend more money on her own armed forces.

"We have to be strong enough to defend New Delhi", he added. "And it is not just Pakistan. A country is friendly today, perhaps not friendly tomorrow".

"Take Dange", he said, referring to S. A. Dange, Indian Communist leader. "May be some day he will say, 'We are ready for a revolution'. And may be then the Soviet Union or China would like to help him.

"We could turn then to friends for help, but we have to be able to hold on, say, for a month until help comes".

The first public reference by the Prime Minister to T.T.K's now famous interview occurred in his Press conference in New Delhi on October 21, after his return from Japan. Here are significant extracts from the report of that Press conference as published in Indian newspapers :

Shri Nehru said that Shri Krishnamachari had informed him that the published report of his (Shri Krishnamachari's) interview to *The New York Times* correspondent in New Delhi was "not quite correct".

"Often we talk in a particular strain and in a particular context", said Shri Nehru. "If it is pulled out of that context, the same phrase may have a slightly different meaning."

***The New York Times* correspondent, who had interviewed the Finance Minister and was present at the Press conference, denied that he had misquoted him.**

Asked whether Shri Krishnamachari was justified in suggesting to *The New York Times* correspondent that the Soviet Union and China might invade India in support of an Indian Communist revolution, Shri Nehru said that some philosophical remarks made rather casually might have a different significance if read in a different context. In any event, "obviously there is no question of anything but the friendliest relations between us and China or Russia".

***The New York Times* correspondent again got up and denied that it was a casual talk.**

The next stage in the story of the interview was reached at Palam airport on the Finance Minister's return from his tour when, parrying questions from Pressmen, he said : "Once bitten, twice shy ; I shall not say anything without first putting it down in writing."

* * *

The climax of it all burst upon the public on Monday this week when the Finance Minister and the correspondent virtually called each other liar in public statements issued to the Press. In his statement T.T.K. said : "On my return, I was told that the concerned correspondent maintained that he had a verbatim report of my interview with him. I can without hesitation say that he did not take down a verbatim report of my talk with him in my presence, and if he has any record of the nature, it must have been made after he left me". The impugned correspondent countered this spiritedly the same day and his words are worth quoting. "I can only repeat," he said, "that the interview as reported, was entirely correct. I would like to point out that Mr. Krishnamachari waited about six weeks before he issued his statement of today, although he had been kept fully informed of the controversy. Even now he has not said in which way the interview is supposed to be 'inaccurate'. Notes were made by me in Mr. Krishnamachari's presence".

* * *

There the matter now stands, but it cannot be allowed to stand there if the credit of the Government of India through that of its component individual members is worth defending from charges of deviation from the proclaimed objective and motto of *Satyameva Jayate*. In an assessment of the respective veracities of the parties concerned, impartial observers cannot help sympathising with the Finance Minister over the gratuitous way in which he has been discounting himself with loose talk. Almost the first thing he announced on returning from his foreign tour was that he brought back no disappointments as he had carried no expectations with him. *That* was a bit too thick for anyone in the world to put credence in after such prodigious advertisement in the newspapers by among others the Finance Minister himself of India's requirements of foreign aid in the present exchange crisis. Without expectation, was it justifiable on economic grounds if no other for the steward of our finances to go about holidaying round the world —for that is just what it would then be — accompanied by so many high officials taken out of their important tasks in the Central Secretariat ?

* * *

T.T.K., like his immediate predecessor Sri C. D. Deshmukh, arrived at the most important position in the country next to the

(Continued on Page 15)

A UNITED STATE FRONT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The one problem that in the coming years will agitate the minds of statesmen and public workers all over India will be how to protect the working autonomy of the States against the powerful and continuous drive of the Centre drawing all power to itself. If the leaders of the people in the States do not realise this but indulge in the luxury of petty intrigue and patronage without real State autonomy unhealthy jealousies and quarrels, within each State centering around communal groups and vested interests are likely to grow and put on the garb of politics in the States. As things are now moving, all the States are surrendering without a struggle. They are becoming completely dependent and dole-minded. Finance has all moved to the Centre and the States have to live upon and build out of grants and favours from the Centre. State pulls against State and the Centre is graciously preferring the claim of one State to that of another and doling out bits of the Plan and gifts with strings attached. The autonomy of the States has melted away. The Planning Commission has reduced the government of the provinces both in current revenue and expenditure and in the capital account to a position analogous to that of the feeble local bodies in the districts with which we are familiar. The provinces enjoyed relatively more power and had greater responsibilities to discharge during the British period than the so-called States now do notwithstanding all the parliamentary paraphernalia. The constitutional definition of India as a Union of States is ignored and fast getting forgotten.

The only serious issues which State governments now concern themselves with are whether Mr. A should be superseded in favour of his junior Mr. B who commands a great pull with the Chief Minister or one of his principal colleagues and who would help better to consolidate political influence. Such and other questions of this kind form the only field of provincial autonomy although the name province has been substituted by the word State on the American parallel. Responsibility having been in a real sense conveniently surrendered, petty patronage and harassment of disfavoured officials are the only politics remaining over for the State ministers and members of the legislature.

On the other hand, from the point of view of efficiency and good government the Centre operating from a distance has become an authority exercising power without responsibility. This is because under the Constitution the Centre is not responsible in State subjects although the subjects are in fact administered under the detailed instructions and directions of the Centre. The State legislatures are getting used to this anomaly.

This state of things has been rendered all the more possible on account of the fact that the ruling party in the States is a docile limb of the political party that rules at the Centre. Even at the party level the State Government has to function as a loyal and disciplined limb of the All-India party organisation.

Under these circumstances feelings are bound to grow that the interests of the State are being sacrificed wherever there is a conflict between the State and the Centre acting under the pressure of representatives from other parts of the country. The official language issue is a glaring instance in point. The Government of Madras has not shown that alertness or strength in the matter which it should be expected to do in the face of the unanimous view of all sections of public opinion in the State that English must not be disturbed in favour of Hindi. Everyone knows that the State bosses cannot do anything against the majority decisions at the party headquarters in Delhi. This is only an instance. There are bound to be in course of time many issues of a like nature which will put the State ruling group in the wrong. The initiative for State interests has passed from Congress to the Opposition in Madras.

The remedy for this situation is the organization of a political defence for the responsibilities and powers of the State and to compel the Centre to reduce itself to a real federal authority with the essential minimum field of operation for such an authority. Each State must develop a United State Front as against the Congress which is necessarily a centrist party. When all the States are thus politically organized round the individual State interests, it would be easy to form an All-India Federation of State Fronts as an opposition to the Congress, so that a healthy balance may prevail as between the centrist and the State pulls in democracy.

If the Congress organization itself attempted to decentralise, it would end in disaster. The Congress is not in such a healthy condition as to stand a surgical operation now. Decentralisation is indeed equivalent to a surgical operation. The Congress must therefore remain a historical centrist party. It can never fulfil the

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purpose of safeguarding the interests or the autonomy of the States. It is for the parties opposed to the Congress in all the various States to unite and form a State Front relegating all other issues to the background and keeping only the autonomy of the State as the central core of its ideology. If this is achieved it will reduce automatically the unhealthy issues that operate now at the elections, viz., caste and communal considerations.

The elections to the State Legislatures should be separated from the Parliamentary elections and should be held on different dates so that the electoral issues in the States may not be mixed up with all-India issues and strangled out of life.

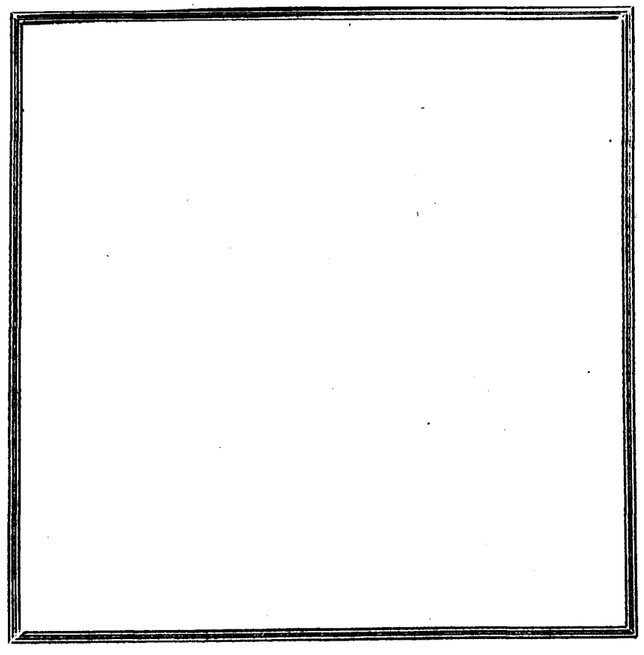
There are people who live in a world of unreality and who believe that a strong unitary government could be forced into existence to govern all-India in an honest and efficient manner. They live in an old world wherein the Government had to do only the policing of the country and did not interfere in other matters. Today this kind of efficient Centre has become impossible. All that is possible is a good central discipline and control over the services wherever they may be operating in India. If this is achieved, it would go far to restore efficient good government whatever be the broad policies that may issue out of the democratic elections in the Centre and in the States. The organization of an administrative corps of officials who can be responsible for efficiency, justly and honestly carrying out the decisions of the political executive at the Centre and in the States avoiding friction on the one hand and injustice and discrimination due to political pressure on the other hand, should not be deemed impossible. It is both possible and necessary if we do not wish administration to go hopelessly bad. Even during the short period of democratic government which we have gone through, political bosses have got into the wrong notion that democracy consists in the exercise of power to interfere in administra-

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

A NONESSENTIAL'S PETITION

It does happen at times, even after a photographer has passed the early stage when such things happen with distressing frequency, that he produces a perfectly blank frame. One has, in the excitement of the moment, omitted to remove the lens cap, or to pull out the slide of the negative holder, and the result is a beautifully transparent frame, untouched by the faintest suspicion of grey. However, the blank I am presenting you with this time is due to no such accident. It cannot be, if you think over it, for a print from a transparent negative would be, naturally, uniformly black, whereas this blank is completely blank, in the most literal sense of the term, a white blank. And it is due, not to me, but to High Finance, at the highest governmental level.



In India, unlike America or Japan, photography is not a popular art. I don't suppose that it will be found, if statistics could be collected, that even 5% of Indians own cameras. More than 75% of those that do are amateurs —the number of professionals here is not high, but even so they are professionals, i.e., they earn their living, partly or wholly, by photography. The dealers, who distribute film, paper and other photographic goods, are also very often professional photographers, owning a studio in addition to their shop.

Film and paper are not made in India, but even when they will be so made, any bar on import of foreign materials will not be beneficial — the high standard set by manufacturers the world over will not be reached here if the industry were to be insulated, and its products forced on Indian photographers.

When these are the facts, where was the justification for the Government restricting the import of photographic materials to 7½% of the best import in any previous year, as from October 1? The retail, dealer and manufacturer's representative, have all been hit hard by the uncompromising, unreasonable Government decision that only 3¾% of the accepted import of some past year can be imported from October 1, 1957, to April 1, 1958. No film or paper (leave alone other photographic needs) is available in Madras today, except in small quantities to be wangled with the greatest difficulty. By 1958, nothing will be available, except in the black-market that will be created by such restrictions.

I am a professional in the strictest sense of the word. I live by selling my pictures, and photographically illustrated features, to various magazines. It is my contention that men like me (after all we are a mere handful in the whole of India) and those who run photographic studios, are entitled at all times to greater consideration at the hands of manufacturers' representatives in the matter of supply of our needs, than the purely commercial people whose dealings with photographers them, but in buying them in bulk and retailing at a profit. It is in a crisis like the present one that a measure of recognition of a professional's status may be expected from the manufacturers' representatives. This, I regret to say, is not forthcoming in Madras. Many of us are being referred to the dealers for supply, and no direct supply is made, though at no time does a professional get or ask for the discount that a dealer gets.

This attitude was clearly displayed in a conversation I had recently with a manufacturer's representative. I wanted hard paper to print some negatives that had to be made very soft to permit enlargement to a certain size, and I had no such paper. Other manufacturers' representatives in Madras, of whom I made inquiries, had no stock in the size required, but this one had. However, he would not supply me with the 10-sheet packing I wanted, because, as he explained, he was supplying his dealers monthly on the basis of 3¾% of *their* best

MADHAVIAH, SOCIAL REFORMER AND LITERARY PIONEER

["Madhaviah Day" was celebrated at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore, last Saturday (October 26) under the auspices of the Tamil Writers' Association. Tributes to his memory as a great and good man were paid on the occasion by Rajaji, Sri A. G. Venkatachari and K. Chandrasekharan, Sri P. Sambanda Mudaliar (who presided) and the nephew of the honoured celebrity of the Day, Sri P. N. Appuswami, the writer of this article.]

By P. N. APPUSWAMI

Tucked away in the south east corner of our great country is Tirunelveli district — a land of paddy fields, plantains and palms. Twenty five miles away from the headquarter towns of Palayamkottai and Tirunelveli, is a little village called Perungulam—aptly so named, because of its big tank.

Madhaviah was born there on the 16th August 1872 in a modest agricultural Brahmin family. His father had not any knowledge of Sanskrit, nor of the classics of Tamil: and his mother, so far as I know, was not literate. But both the parents were knowledgeable and had a sense of humour.

Narayaniah was their first son, and Madhaviah was younger by about six years, and they were deeply attached to each other.

Though the rural surroundings were not conducive, Narayaniah was somehow fired with a desire to acquire the new knowledge available through English, and went to Palayamkottai for education. The younger brother followed him soon after. There they became friends with the members of an Andhra family which had settled there, particularly with P. V. Subbiah, a boy of Narayaniah's age. The association was responsible for the two Tamil speaking boys calling themselves Narayaniah and Madhaviah after the Telugu manner. Such a cultural contact in boyhood must have been responsible for broadening their outlook, and to make them feel that language should not divide people who are fundamentally the same in culture and breeding—a fact which too few politicians of our day seem to realise.

There was another influence which must have affected Madhaviah even then. The Christian faith somehow found a very congenial soil in Tirunelveli district; and many wise and learned missionaries settled there and exerted a great deal of influence and spread the English language, and the new ideas and outlook, and fostered Tamil as well. The seeds of some at least of Madhaviah's later ideas on social reform must have been planted in him at that impressionable age.

Madhaviah then came to the city of Madras, and joined the Christian College, and fell under the influence of the tremendous Dr. Miller, whose zeal for reform and for teaching must have struck deep roots in his young mind. Madhaviah became one of Dr. Miller's favourite pupils on account of his aptitude and talents, and showed his teacher unbounded affection and esteem. Madhaviah read Shakespeare's *Othello* under him, and the play and its teaching made such a great impression on him that he was emboldened later on to undertake its translation into Tamil. He was a good student of Tamil too and he passed first and won the university award.

At that time the religious faith of many Hindus was shaken by Ingersoll and Paine, and many became agnostics or scoffers. But luckily for that generation, Mrs. Besant came to India, and her wonderful expositions of the tenets and the glory of Hinduism rallied the waverers, and kept them within the Hindu fold. Madhaviah became a staunch Theosophist, and a member of its esoteric circle in due course.

On leaving college, he passed a competitive examination and joined the Salt, Abkari and Customs Department as an assistant inspector. He had to live in a lone bungalow in a colony, in isolation from his subordinates, and far away from ordinary traffic. Where salt grows nothing green will grow, and good potable water cannot be found within miles.



A. Madhaviah

This enforced isolation gave Madhaviah ample opportunity to read English and Tamil, and to spend much of his time with his family which had started growing. His children became familiar with English and Tamil classics very early in life, long before other children who have normal schooling learn to stumble through words and sentences.

He also found time to develop his inherent talent and to express himself through Tamil which he loved so well. His first novel *Padmavati Charitram* took the literary world by storm. Then followed the romance *Vijayamarthandam*, and *Muthu-Meenakshi* the autobiography of a Hindu girl. By these his position in the world of Tamil letters was established, and he turned eagerly to his second love, English. *Thillai Govindan* published under a pseudonym 'Pamba' (P. A. Madhaviah B.A.), *Thillai Govindan's Miscellany* (Essays), *Satyananda*, and *Clarinda*, and his skit *Dox vs Dox* secured for him a place among Indo-Anglreal

His ideas on social reform found expression through a friendly medium, the short story. *Kusika's Short Stories* are charming in their humour, pathos, simplicity and warmth. He had a great vision of India's future. He sought to make the people more informed on science which was advancing with giant strides all over the civilised world. So he was instrumental in starting, in February 1917, *The Tamilian Education Society* with the main object of propagating scientific ideas among the Tamil people through the medium of Tamil. Justice Sadasivier was its head.

With Madhaviah, A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, and S. Bhavanandam Pillai as editors, a journal, *The Tamilian's Friend*, was started by the society in July 1917, and in spite of apathy from the public showed a short spark of life; it lingered on for about a dozen years and then died.

When *The Tamilian's Friend* was functioning under the management of a committee, Madhaviah was not content with the freedom which it offered him for the expression of his views; and so he started in 1924 another Tamil magazine, *Panchāmritam* (the five ingredients thereof being Truth, Love, Knowledge, Unity, Work). It was meant to be a complete magazine for the household—for man, woman, and child. Many enthusiastic and learned men and women contributed to its pages. Madhaviah himself, and the members of his talented family, wrote stories, letters, travel diaries, biographies, literary estimates, poems, translations, children's stories, etc. Even this magnificent effort did not get popular support in due measure. It died a year and a half later, when Madhaviah died.

Madhaviah was a great editor who realised that it was his duty to lead the public and give it what it should want, and make it wiser and not to treat it as a crybaby or be led by it to give just what it wants. His literary alchemy was wonderful. By a little touching up here and there, now altering a word, now striking out one, now adding another, he made second-rate articles read like first-rate ones. Much have I, and some good friends of mine, gained by such magic.

Madhaviah was steeped in the Tamil classics, and was a wide and voracious reader. He wrote with equal fluency and felicity, both in Tamil and in English. He was a versatile artist. He wrote novels, short stories, plays, playlets, essays, biographies, poems, humorous skits, children's stories, and did translation both ways.

He was a good companion, almost boisterous. And to me he was not only uncle, but a preceptor, a guide into the wonderland of English and Tamil literature, and one who set me on the turbulent sea of scientific writing, to sink or to swim—and he did all he could to keep me afloat as long as he lived.

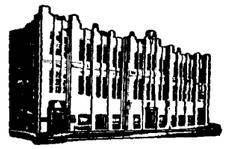
A Photographer's Diary

(Continued from page 7)

monthly past, and I was no dealer. I had no difficulty in solving my problem by technical means, but I felt disappointed at the narrow attitude of this firm. Is it sound commercial practice even, for the manufacturer of photographic goods not to be interested in those who make use of them creatively, but only in the sales ability of middle-men as proved by past performance?

However, that is not the point. The point is that the Government should not, considering the comparatively meagre requirements of photographers (both amateur and professional) in India, have imposed this severe restriction on import. I can never see how photography is a 'luxury' even to the amateur. So many valuable personal and scientific records are made possible by photography that to discourage the art and science in a country where it is just beginning to gain popularity would serve no national purpose. And did the Government stop for one moment to think of the plight of professionals, to whom photography provides a living, when they imposed this 7½% rule? I was told that it was on the basis that photography is a 'nonessential' pursuit that this restriction had been laid down. Is one's livelihood a nonessential matter? I trust Government will relax this needless restriction so that men like me, who have sunk all that they had in the equipment needed for a profession, may continue in the career for which they have qualified after years of hard work.

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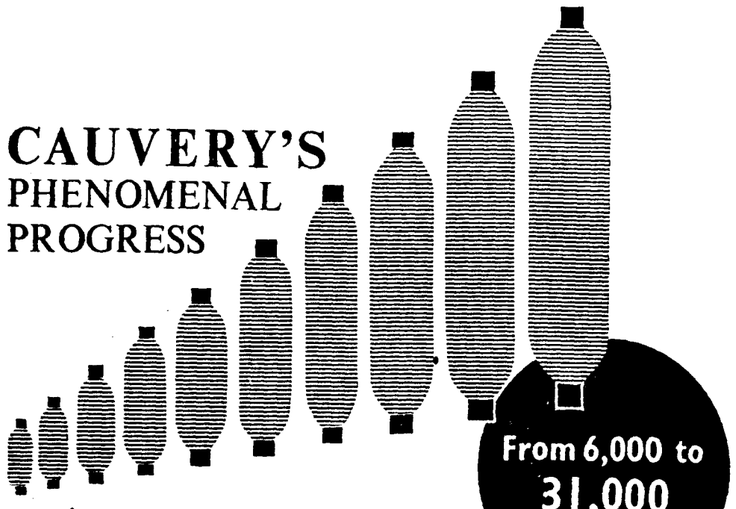
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EP

BOOK REVIEW

THE WAY OUR DEMOCRACY IS GOING

RAJAJI ON THE MALADY AND THE RECIPE

Our Democracy by Rajaji contains nine short essays all except one or two of them first published in SWARAJYA. They deserve to be read by every Indian who has any pretensions to be educated, and has the interests of his country at heart.

Ten years have passed since the advent of Indian freedom, and it is time that we wake up to the fact that all is not well in the Kingdom of Denmark. Rajaji has diagnosed the disease. "The domination by the Congress party of the political scene is a product of history rather than of electoral success. Electoral successes are the result of this domination, not its cause. In order to justify the leadership that has resulted from history, the Congress party has swung well to the Left. Left and history have operated cumulatively, and as a result, the Right elements are depressed and disorganised, leaving the Congress party in irremovable power".

"Irremovability, in fact, makes parliamentary democracy non-existent. In such circumstances, it is inevitable that the party should become more important than Parliament. Differences of opinion may exhibit themselves within the party.....A two party pattern may develop within the party itself...but even this may not happen if the leader be an overwhelming force by himself.....The mechanics of unadulterated dictatorship would then operate unhindered".

Secondly, "during the last few years, the tendency to centralise has grown to proportions which are both ridiculous and alarming". But in a country of this size, regional interests and issues arising therefrom are a solid reality. The inability of those in power to appreciate the existence of these centrifugal forces, and to find a solution therefor within the framework of democracy, instead of blowing scorn at regional feelings, is the second disease of the body politic.

One symptom of this latter disease is the way in which the question of the "official language" is being dealt with by the Centre. There is a confusion, to begin with, between the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, and the official language of the Central Government. The political ethics of compulsorily introducing Hindi as the official language for the whole of India is analysed by Rajaji thus: "When we have to impose a language as the official language, we have to consider many issues of justice and fairplay and expediency. We cannot shut our eyes to these considerations and go by mere majority arithmetic when we directly or indirectly exercise statutory compulsion. If the people not speaking Hindi had been scattered all over, being a small minority everywhere, the position would have been different. But the fact is that in large and compact areas Hindi is not spoken, and the millions of men and women living in these areas speak other languages. The principle of overall majority would be misleading and cannot be applicable under such circumstances in the matter of language".

A third diagnosis is that "people have revalued patriotism". It is no longer an atmosphere charged with nationalism and anti-Britishism as in the days of the struggle. It is now replaced by a fairly universal realisation that self-government is not a substitute for good government.

Fourthly, inflation has reached an intolerable pitch, and has not only increased the price of essentials and therefore the cost of living in all grades of life, it has also reduced the value of what little saving the middle classes had made for old age.

Let us examine Rajaji's remedies.

Firstly, he says, "what is wanted to save parliamentary democracy is an opposition which is not an ultra or outer Left, but a strong and articulate Right.—The pain of change is a simple looking phrase that sums up all that follows from overtaxation, disemployment, high prices, exploitation by the newly favoured classes and groups, unbalanced family budgets, and the hysteria resulting from all these things in themselves and from the ordinary individual's sense of his own impotence in face of them. Those who suffer these impacts would welcome a parliamentary party that would compel attention to these creaks and jolts and disturbances in life, and which would meet the Left on level terms and by testing and measuring both proposed legislation and day-to-day administration, would challenge the wisdom of the governing party, and compel modification when those in power act in a way which, by and large, would produce more pain than profit to the community".

True, but will the conservatives get elected by adult franchise? They cannot promise the moon. One may venture to supplement Rajaji's suggestion by saying that where the majority, it is the natural function of the Press to act as an opposition, and that where, as in India today, the Press is cowering with fright, and functions more as big business than as free thinking, conservatism stands but a poor chance.

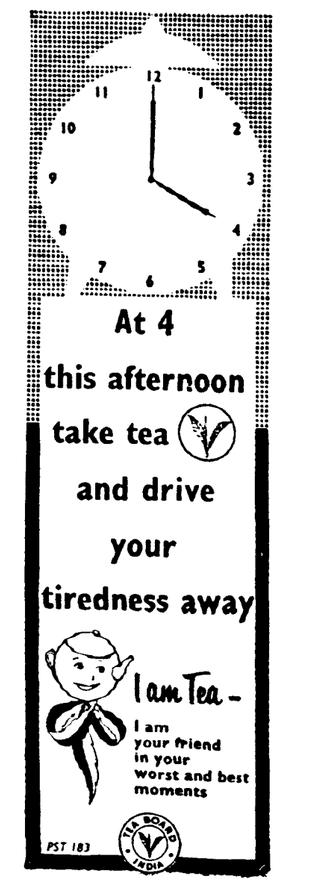
Rajaji's analysis of the conflict between centrifugal and centripetal forces is both succinct and clear. He says: "It may be, after all, that in some countries the structure of national freedom must be federal, and can never be unitary, and India may be one such country. The parts are not strong enough or isolated enough to be separate national governments. Neither are they coherent enough to make a single unitary State. There is no doubt an ineffable Indian unity, but it is not sufficiently solid for political building. The feeling for self-government becomes a force to oppose subordination to a larger democracy, where freedom must submit to be controlled by an all-India majority, which is more than half 'foreign' in the eyes of the local patriot". The solution "is to concede greater autonomy to the States, so as to minimise regional thinking, and eliminate the pressure of regional interests at the Centre, and to make the Centre an instrument for the broadest policies, and not, as now, one for dealing with every tank bund, school, hospital, and social service club.....During the period when such a policy is being forged, the Congress party in every State will favour centralisation, and the opposition will be pledged to regionalisation. These healthy struggles would cut across and minimise unhealthy caste and subcaste politics, which in itself would be a great gain for efficiency in administration".

To ensure good government, Rajaji suggests that "administrative services should be saved from the pressure of State politics. Throughout the land, there should be a confident and self-respecting core of officials under the central direction of an expert professional body, in whom disciplinary control should be vested. The personnel of this authority should be chosen so as to fulfil these duties without fear or favour and on impartial terms isolated from the politics of the periodical elections. The aim of the arrangement proposed is that political leaders and the party machinery should have no chance to corrupt or misdirect the State officials".

One may be permitted to pause and examine this suggestion. Churchill said, speaking of fascist Italy, that every country gets the government it deserves. The moral tone of a society is reflected in all walks of life —trade, industry, the professions, administration, politics. The corruptors and the corruptees are linked by an emotional unity. Some of the men who have achieved political power in

Our Democracy. By C. Rajagopalachari. B. G. Paul and Co., Madras.

present for the sufferings of their past. (It may be mentioned that this fishes-and-loaves fraternity has been augmented by neo-Congressmen who were the leading lights of the previous regime also.) There is going on, in this country, a quiet dispensing of favours, and a deliberate exercise of the Nelson touch when official favourites go astray, which is acquiesced in almost as a necessary price of freedom. With the enlargement of the circumference of governmental functions, and the outstretching of the talons of the Welfare State, the scope for ministerial patronage has increased a hundredfold. The interests of the political party call forth, especially just prior to election time, a spurt of permit-largesse and requests for 'voluntary' contributions which seems to reconcile the sponsors of a Socialist pattern to the existence of a milkable private sector. In such a situation, the creation of a strong official class, which will have to act as a check on the near-nefariousness of those in authority, will lead to greater and not lesser friction between the officials and the Ministers. This new friction will be superimposed on the existing ill-will which is due to historical reasons. There are a hundred ways in which a Minister can vent his displeasure on an official. It is to be feared that self-interest will again rule, and that even under the new basis of recruitment and control, promotions will still go to the sycophant who toes the ministerial line. Unless, therefore, the reformation starts at the top it is idle to expect that any ingenious separation of the executive from the political, will lead to good government.



This is not to decry the usefulness of the measure. It is the only immediately feasible remedy, but it is a symptomatic treatment, an assuagement of an obvious pain, but the rot is deep and organic.

Nowhere is Rajaji clearer and more precise than in dealing with the question of the official language. In respect of education he says: "Everyone interested in the true progress of our people would want that attention to the English language and literature should not slacken in our educational schemes just because we have attained freedom from British rule. Freedom from British rule should not mean escape from English literature". At the same time he does not want to retain English as the medium of instruction for all subjects. English technical terms may be used, but we should explain things to the students in their mother-tongue and this can be done without detriment to precision or fullness of understanding.

The question of what the official language of India should be, must be answered on the basis of facts, expediency, justice and fairplay, and not solved by a process of wishful thinking, in anticipation of what education can achieve in the next hundred years. The language spoken in a State should be the official language of that State. As for the Central Government, and for inter-State communication in India, English should continue to be the official language. It is true that Hindi is spoken by the biggest language group of the people of India, but the Centre must be a just Centre, and not a lopsided agent of injustice. "The Central Government serves all the people of India and all the States. If it should conduct its work in Hindi, the people of the non-Hindi areas will not find any fulfilment of the democratic ideal on the basis of which the argument for Hindi is advanced. Where vast populations in many States do not speak Hindi, or any language related to that stock, it will be seen that the argument of identity of language between government and people breaks down completely".

These are words of wisdom and they expose a fallacy in political thought that in a democracy the will of the nation is only the vote of the majority. If that were so, numerical minorities have to pay a permanent penalty, not in matters of opinion, but on basic issues like language and religion. This is precisely the point that Jinnah made for the Muslims, in regard to which the Congress had the first but not the last laugh. It was then suggested that a solution would be to constitute a minimum-Centre, with large regional autonomy. Today we have a voracious Centre, with the States reduced to the position of local boards. There is no attempt to face realities and harmonise the variegated cultural patterns of the land, but only a blind urge to monochromise the country.

One feels tempted to join issue with Rajaji on the question of the medium of instruction. It seems that the argument of convenience, so properly used to retain English as the language of the Central Government, can be used with equal efficacy for retaining it as the language of instruction at the level of the university. The highest instruction should be in the language of research. It should be in a medium that crosses State and even national boundaries. We do not have to seek such a medium. Today, all the teaching is carried on in English. Why throw it away? Why strive to hinder inter-university contacts? It is curious that none of the other States in the south, Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, have taken up this cry. The attitude of the Tamilian is like that of the ungrammatical Irishman who cried "I *will* be drowned, no one *shall* rescue me".

The recipe for economy is, first cut defence expenditure; second, exercise care and economy in the management of large schemes and works. The first is clear. Military science is proceeding so fast that what preparations are made with great difficulty in one year become outdated the next. Further, we cannot in any case be sufficiently equipped to fight a modern war, so why make puny preparations that are of negligible military value? The second call for economy, integrity, and more conscientious work, is sound advice, but from whom does he want these virtues? Who gives the contracts? Who decides?

There are other essays in the booklet, dealing with the place of religion and new political values. Indeed the booklet is close-packed with unintervalled instruction. To use a Vedantic example, it is as full of knowledge as a crystal of sugar is full of nothing but sugar. It is a difficult book to review. It has to be read many times before the impact of its illumination is fully felt. One feels thankful for the opportunity to cogitate over its contents.

S. Y. K.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

Who will be the next Governor of Madras? Not that it matters to me, or to you, gentle reader, but that it is a matter of public interest. It is perhaps hazardous to make a guess: perhaps it is needless strain. But of one or two things we can be sure. Whoever the nominee may be, he will not be a Service man. For, some Chief Ministers think it rather derogatory to their Republican spirit, to have to pay obeisance, however formal, to any I.C.S. man, however distinguished. Possibly Sri Kamaraj Nadar suffers from the same complex. I also know that the person chosen will be anyone but a Brahmin, for a Brahmin is, in the view of the political guardians of the State, even more objectionable and therefore unacceptable, than one from the I.C.S. Not that I have any partiality for a Brahmin as a Brahmin, any more than for one in the I.C.S. True, I don't faint over either but I would not treat them as 'untouchables'

It is not without purpose that I am discussing the question of appointment of Governors from this angle. I question the right of the Congress (or the Nehru Government) to lecture to the public about the virtue of casteleSSness or the vice of casteism, and to sermonise about being above caste, when that very evil thing called casteism is allowed to be perpetuated by a State Government, with a vengeance, by its insistence on turning down one if only because one hails from a certain community. To put a ban on a particular caste or sub-caste smacks as much of casteism as to be deliberately partial to it. But then, there is perhaps no warrant for the generous assumption that the Congress is above casteism and that it is out to destroy it, root and branch. For all Mr. Nehru's public explosions, it is not so.

This, it seems to me, is a matter which needs to be thrashed out in national interests. There must be some answer or rational explanation why, if Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya could safely be the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, or Mr. Giri can be the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, not to speak of Mr. Santanam or Mr. Thirumal Rau in Vindhya Pradesh, no Brahmin can dare aspire to the Governor's *gadi* in Madras, though the Constitution does not deny him the right. Is this because of political considerations or commual considerations? Who tells me that, in practice, the Congress is above caste or casteism? I maintain that the Congress is caste-minded, if not caste-ridden at the Pradesh level. And who can deny this, that knows anything of the very basis of selection of candidates who aspired to the Congress ticket in the General Elections? All other considerations were subject to the one supreme consideration whether the candidate hailed from a particular community, supposed to be strong in a given area, or not. In clinging to so vicious a practice, the Congress has in no way acted differently from any other organisation dubbed communal and so debunked. And so long as it cannot rise above this tendency to narrow down its choice of candidates to particular communities or castes, the Congress cannot legitimately claim to be truly national in character. In fact, it should give up its pretensions.

Now to revert to the question of Governors. Free India's Governors are not like their predecessors in the days of the British; they are no provincial satraps, armed with authority or accustomed to gubernatorial grandeur. They are glorified figure-heads or ornamental dummies, except when the States come under the President's direct responsibility. In view of the contingency that may arise, it is just as well that they are men—or women—of consequence and conform to a certain type worthy of attention, if not of adoration. After all, if they are to survive in our administrative set-up, they must be capable of maintaining an established tradition or living up to a certain code. Little attention to this vital aspect seems to have been paid in the past while no explanation could be ventured (by even the apologists of the Government) in regard to the appointment of some. Maybe that Governorship has come to mean no more than mere organisation of lunches and dinners. But even that limited function calls for some standards and a certain dignity and decorum.

An ideal Governor in a democratic set-up is one who can gracefully reconcile the old status to the new spirit, without any descent to crudeness and loquacity—one who has known how to live well and can, to the manner born, fill the scene with a sense of bigness. It should matter little if the Government have to go beyond the charmed circle of Congressmen for finding men suited to the role. I can think of no other two men in India who would have fitted any Government House better than Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and Sir Mirza Ismail. Their richness of experience and special aptitudes would have preserved for Governorship the halo once associated with it and also saved it from popular apathy. The loss is not theirs. That two such outstanding men should have been left unharnessed to the governmental scheme of things because of narrow party obsession is no service to the nation. Is it that, where mediocrity reigns supreme, genuis is either at a discount or suspect? It is tragic to let an awful loneliness descend upon persons who can still make a solid, if not vital, contribution to our national advancement; it is, indeed, a stupendous folly that calls for expiation.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PRESS BARONS AND THE LAW : REPLY TO SWARAJYA

Sir,—"But in the fight for rights, it is alliance with Government that is dangerous, and any seeming benefit gained by any party with official aid will only impose on the Press new governmental fetters and shatter its independence and integrity."

The hand that penned these lines in the SWARAJYA of October 12 had, with all fury, slashed at the Government in the issues of October 5 and October 19 (*Sidelights*) for its apathy to the plight of two headmasters who were hunted from pillar to post by their respective managements. If in the case of working journalists, Government's help in fighting against exploitation by newspaper managements is to be argued as an encroachment on the freedom of the Press, then there is no meaning in accusing the Government of lack of sympathy to harassed teachers, as any State intervention in their case may also result in governmental incursions into the autonomy in the educational field.

Why is it **Khasa** *alias* Saka has chosen to adopt double standards in the issues affecting teachers and working journalists? SWARAJYA must give an explanation.

It is sheer folly to think that measures to better the lot of journalists by the State will affect the freedom of the Press. It is unjust to say that the trade union minded journalists are indifferent to "professional attainments and achievements." Today's working journalists are as zealous of the freedom of the Press as *today's* Khasa or anybody of his ilk. What is the freedom of the Press today, and who has got it? An unbiased study of the situation in the present set-up of newspaper offices shows that it is the proprietor that has the freedom, and the *present day* writing editor has become his lackey, a mere *maistri* to sign a death warrant against his junior colleagues at the behest of his master and an accomplice in the big business plot against the progressive policies of the Government. Today's writing editor has no soul, no spirit of camaraderie whatsoever.

SWARAJYA speaks of 'old traditions', but it has conveniently forgotten that the newspaper industry has become commercialised today bringing in stock market speculators, tax-evaders and race course gamblers as owners, who debase the freedom of the Press. It stinks if a study is made into the manner the profits of the industry are being spent by the proprietors while employees are being kept at starvation levels.

Show me a Khasa among writing editors of today who can resign a coveted job only to protest the dismissal of a stenographer or a proof reader? Show me a K. Rama Rao now who can stand up and fight against the proprietorial forays into the autonomy of the editorial department? Show me a Chalapathi Rao who can reject a handsome increment in pay when a wage rise is denied to other employees of the department? In the absence of such free-thinking editors, of such men with courage of conviction and integrity, and only when all other efforts to tackle the proprietors failed, did the working journalists turn to legitimate trade union activity.

Itself a guardian of democracy, the Press is not above the country's laws and Constitution. And when a law is passed by the supreme legislative authority and a directive is issued by the Supreme Court on a certain provision for its implementation, it is the sacred duty of all the wings of the newspaper industry to abide by it. Any attempt to subvert it by dubious means is as grave an offence as planned murder. Unfortunately, in a leading newspaper office in Madras, editorial employees are terrorised into cutting their own throats, sternly warned against acting in accordance with the law, but asked to be content with the crumbs thrown at them. There is suspicion among employees that attempts are being made to influence judicial authorities, not by pots of money but at social and religious gatherings.

There are among newspaper proprietors who have been honoured by the Head of State, and it is strange that they themselves are defying the laws of the land.

R. R. G. VENKAT.

(We publish this letter as received, leaving our readers to admire its felicities of diction, its impeccable taste and the profound understanding it displays of the place of the Press in a democracy. If the writer is a journalist and what he has put forward in defence of journalistic trade unionism after apparently prolonged deliberation is the best that the advocates of unionism can do, one can only say "God help them".

Headmasters and their employers are alike under the jurisdiction and control of the Government by reason of the fact that the Government pays educational grants and has the statutory obligation to see that the discipline and morale of recognised institutions are maintained by ensuring among other things that employees are not victimised by the managements. The Government as Government has nothing to gain by siding with one party against the other in disputes between educational managements and employees.

But there is no similar obligation cast on the Government to interfere in the regulation of employer-employee relations any more in the case of journalistic employees than in that of any other class of employees. On the contrary such interference by a party government in a democracy must lead **prima facie** *to the suspicion that that government intends thereby to gain control over the Press for its own ends. The fact that the Government in this country has singled out employees in the Press as an industry, for special legislation, is not without significance.*

Journalists (like members of other professions) have an over-riding duty to the public for the discharge of which they might gravely incapacitate themselves by seeking Government intervention in their disputes with newspaper managements. For they might create the widespread feeling among the public that they could secure Government support only by compromising their own independence. The only effective safeguard for journalistic employees as for other professional men is to build up robust professional organisations which will secure and protect their just interests against employers and at the same time enable them to maintain the fullest freedom in carrying out their work without regard for the susceptibilities of party Government or pressure groups.

In a ripe democracy like Britain, working journalists, while organising themselves in trade unions, are as resolutely opposed as any other section to the statutory regulation and control of the Press or administrative interference in its internal affairs or day-to-day work, as the furore over the Royal Commission's suggestion for a statutory Press Council showed. — Ed. S.)

THE "NARROW MIND"

Sir,—I have read a number of times "River Waters" (SWARAJYA, October 5), and also the sarcastic letter "Change your view, or quit" (SWARAJYA, October 19) by Sri P. Tiruvengadum. What actually "River Waters" contained which made Sri Tiruvengadum lose his mental equilibrium and write such a biting letter I am still unable to find out. In a simple statement such as "areas proximate to the source of supply should have over-riding preference over those lying at a comparatively remote distance and the criterion in according preference should be not the present state but the potential possibility" there is nothing to justify an inference that you are against the idea of sparing the surplus waters of the Godavari to Madras which is in need of water. All that I am able to gather from "River Waters" is that an issue of such public interest must be given a public treatment and must be discussed widely before the two Governments come to an agreement, so that all people who may be affected by it may have an opportunity to say whatever they have got to say about the matter. This certainly will leave no chance for fresh flaring up of old animosities. If a man who holds this view can be branded as "narrow-minded", what must be the suitable word to describe the writer of "Change your view, or quit"? Let it be known that I am neither a Tamilian nor an Andhra. A.P.G.S.

RAJAJI'S ARTICLE ON RELIGION

Sir,—All of us enjoyed reading the very vigorous and convincing article entitled "The Fallacy about Religion" by Rajaji in SWARAJYA dated October 19. May I earnestly appeal to the publishers of newspapers and weekly magazines all over India to reproduce this article or translations of it in their respective publications.

It is reported in a Tamil daily that Sri Nedunchezian of the D. M. K. party observed at a meeting at Tiruchengode that he had belief in the existence of a supreme power but his party's objection was only to the worship of idols. He and others of his way of thinking are sure to get enlightenment on this matter if they go through Sri Rajaji's article. Politicians of today would do well to confine themselves to secular matters unless and until they make a thorough study of the significance of religious beliefs and practices handed down from father to son in this country for several thousands of years.

Madras-17 T. S. NARAYANASWAMI

GRAZE FOR MINISTERS

Sir,—Our little town, with a population of about 30,000, has a municipality. The municipality has built a housing colony of about 30 houses for a part of its conservancy staff. It is now over a month since the work was completed. There was a talk that the colony was to be opened on Gandhiji's birthday. With great haste the walls were whitewashed, and the whole place spruced up for the occasion. The huts where the staff had been living were being dismantled. But nothing happened on the appointed day. Straying cattle, pigs—that precious earthly possession of some of the would-be occupants—patient asses seeking a haven of rest and juvenile delinquents defacing the walls, find the colony quite useful. Meanwhile the poor people who began dismantling their huts in the hope of getting into the new quarters are in worse condition. The buildings remain vacant, there is going to be extra cost for tidying them up for the opening ceremony which with the loss of rent is going to add to the cost. I am told that the date for declaring the colony open has to be fixed to suit the convenience of one of the Ministers. Recently the municipality had a bus stand opened by one of the Ministers, though the sanction of the Road Traffic Board for the bus stand had not been obtained on that date. Why this craze for getting only the Ministers—and at their convenience—to perform these simple acts? What a waste!

Gobichettipalayam. ONLOOKER

India in England

(*Continued from Page* 2)

editors toward conflict, disaster and the picturesque. The gradual tides of Indian reconstruction rise and fall unnoticed, at least in the big dailies.

What news the English press prints about India, the major stories, I thought fair and objective, with notable exceptions. But more goes on in India than Englishmen know about. Nor, is the fault only England's.

JOHN E. FRAZER

Sidelights

(*Continued from Page* 4)

post of Prime Minister without the propulsion of political influence. Deshmukh surmounted the consequences of this deficiency by taking no note of it, just being himself, and in that way acquiring a repute for rectitude and integrity which filled the politicians with awe. T. T. K. was not thus content. He strove to make up for lack of party backing with an extremism belied by his whole background and with political manoeuvrings in promotion of the prestige and influence of the Madras Chief Minister at the Centre calculated to place that power-wielder with all his assiduously consolidated hold on the party organisation, into his own pocket with becoming gratitude. Mutual collaboration between these two astute strategists has confirmed them in a consciousness of impregnable strength and power. It has removed them psychologically from the self-restraints inseparable from high political office in respectful adjustment to the trends of public opinion. They have become a law unto themselves. Ordinarily the whole nation would have gone into a paroxysm of sentimental rage over this phenomenon of an American correspondent giving the lie direct to its Finance Minister as Mr. Rosenthal has now done. But not a dog has barked. It is an indication of the standing in public affection of the most significant of the Prime Minister's Cabinet colleagues. SAKA

A United State Front

(*Continued from page* 6)

tive details in the interest of party friends and for the strengthening of party influence. This unhealthy interpretation of democracy must be met boldly and checked if not altogether prevented.

The main political task is to stop the weakening of the States and to take measures to form an opposition to the Centrist force and preserve the autonomy of the States so as strictly to limit the Central field to a true federal character.

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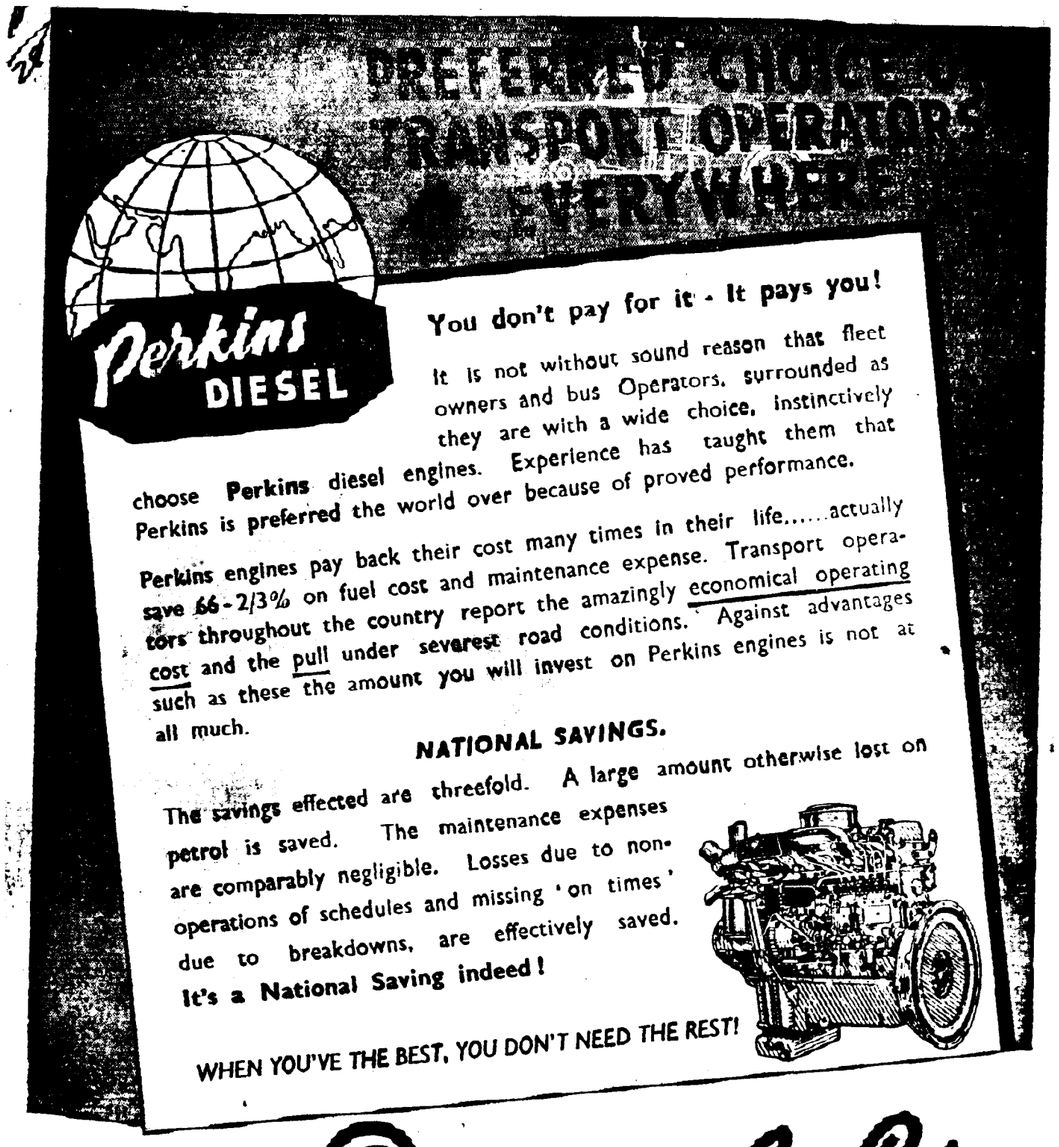
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SWARAJYA

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MADRAS

LOAN AND REPAYMENT PROSPECTS

With the return of the Union Finance Minister, the prospects of foreign assistance are being briskly discussed in the Press. Sri G. D. Birla and some others have given him high praise for the consummate ability with which he discharged his mission in the U.S.A. The decision to send out a batch of American experts to examine the credit-worthiness of Indian economy is acclaimed in some quarters as proof positive of the acceleration of U.S. interest in Indian welfare. If present prognostications of the enthusiastic supporters of the Finance Minister fructify, we shall have managed with American aid to overcome the foreign exchange crisis threatening the second Five Year Plan in the proportion of that aid. Our position then would be that of a desperate man in dire need who has prevailed upon a wealthy lender to accommodate him with a loan.

Jubilation over the prospective advance of the loan is understandable in the light of current difficulties and the crisis reflected in them. But the loan does not solve the crisis, it only postpones it, giving the borrower breathing time for recovery. If we are not able to utilise the assistance now expected, to achieve not only solvency but even a measure of prosperity enabling us to repay the loan, our future condition would be much worse than the present. The Prime Minister has rejected with scorn any suggestion of a gift from foreign sources in the spirit of a charitable benefaction. That was quite right and proper and creditable to the nation's dignity and endeavour of self-help. But it redoubles the obligation for liquidation of the indebtedness, and fastens on the nation not merely the customary debtor relation, but also an inviolable, sacred commitment of honour. For, non-payment of loans can pass muster, under pressure of difficulties, without involving breach of faith. But it cannot be squared with spirited assertions in advance breathing proud independence and repudiating strings, conditions, benevolence, and the like.

What are the prospects of our ever being able to repay (if we secure them) the heavy amounts of loan running into hundreds of millions of dollars which our Finance Minister has canvassed in his foreign tour? It will be found on analysis that the crisis itself which the loans are intended to set right, is the outcome, to some extent at least, of indiscriminate imports in the past from foreign markets of quite dispensable goods. The total of these when the present Finance Minister was in charge of import policy, may be reckoned at 200 crores. What is the guarantee that a repetition of the same folly will not occur while the quality of the management remains the same?

The Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission in a broadcast talk last week referred to the challenge that India's planners had to face now. "This is the challenge we have to face", he said. "What we need above all are thousands of dedicated men and women in all parts of the country who will rally the people in support of the Plan". He must be in a dreamland far removed from the actual terrain of present-day Indian politics to conceive of the possibility of such a thing. Here in the South a devoted friend of the Chief Minister cherished by him as an election ally goes about publicly calling upon his followers to kill Brahmins and burn their localities, and a week later he is weighed in silver in public, while the Chief Minister of the State, and the over-all protector of the whole country, the Prime Minister, say not a word as though it were no concern of theirs! By this and other exhibitions of degeneracy and decline from the high standards of the Gandhian period, the Congress government has lost the goodwill and confidence of the common people who have become aware of the burdens inflicted on them in the name of planning far more than any benefits.

The ultimate source of national wealth is popular enthusiasm, labour and goodwill, harnessed to top level talent and character continuously and constructively. Corruption, anti-merit policies and rampant communalism camouflaged by skilful and wily

EXCHANGE CRISIS, GOVERNMENT'S OWN CREATION

By CHUKI

One Five Year Plan has already been completed and now we are at the end of the second year of the second Five-Year Plan. As a result of successful implementation of the first Plan, it was claimed that national income has gone up by 17.5% and per capita income by 11%. The review of the first Plan published by the Planning Commission recently was eloquently silent over the employment generated sector-wise during the corresponding period. It was emphasised again and again that the second Five Year Plan was framed with the two primary objectives of increasing the national income by 25% and providing new employment opportunities to about 8 million. It is noticeable that though we are drawing to the end of the second year of the Second Plan, no report has been published so far about the progress of the Plan during the first year.

The economic climate in the capital is mainly centred round the foreign exchange resources for the second Five Year Plan. In the very first year, there was a huge deficit in India's trade balance. India has incurred a deficit of Rs. 292.5 crores in the current account of balance of payments. This was partly met by a loan from the International Monetary Fund and largely by withdrawals from the sterling balances. This heavy drain on our foreign exchange reserves, it was stated, was due to larger imports of capital goods, without which, industrial development will be impossible. Some critics say that the present drain is mainly because of an irrational and luxurious import policy pursued during the whole of the first Plan period, which coincides roughly with T. T. K's regime in the field of commerce. It is still more interesting to note the criticism of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, India's leading economic thinker, that the foreign exchange crisis is due to the behaviour of both the public and private sectors in an "anarchic fashion". One consequence of this behaviour is stock-piling of developmental commodities, which has precipitated the crisis sooner than anticipated. Some part of the crisis is no doubt due to increasing inflationary tendencies abroad, which received a jolt from the Suez crisis last year. But if one looks at New Delhi's new structures, one cannot resist the conclusion that the foreign exchange crisis is entirely a creation of Government. Some of the new buildings erected in New Delhi proclaim "Palatial Waste".

Our foreign exchange reserves are said to be round about Rs. 360 crores presently. It was reported recently that the drain has been arrested. The steps taken by the Government to arrest this drain are about to create fresh problems, if they have not indeed already done so. If the import figures are checked commodity-wise it will be found that the import policy is not rational. This is the case particularly in the case of razor blades, the annual imports of which will be microscopic compared to the imports of glass and glassware, cutlery etc. and sundry other luxury items. Yet, as though in order to prove their sincerity in meeting the crisis, the Government have framed a hard import policy with respect to razor blades. Another major step to reduce the gap is by increasing exports. Let us examine the record in this field. Exports stood at Rs. 733 crores in 1951-52, Rs. 577.3 crores in 1952-53, Rs. 530.4 crores in 1953-54, Rs. 593.5 crores in 1954-55 and Rs. 597.2 crores in 1955-56. (Source: Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics as quoted on page 14 of "India's Balance of Payments 1948-49 to 1955-56" published by the Reserve Bank of India). This gives an annual average of Rs. 606.34 crores during the entire first Plan period. It was reported that according to preliminary estimates, exports stood at about Rs. 595 crores during 1956-57, whereas imports stood at Rs. 833 crores. Imports of machinery, iron and steel manufactures and other metal manufactures have amounted roughly to Rs. 310 crores; import of cutlery and hardware has accounted for Rs. 27 crores, paper, pasteboard and stationery has accounted for Rs. 16 crores, vehicles Rs. 67 crores and all types of yarns and manufactures have accounted for Rs. 28 crores.

This brief analysis gives a rough idea that imports of capital goods might have accounted for Rs. 400 crores. If the import policy is properly planned, phased and regulated, all import requirements during the Plan period could be met out of the export earnings, which may continue to be around an annual average of Rs. 600 crores. This does not mean that no steps should be taken to increase exports. But mere creation of more councils, sending out delegations, instituting more commissions and committees will not help in increasing exports. What are our representatives abroad doing?

Economic planning in comparatively under-developed countries like India will not be successful without planning in the foreign trade field. It is unfortunate that proper place was not given to the field of foreign trade in the second Five-Year Plan as well as in the first Plan. Planned foreign trade is a necessary concomitant of a planned economy. It is hoped that Government will take steps even now to remove this great defect.

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propaganda to look like uplift of the backward, have destroyed the potentiality for any real benefit to people on a wide scale in the plans of the present regime. It is mainly on barren soil that the new loans will be ploughed, and realistically considered, there is little hope of the indebtedness now hailed as a boon, being ever cleared. That means a more humiliating thraldom to foreign powers in future than the political slavery from which the country emerged barely ten years ago.



Sotto Voce

Wertherism in Politics

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain is a unique phenomenon even for India. His political importance has, paradoxically, been measured by the energy with which he has repudiated politics. His "underground" activities in the days of the August Satyagraha spiced the Mahatma's non-violence with a garnish of Robin Hood romance. But, since he put on sackcloth and ashes for those escapades his public appearances have been solely for the purpose of telling the world that he had sloughed off one more illusion—only to grow a fresh one with equal enthusiasm!

* * *

He for long shared with Jawaharlal Nehru the role of Prince Charming in our Republican mythology. The Mahatma inducted the younger Nehru early into the position of heir-apparent: When the present writer had an opportunity to discuss with him at Nandi Hills in 1936 the *sturm und Drang* which Mr. Nehru was passing through, the wise old man indulgently smiled and said, "But I know he is loyal to me". That was the test of fitness for nomination to the succession.

* * *

Similarly, superficial observers supposed, Mr. Nehru would make Jai Prakash his political heir. That expectation has been belied because Mr. Nehru divined that Jai Prakash lacked one important equipment which both he and the Mahatma had, the Janus-face of the working politician. To use a term familiar to philosophers, Gandhiji functioned on both the *paaramaarthic* and *vyaavahaaric* levels. And Jawaharlal early exhibited the same remarkable suppleness; with this difference that, while for Gandhiji the *paaramaarthic tattva* was the non-violent philosophical anarchy of the Krta Yuga, for his understudy the Marxist planned paradise was the goal.

* * *

Gandhian non-violence invested the Independence movement with the aura of a religious crusade. But it is a pretty myth to which J. P. naively gives credence, that the disciplined soldiers of non-violence achieved our freedom. If that had been the case Independence would assuredly not have turned into ashes in the mouth, as he ruefully remarks. When the Britisher, for his own reasons, went for good, the Mahatma gracefully stepped aside; with the Partition of India he had realised that the old *mantram* had lost its power. And Nehru, having elevated the vanished Mahatma into a demiurge and installed Vinobaji in the vacant pontificate,—for the people must have their miracle-man—has found no further impediment to the pursuit of his *paaramaarthic tattva*.

* * *

An American writer on international Socialism has pointed out that the assumption which is basic to the economic thinking of Socialists is that "the State should represent the people". And as economics overrides every other modern activity, the unspoken corollary is that the State should claim exclusive right to speak and act for the people in every sphere. The Communist paradox, that the consummation of this process is the withering of the State, is merely the gilding on the pill. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain sees this clearly enough. But he does not see that the alternative to the Leviathan State is not the Stateless bliss of Sarvodaya. Manu recognised long ago that the Krta Yuga *dharma* could not be grafted on the Kali Yuga. In his reaction against the insincerities of Congress politics J. P. takes refuge in an emotionalism which is no less sterile and escapist than M. N. Roy's rarefied intellectualism. (J. P's creed may be succinctly summed up as Royism *plus* God or, as he would perhaps prefer to put it, the monistic principle of the unity of all things.)

* * *

Jai Prakash candidly admits that the picture he has in his mind of his dream-world of the future is anything but clear; but far from inducing patience in him, it is this very indefiniteness that feeds his revolutionary fervour. He and his *Sarvodayites* are no less frantically in a hurry than Lenin and his materialists were to realise *their* Utopia. And revolution breeds ruthlessness, however much Vinobaji may gloze it over in the language of *ahimsa*. You have only to look at the Bill which the Madras Government has dutifully brought forward to validate and expedite *gramdan* by hustling the donors, giving them no time for second thoughts, no opportunity for retreat.

* * *

It is not on the shifting sands of expediency or by revivalist tactics that the New Jerusalem can be built. Mr. Jai Prakash sadly deludes himself when he contends that "the Sarvodaya programme of Conversion, though directed to the individual, has a mass character". This savours of the casuistry by which Christian missionaries have sought to justify the mass manufacture of 'rice Christians'. Jai Prakash, for all his earnestness, has missed the fundamental insight of our ancients. Unlike the Sarvodayites, they had no doubts about the goal of human endeavour. But they recognised *adhikari bheda*, and they had no faith in high-pressure revolutionary techniques effecting a moral miracle in the essentially solitary human soul. They would simply not have understood the impious claim made by any mundane authority, be it Sarvodaya or the total State, to direct the whole of a man's life. A pluralistic society is the indispensable safeguard of democratic freedom.

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS : :

Having, with tenacious effort, acquired control over the Congress organisation in Tamil Nad, Sri Kamaraj Nadar developed great expertness in consolidating it and making it impregnable against rivals. Control over the organisation enabled him to have a large hand in the selection of candidates for the legislature. The legislature therefore came to be filled with his nominees. From control of the organisation he passed to control of the legislature, and through control of the legislature he became the Ministry-maker, eventually becoming himself the Chief Minister. All political power in the area of Madras State is today concentrated in his hands. He controls all the avenues to it.

* * *

How has he utilised this power? He has utilised it in such a way that everything else except power, power over which he could keep a tight grip, has ceased to matter. In the process of the personal consolidation of power and transfer of the whole might of the Congress organisation into his own keeping, he perfected a sort of technique. It lay in the deliberate and systematic exclusion of every other qualification for intending legislators except, first and foremost, dependable personal allegiance to himself, and secondly, local influence based on communal affiliations and cash, carrying with it calculable assurance of election success. If, in a locality, a particular community predominated, a candidate with a hold on that community would be given the preference over everyone else without any consideration being paid to relative competence, character and past service to the organisation. In this way the Congress was communalised, and one by one the natural leaders of the people who had rendered conspicuous and distinguished service under the Congress banner in the Gandhian period before Independence, found themselves progressively ousted.

* * *

What sort of a Congress was it that came into being under this sort of leadership? The truth about it is writ large in the melancholy tragedy of the arch-priest of communal hatred, E. V. R., running riot, threatening to kill and burn, with none and nothing to check him. It is reflected in the universally condemned governmental handling of the Ramnad riots receiving the acclaim of the Congress party in the legislature. Without acknowledgement, the whole character of the Congress in the State has been changed by means of a change in personnel, eliminating the tried veterans and letting in communal hatred-mongers, persons with close affiliations to the Dravida Kazhagam, carpet-baggers, opportunists and illiterates. As might be expected with such a change, an anti-merit drive has been intensified both in the administration and in educational institutions to such an extent that their very objects and purposes have been placed in jeopardy. Violation of accepted principles of decency and fairness as between man and man, held in honour in civilised societies throughout the world, has become normal to Congress in Madras and today it has sunk to the infamy of being a sort of Dravida Kazhagam in disguise.

* * *

Sri Kamaraj Nadar is unrivalled in the art of exploiting the self-interest of politicians, and in that way holding in leash every force likely to threaten his position. Experience and opportunity have helped him to perfect his skill in this art. He has none of the traditional vanities of the ambitious leader. His gift of silence, not with tense effort, but in a state of perfect relaxation, is a protective armour which few in his position possess, and it is most valuable to him in raging controversies that go on engaging the passions of everybody else without a word being extracted from him. He has stumbled into knowledge of the formidableness into which purposeful silence in the midst of voluable turmoil can be turned, a thing eluding the grasp of the wisest in the land. His simplicity of attire, unpretentious demeanour and easy accessibility have captured the popular imagination prone to be rather resentful of superiority, and in the new surge of vicarious proletarian pride in the undistinguished, he is hailed by many as a man of the people. But in the inexorable balance-sheet of history beyond the reach of genuine or manufactured mob excitement, he will be set down as a wonder of wonders, a Chief Minister with a superb flair for manipulation and self-preservation, but no other quality of leadership or constructive enterprise suitable for such a high dignity.

* * *

In net valuation, Sri Kamaraj's closeness to the leader of the Dravida Kazhagam illustrates his remoteness from the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi with its essential integrating principles, and in Madras there is Congress rule now only in name and not in spirit. The degeneracy here since independence has been appalling. Yet the Chief Minister has managed, by his gift for strategical alliances, to put the Centre to sleep over happenings down here, and even to produce an impression that he dwells in a tower of eminence blessed by the Prime Minister's benediction. Here we have an example of a sad shortcoming of Pandit Nehru, one that makes him dangerously inadequate for the tough duties of ultimate national protection. Gandhi was a judge of men. He could assess them aright with his own insight and set them to tasks for which they were most fitted—he made history, not less with the achievements of the lieutenants he discovered, than with his own. But Nehru, susceptible to the pressure of masterful campaigners, sticks to no independent judgment of his own in conducting the affairs of the nation. He has placed or preserved in posts of supreme importance unsuitable persons not worthy of their respective responsibilities, who would have toppled down and gone to their deserved fate but for the weight of his authority sustaining them.

SAKA

SPUTNIK

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Two problems are agitating the mind of the West which have now brought Macmillan and Ike together for consultations. These are the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East and the military and psychological damage which the SPUTNIK has caused to the West. The American press has frankly interpreted the British Premier's visit as an occasion to call for the pooling of the West's total technological assets in the "struggle of ideologies". It is felt that the mutual jealousy and strict secrecy observed so far by the Western powers among themselves in technological advance must be dropped in order to make a united effort to overtake what the Sputnik represents. But the Sputnik is the product of the unaided power of Russia in the field of technology and science. The trans-Atlantic effort at co-operation is therefore itself a confession of inferiority. But what is this "struggle of ideologies" referred to in the American press as if it were an incontrovertible concrete fact? If 'ideology' means anything at all, the 'struggle' must be in the plane of logic and reason, not in fire and physical conflict. It is a tragedy that which way of life is the better one is to be settled by exploding bombs, like a duel with pistols to prove who spoke the truth. To some of us it would appear that he who is less effective with his bombs teaches the better way of life!

As for the other problem, the Mid-East, it is now generally accepted by the West that the much advertised Eisenhower Doctrine has failed as an instrument of policy. "We don't think that the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine is a cure-all for everything in the area" said Mr. John Foster Dulles himself at a news conference. News conferences correspond to our parliamentary question-hour in the United States. The Executive and the Congress meet only that way in America. The statements made in news conferences are important. The Eisenhower Doctrine has therefore collapsed.

It is an obvious consequence of the mass-destruction weapons now possessed by the cold war combatants that none of them can possibly, intervene by any form of belligerent activity in any conflicts that arise in the Mid-East. Neither side would care to touch off a nuclear war at any stage of the intervention. The only available way of helping or hindering is by 'peaceful' diplomacy. The Eisenhower Doctrine based on physical force was foredoomed to be useless from the outset.

The "ultimate" weapons have served no real purpose in spite of all that has been and is being spent on them. They are as worthless as suicide by way of sanction in private life. Meanwhile the mutual recriminations of Republican and Democratic leaders, of scientists and defence service men in America and the Administration must be furnishing great satisfaction to the Soviet leaders whose 'moon' has made the people of U.S.A. really mad. "What do we do about Sputnik?" cried patriotic Clare Booth Luce. "We take our hats off to the Soviet moon and our coats off to Russian rocketry. We collect our wits and dig into pockets. It is twelve years from Hiroshima to the moon. Six of them were Democratic, six Republican. Let us say no more".

There is a furious drive now for reorganization of research programmes in America. Not only the Democrats but the British also are now pressing for changes of U. S. policy in order to "overtake" Russia. There is no one wise enough to tell them that accepting the ban on the use of all nuclear weapons which the Soviets proposed so often and which they have still kept open would go a great way to solve all anxiety. One affirmative yes to that proposal is worth a dozen reorganised programmes of Sputnik or other technical reasearch.

'. . . OVER A.I.R.'

By M. KRISHNAN

Last month SWARAJYA carried no review of A.I.R. broadcasts: this month there will be none. Do I see the reader shaking hands with himself, and preparing to spend all of 15 nP. on a letter to the Editor, congratulating him on having got rid of me at last? Please don't. That would be premature, and a waste of good stamp and stationery. From next month the review will reappear.

In September I found, when the month was ended, that I had somehow failed to listen in to any broadcast; in October I did listen, but could find no response in me to any of the programmes I heard. May be I have developed a genuine flair for picking the wrong kind of programmes; may be I am stale with continuous listening in for three years. What I need, I feel, is a brief rest from A.I.R. programmes, and even more urgently what you need is a rest from me. But you have not escaped me. So long, till December!



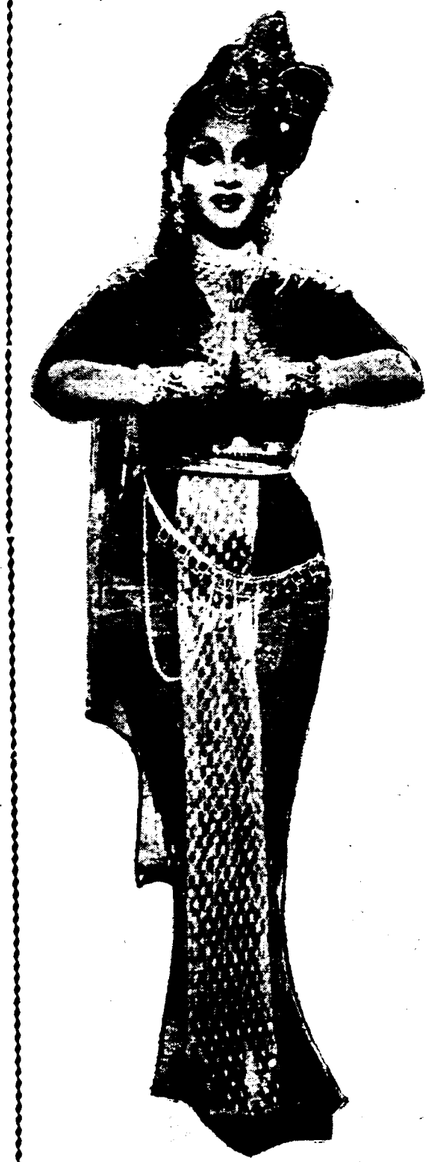
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LAND REFORMS IN INDIA

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

In free India, food grain supply is perhaps the one subject on which we have been treated to the largest volume of misleading statistics. Though it affronts our national self-respect to admit it, India has been deficit in her food grain production for some decades now—and this dismaying fact was shown up since Burma separated from India. It is even less comforting to recollect that we sent a mission to Washington to plead before the Combined Food Council — the spiritual predecessor to the F.A.O.— for a more generous allotment of rice from one of our own former provinces (Burma). What is even more disconcerting today is that despite the Grow More Food campaign, the establishment of the largest single unit for production of ammonium sulphate manufacture in the world at Sindri and the provision of countless small incentives for increased production of food grains, we are nearly in the same position as when we sent the delegates to the Washington Conference.

It is true Government have to wage this ceaseless battle against shortages, mainly because India has been quietly adding five millions annually to her population ; five millions not representing the annual birth rate, but the birth rate *minus* the death rate, that is to say, the survival rate—which demographers describe as the net annual addition to population. India of today, (*minus* Pakistan which includes Sind, West Punjab and East Bengal) has a population which is about 10 million more than what it was in undivided India. This is some measure of the pressure of population on land, food supplies and housing.

The sheer weight of population has been added to by improved life expectation, diminished child and maternal mortality rates, welcome features by themselves. The improved standards of living have also resulted in a shift in food grain preferences. Those who were consuming bajra and millet formerly are now confirmed converts to wheat and rice, two food grains that are in short supply in India.

Some four years ago, when Dame Nature in one of her magnanimous moods blessed Bharat with two copious monsoons, we felt nearly self-sufficient. The statisticians of Delhi forthwith got busy and put complacent statements into the mouths of our Ministers. We were treated to a statement that there was good reason to look forward to India exporting about three million tons of food grains. Today food shortage is taking on disquieting dimensions and our meagre Plan finances are being partially deployed for food-buying and subsidies. It is not necessary to be alarmist, but it is much more unwise to be complacent and to make statements that betray wishful thinking. It is now clear that we shall have to import food for some years to come—certainly for the residue of the Plan period. This does not mean that effort should be relaxed to make our cultivated land yield more and to bring cultivable virgin land under cultivation. It is indeed a matter for melancholy reflection that we should have talked so much about growing more food, built up expensive secretariats in the Food and Agricultural Ministries which, of course, there is no means of reducing, and realised but a feeble part of our aspirations. It has become a joke now that in the effort to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, we have succeeded in growing two office files where one grew before. It is in the background of partially frustrated efforts, baffling statistics and the daily mounting number of mouths to be fed, that we have to approach our much-misunderstood land problem today.

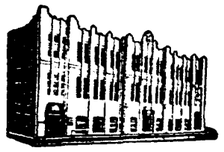
All over India, land has become, as it were, the victim of leftist political aggression. Our complaint about agricultural land has been that it yields little compared to Japan, the Tennessee Valley or even China ; that it depends too much on the caprices of uncertain monsoons to yield even the little it is yielding. We were also told that land was getting fragmented in the process of partition and in the process of liquidation of rural indebtedness, and that this hampered scientific cultivation methods. The Linlithgow Commission tells us a lot about all this in their report.

Every State Government is now anxious to put a ceiling on agricultural land holdings. Large holdings are regarded as a left-over of the feudal age and are sought to be abolished. The surplus land is sought to be distributed to the landless—in the fervent hope that the "landless" will make the land to be handed over to them yield more. The Bhoodan movement asked for voluntary gifts of land and quite a number of persons that owned uncultivable wasteland found it a handy means of ridding themselves of what they could not presently cultivate, with public acclamation greeting their altruism. The Planning Commission is also committed to a ceiling on land holdings. This fervour to put a ceiling on land holdings at both the Central and State levels, morally supported by the Sarvodaya ascetic school, has made of the larger landed proprietors an almost criminal tribe—that has to be reclaimed by the simple process of being divested of the larger part of their holdings by legislation.

The same Central Government that through their Planning Commission desire a ceiling on land had invested about 20 to 25 crores in tractors and the Central Tractor Organisation took charge of these machines. Obviously the tractors were not intended to deal with small fragmented holdings of land and must have been intended to solve the problem of large farms. What the Central Government want to do with these tractors after voting for a ceiling on land is a poser that must obviously be addressed to the Oracle of Delphi.

(To be continued)

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FEROZEKHAN NOON IN AMERICAN PRESS

Below we give a letter from Rajaji which appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* of America on September 14. Mr. Noon, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, wrote a letter which appeared in *The New York Times* of September 29 purporting to be a reply to the point raised by Rajaji in his letter to that paper which was reproduced in SWARAJYA on 5th October 1957. The letter reproduced below from *The Christian Science Monitor* deals with the same subject. Mr. Noon's reply, far from meeting the argument, only confirms Rajaji's main complaint that *American military aid to Pakistan has set up an unfortunate armament race between Pakistan and India which is damaging both countries*:

RAJAJI'S REPLY

TO THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

May I crave the attention of your readers to what an Indian feels about present American policy?

Hope glimmered for a time on the horizon. But now black clouds have returned and the sky is dark again with the winding up of the disarmament talks. Mr. Khrushchev's definite offer that Russia is prepared here and now to sign an agreement for a ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons was rejected. America says this offer is only propaganda. But it was in America's power at once to nail it to the counter by saying 'yes'.

Is deterrence better effected by an unending technical and armament race in nuclear weapons than with this ban that Russia offers to sign? Would not an agreed ban on the use of nuclear weapons be at least an added deterrent? If Russia and the United States and Britain had lodged an agreed ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the United Nations archives, it would have been a step in the recovery of civilization of which the year 1957 could be proud.

It is a pity that America has got into this delusion. A vast scattering about of nuclear head weapons and missiles all over the world among the various nations on the strength of temporary and doubtful pacts will not bring peace. Asia will be a perilous house to live in. It is easy to prepare a multi-continental network of danger, but it will not be possible to undo the mischief.

America has given, and is giving, aid to Pakistan with the intention "that Pakistan may stand up to Russia," but the thing works altogether differently. It has set up a minor armaments race between Pakistan and India, which is of major significance to us whatever plan resources are available.

All the internal difficulties in India's economics that have recently come into the limelight are traceable to the armaments race which India has been thus forced into. It is not easy for India to turn a blind eye on this. It is one of the reasons for the growing coldness of India towards America.

It is foolish for India ever to hope to equip its military forces to cope with any country which has America as a financing partner. It may also be unnecessary to attempt it, because America will never tolerate war between Pakistan and India. Yet national psychologies go their own way. The armament race between India and Pakistan has become a reality.

Our not being in the cold war of the West is paying a good dividend in international influence. We have been useful to others, and they appreciate it. But in budgetary consequences for ourselves our non-alignment has not been of much use by way of saving us from military expenditure. Even those who stoutly oppose the new taxation measures will not ask for a reduction in the defence budget. They support the armaments race, and in fact want it to be further intensified. This is the unintended consequence in India of the global strategy of Mr. Dulles.

Thus America, while thinking and talking of helping India with funds for its plan, is actually forcing a diversion of the available funds from the plan and reducing India's foreign exchange for nothing. America is bound to see its error if this is frankly explained. But if America does persist in this policy, India is not going to double the folly by itself accepting defense aid from America in parity with Pakistan. This is inconceivable for more reasons than one. India will have to think what it will have to do to meet this difficult situation.

Whatever else it may or may not do, one thing is clear: India must set its teeth against being pushed into a suicidal race in defense expenditure, in spite of pressures that may naturally come from certain sections.

It should be made plain to the world, and to America first, how the Asiatic arms policy of the United States postpones economic and industrial development and increases local mutual tensions, weakening instead of strengthening the nations whom Mr. Dulles wishes to set up as a bulwark against Communsim.

Madras, India C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

BOOK REVIEW

NON-COERCIVE SOCIALISM

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

"Every good and necessary thing can be either sweet or bitter. So distribution of wealth can be sweet and voluntary, or under the compulsion of law where every unit of distribution is accompanied by an equal and opposite amount of pain. If it is the former one gives, one also gets pleasure. Often the pleasure is greater than the gift". These were Rajaji's words as he handed me a small and beautifully produced book for review in SWARAJYA. But those who have the power to give have also the duty to see that their gifts are bestowed wisely. "Whoever neglects this duty," says Mr. R. P. Masani "is responsible for the anarchy of charity in all parts of the world."

Every great religion, says Mr. Masani in his scholarly, thoughtful and very topical book, sets before its followers the ideal of society as the Kingdom of God on earth. The obstacles to the attainment of this ideal state are of man's own creation. These are inequality between individuals and classes, the denial of justice, and the pressure of social wrongs. Increasing wealth, measured in terms of physical possessions, has placed an increasing emphasis on comfort, pleasure, social status, security and the power that riches bring. It is typical of Mr. Masani's concrete and vivid presentation that he tells us in this connection that while a reasonably prosperous Roman family possessed in its home about 500 articles and a mediaeval family about 200, a similar family today owns, on the average, about 1,500 separate articles. Wealth in its original meaning, he reminds us, meant possessions, but not well-being in the material sense — or what today is called welfare — just as health means well-being in the physical sense. Mr. Masani, like the economists and social scientists of today, insists that it is the problems of distribution that are most urgently in need of solution in the world with a view to ushering in a new social order securing industrial peace.

The aim should be to re-build and unify society and to create a sense of inter-dependence among all human beings, not by a revolution of destruction, but by a united effort of people in all sections of society to do away with the evils that exist today. What is needed is a spirit of partnership and responsibility arising from the realization that we are all members of one family. The brotherhood of man cannot be achieved by class war, or by any other kind of war. Brotherhood begins with brotherliness. And brotherliness shows itself by giving. Giving, voluntarily and for the good of all, must not be regarded as a privilege limited to one section of society. The poor, and even the poorest, must learn to give according to their capacity. What is needed is a gospel of labour to which employers and employees could both subscribe.

Mr. Masani cites a number of examples both of responsible generosity and of its reverse. Andrew Carnegie figures a great deal in the book. Carnegie's systematic generosity in endowing libraries, art galleries and other civilized amenities had been followed by a number of other millionaire philanthropists whom Mr. Masani urges other rich people to emulate.

But unfortunately there are millionaires who are as mean as they are rich. On the other hand, says Mr. Masani, gifts to the Bhoodan movement from Harijans, and from women, who are seldom in any substantial sense property owners, are a real illustration of the old truth that the blessing of giving can belong even to the poorest.

Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India whose life story has been written by Mr. Masani in another book, attributed the poverty of India in the nineteenth century to the exploitation of alien rule, and believed that it could have been removed if the British had governed according to British principles. After him, Gandhi appealed to people to return to the traditions and social philosophy of ancient India so as to evolve a society based on simplicity, self-discipline, austerity, truth and compassion. Mr. Masani sees in the Bhoodan movement a big practical step towards these ends. He devotes a separate chapter to the origin and development of Vinoba Bhave's work.

The need for a brotherhood of givers is being realised in a growing measure. To the chronic misery of hunger and poverty has now been added the fearful threat of nuclear warfare. Armed nations are just as exposed to annihilation as those that are unarmed. What is needed today, Mr. Masani concludes, is a world-wide effort and a new technique to preach the real gospel of wealth — of the welfare that comes from giving in "a too slowly perfecting world." Evangelists are needed to bring about a revolutionary change in men's outlook on life, based on the conception of wealth as welfare, and on the recognition that attachment to material possessions must be overcome if man is to gain fuller understanding of what is good for him. Much will depend on the manner in which the teaching is presented, and on the practical development of the technique of giving for the betterment of communities and for the welfare of all peoples.

Mr. Masani's own presentation of facts and arguments is a beautiful and valuable contribution to this great cause. This is a short book, written with a modesty and simplicity which, for the thoughtful reader, will enhance the significance of the facts and ideas which it presents.

The Role of Wealth in Society. by R. P. Masani, Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

PUBLIC REACTION TO DRASTIC CHANGES

By Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M. S.

Six persons, who may be said to represent a certain cross section of the population, were earnestly discussing the food situation. Not one of them possessed more than 5 or 6 acres of land in North Arcot and Chingleput districts. None of them carried on self-cultivation. All of them — graduates of the university — were living at Madras. One was doing a small trade, two were Government servants, two were employed in some private concerns: and the last was conducting a private farm. The individual income of these persons did not exceed Rs. 300 per mensem.

As a passive onlooker, I record the discussion that went on amongst these people.

"You are in the Food Department. Please answer the following questions for us. Is the food we produce sufficient or not? If sufficient, is there any defect in the distribution system? Or is there gross malicious hoarding?"

The Government servant was grinning.

The small trader butted in. "He is only a quill driver. He is only dealing with correspondence in office. I will tell you the exact state of affairs. We do produce more than before. But the demand has increased considerably, as those classes of persons in the districts who were formerly taking cholum and kambu have now taken to rice."

"The Government are saying that their first Five Year Plan of achieving self-sufficiency in food was a success".

"That is thoroughly dishonest. The supply is not commensurate with the demand. Till the supply exceeds the demand our position will be precarious".

"We were getting rice from Burma and Siam before. Now what has happened to that?"

"Production from Burma has fallen down as the bulk of the South Indians who were producing rice there were driven out of Burma. Siam is in the dollar group and will not send her rice here."

"After all, there is a limit beyond which land cannot produce. Furthermore, population control (family planning) is a *must*. What is the use of producing, if all the time the population goes on increasing?"

"There is a snag in that. With due deference to some persons who do not believe in heredity, I yet maintain that the better class will go on diminishing, but the lower classes will go on increasing merrily if family planning is not adopted by them".

"Don't sidetrack the issues. Let us confine ourselves to the food problem. We have definitely come to the conclusion that food production must be augmented. What steps will you suggest?"

"The present policy of giving the land to the tiller is altogether wrong. The tiller is poor and has no resources to buy manure and adopt improved methods of cultivation. Put the thumbscrew on the landlord to make him produce more, taking care at the same time that the tenant is not harassed".

"But the landlords complain that, because of kisan trouble, production is impaired".

"There is no doubt about it. The Congress Government with its quixotic ideas has ruined the economy of the country. They have gone on pampering the kisans because the gaze of the Congress party is rivetted all the time on the ballot box. It was unforgivable on the part of the politicians to have introduced adult franchise. Running the Government well is analogous to flying a kite skillfully. The kite-flier feeds the thread little by little from the rolled ball at his feet. He does not unroll the ball, leave the thread in a jumble at his feet, holding only the extreme end and expecting the kite to fly high and smoothly. He has to keep the thread taut the whole time. He has sometimes even to pull the thread in. I liken the thread to labour. You cannot suddenly give labour all the privileges. Another great folly is the introduction of Prohibition. Formerly, there was something for the labourer to look forward to at the end of the day's work. Those people went about their work with celerity and set the pace for others. Now illicit distillation is more paying than honest labour. Those who have plenty of black money through illicit distillation do not feel the need to work."

"I do not know how far all this is true. I am told that in certain parts of Ceded Districts, the bunds dividing plots of land are all knocked down and ploughing and planting is done as a joint concern by all the farmers in the village and only just at the time of harvesting the limiting lines of demarcation are drawn once again and each man takes the harvest from his plot of land".

"We do not know the details and how the plan works, but that plan is certainly worth considering."

"Suppose the State gives a loan or subsidy to the poor tiller, will this offset his want of capital?"

"Our State is poor. We know how the loans given to farmers to dig wells led to a lot of abuse. I do not like that the tentacles of the State octopus should get a hold on food production. Private individuals will manage the concern much more economically. And if money is needed at all it is much safer for the State to deal with a landlord than with a half-starving tiller".

"The successors of the present tiller may not stay on the land. They may go to towns. Why go about disturbing the present economy? If you have sufficient patience, big holdings will get splintered up into small by division. Those who have made money in towns will want to drift to villages and there will be an ever recurring cycle of permutation and combination".

"Sheep rearing — not goat — and poultry farming must be more extensively indulged in. That is food production also".

"Why not goats?"

"They are a curse. They are one of the main factors in the denudation of our forests. They should be never allowed to roam about but always kept tethered".

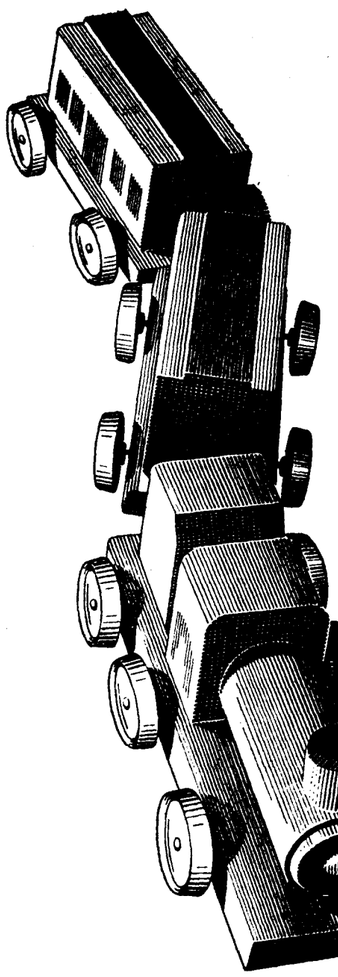
"That leads to the problem of making provision for fodder for them. We must not only grow special fodder but provide for storage. A landlord with a respectable holding will be able to accomplish these things with a little guidance".

"The present Government consisting of men of the Congress Party are wedded to the Socialistic pattern of society. Your proposals may not find favour in their eyes".

"Socialistic pattern is not achieved overnight. If sufficient time is given, the sheer force of circumstances in our country will help in the evolution of a more or less balanced society".

"We appear to be agreed on one thing, that the State should not go about hastily upsetting the old economy. We may be able to evolve a new pattern for the rest of the world to copy. *Laissez faire* policy may be dead as dodo to some orthodox economists. But in the present context of events in our country, that policy seems to be most desirable."

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

No living man has been more generously treated — almost in every respect — by the Indian Press than the Prime Minister. There are exceptions but they only prove the rule. That yet Mr. Nehru should have had occasion to complain against the Press is strange, while stranger it is that he should have sought to blame it for having sometimes divulged certain matters relating to, or arising out of, his periodical letters to Chief Ministers of States. This is hardly fair. It is axiomatic that the Press thrives on 'disclosures'. It is not only its privilege but its duty. Except in grave emergencies, the Press cannot simply afford to conceal what it can (as well) reveal. If Chief Ministers freely unburden themselves and knowingly give journalists 'good copy', without any respect for 'secret' injunctions, *they* are to blame and not "the gentlemen of the Press".

* * *

At the latest Press conference held by the Prime Minister, the question also arose, however incidentally, as to the relevancy of the respective injunctions in marking papers. It is a truly puzzling proposition. Words like 'personal', 'confidential', 'private', 'secret', have perhaps rigid implications and certainly subtle nuances. Not many who mark papers variously, are really alive to the exact meaning of the words they employ casually. I wonder how many Cabinet Ministers have pondered over the mysteries of language. For their 'information' I would summon M. J. A. Spendor to my aid:

> Gladstone had a code of his own about disclosures which were permissible and which were not. If he wrote a letter with no mark on it, the recipient of it might presume that it was intended for publication. If it was marked 'private' it might be shown to anyone but not published; if it was marked 'confidential' it might be shown to colleagues and not withheld from wives; if it was marked 'secret' it was not to be shown to wives, or without the writer's consent, to anybody. If a colleague departed from the Code he was promptly dubbed 'not fit to be Secretary of State' though there were apparently humbler offices which he was competent to fill!

* * *

Nobody in India seems to have better understood Lady Oxford's famous dictum, "No matter whether you are praised or abused, get discussed", than the irrepressible Union Minister for Finance. He is today India's most discussed man. It is not all due to fortuitous circumstances or adventitious aids. He has singled himself out for this distinction by his own blazing indiscretions. Having sought or used the medium of *The New York Times* for some advance publicity in USA, in connection with his quest of the golden fleece there, he has, on his return to Delhi, got involved in a controversy with the American correspondent, in a vain and desperate effort to wriggle out of an awkward predicament. It is not an edifying sight to see a Cabinet Minister crossing swords with a Press man—and being mauled down in the process. His complaint of an 'inaccurate report' in *The New York Times* only brought back the crushing rejoinder that he had better make peace with his own conscience. God knows where the truth lies—or who lies—but it seems that Mr. Krishnamachari has made his position — *vis a vis* the Communists — yet more vulnerable. Did he ever hear that 'the last Kaiser once cried for three weeks, after being reprimanded in the Reichstag for giving an interview to a newspaper'? That it should have all ended up like this after the elaborate care Mr. Krishnamachari had taken to organise his own publicity is particularly tragic. For, did he not carry with him a man from the P.T.I.? If it is, however, a fact that he carried him at the expense of the Government of India, he owes an explanation to the public. The question must be raised in Parliament if the use of the tax-payers' money for T.T.K's publicity-flourish abroad is to be regarded as a token of the Government's economy drive and austerity. Junius often wonders what a strain it is to the Prime Minister to have to defend in public, colleagues who unabashedly add to his many problems and make him feel sad in private.

* * *

In two days Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru will reach another milestone in life's journey, the 69th. No one's birthday anniversary is more enthusiastically celebrated all the country over; for, Mr. Nehru has been a national hero for years before he became Prime Minister. That the world takes due note of the day is a tribute to his personality and stature. The greatest thing about him is his unconquerable spirit which extinguishes the leaping flames of age and obliterates all accretions of time. He shares with children their curiosity, with the youth their love of adventure, with the aged their mellowness—and with women their charm. And whatever chances or changes life brings in its wake, he remains true to his type—and to himself. Such men are rare indeed in our annals. Our other November worthies — Dr. C. V. Raman, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya among the living—are perhaps under the handicap of having been born in the same month with Mr. Nehru. Dr. Raman and Mr. Nehru are both Bharata Ratnas; Dr. C. P. and Mr. Nehru were at the same time Secretaries of the Home Rule League; Dr. C. P. and Dr. Pattabhi signed the passive resistance pledge together; Mr. Nehru and Dr. Pattabhi have been Congress colleagues for long—one making history and the other writing it! And yet even within the confines of public life, how differently the last three have developed! Dr. Raman who was sixty-nine on Thursday last belongs to another world altogether—the world of science where his inquiring mind is never at peace. To all the four, Junius offers his felicitations as well as salutations and wishes them many happy returns. Two of them—Dr. C. P. and Dr. Pattabhi—cannot perhaps do better than draw on their memory by the fire-side and write their reminiscences.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

WARNING TO ANDHRA LEADERS

Sir,—Apropos your article "River Water" (SWARAJYA, October 5) and your correspondent's letter thereon (SWARAJYA, October 19) may I straightaway ask your correspondent to say who is narrow in outlook. As for creating 'stans' against national interests, the world knows who are asking for the secession of their region from our Motherland that is India, asking for the killing of one caste by another. It is true that vast quantities of the river waters in Andhra are going unused. But it is not surplus water. It is but meet that the water wealth of Andhra should be tapped for the benefit of the people of that State first and foremost. Who can ask and who can give water to areas hundreds of miles away when there is need nearer home? What about the arid Rayalaseema? What about Telengana? What about the dry taluks of the Circars?

To jettison the interests of a State and take up others' interests is a serious responsibility and the Andhra leaders should beware of it.

Nellore R. JWALANARASIMHAM

HONESTY DOES NOT PAY IN CONGRESS REGIME?

Sir,—Permit me to thank you, on behalf of many helpless railway passengers, for your clean exposure of the Madras railway reservation racket in *Sidelights* (SWARAJYA, October 26). Hats off to the ticket-examiner who so firmly braved harassment in the performance of duty.

Lord Birkenhead, as Secretary of State for India, arranged a farewell function at the London railway station for a newly appointed Viceroy going to India. Admission to the railway platform was by passes. When Lord Birkenhead was about to enter the platform, the policeman on duty demanded his pass. The noble lord was stunned, hurried back home, picked up the forgotten pass and proudly producing it, entered the platform. He did not forget the incident or the policeman to whom he paid a glowing tribute in his Memoirs for his integrity and scrupulous adherence to the dictates of duty.

How many of our Ministers, Congress leaders and top officers can rise up to the moral level of this British Secretary of State? Honesty does not pay in this corrupted Congress regime.

GIDUGU

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

Sir,—We should feel grateful to Rajaji for giving us a timely warning and espousing the cause of English as the official language of the Union. The arguments for retaining English as the official language will hold good for continuing English as the medium of instruction at the university level. But C. R. advocates the medium of the mother-tongue for instruction in colleges. No one can question the axiomatic truth underlying the statement that the mother-tongue is the natural medium of instruction at all stages. But in the present context of Indian affairs, our graduates and research workers in the several States will be isolated from one another if they receive instruction in the regional languages of the several States. Intellectual vacuum or intellectual thrombosis will be the result. Moreover, our young men competing for the Union Public Service competitive examinations will be seriously handicapped, if they are to write examinations in the regional languages of the States. It is essential that a uniform standard should be maintained in the matter of testing candidates' attainments. Unless our public services are to be manned by persons of inferior intellectual and cultural attainments, we cannot afford to give up the English medium for examinations for recruitment to the All-India services. So it logically follows that English should be the medium of instruction and examination in colleges. I would, therefore, appeal to C. R. and the Education Minister of Madras State to agree to the retention of the English medium in the universities. Then only our stand against the imposition of Hindi as the official language will be justified and vindicated.

Coimbatore R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(ii)

Sir,—The arguments advanced by Rajaji for the retention of English as the official language are very sound. On this important problem the votes, tied by party discipline, may be in favour of the ruling party. But it is not the majority decision arrived at by the ruling party that should be treated as a major victory on this issue. They should weigh the advice tendered by experienced people of ripe wisdom. Then only the whole country will be at peace. The imposition of Hindi on the Southerners will sow hatred, and nothing should be done in haste in this matter which concerns not only the present generation but also generations to come.

Kakinada BILLA VEERA RAJ

PURANIC STANDARDS

Sir,—In his *padayatra* with the mission of Bhoodan, Acharya Vinobaji subjected *Pathivratas* and pathivrata *dharma* to much too much criticism.

None will dispute his view that the wife and the husband have equal rights, but why drag *pathivratas* and pathivrata *dharma* into the present complex world? Are we to assess the virtues of our womenfolk by the standards of the Puranas? Or is it that we should judge the Puranic *pathivratas* by our present day standards?

The twentieth century has become so complex that we hesitate to call people bad or good, barbaric or civilised. It would be safe to cease to examine the past in the light of current assumptions.

In contrast, it will be interesting to note what the Pope said in Vatican City recently. Speaking to the Congress of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organisations, the Pope said that though God created men and women as persons equal in rights and dignity, "let women be submitted to their husbands as to God....., in the same way that the Church is submitted to Christ". The Pope even went to the extent of warning young nations born after the war against their tendency to place women more and more on an equal footing.

Hyderabad N. V. L. NARASIMHAM

NO PANCH SHILA AT HOME

Sir,—After ten years of freedom, except that we are free from foreign domination, the old imperialistic order with imperialism in word,

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thought and deed, continues. The struggle for existence still persists. Communal bitterness still corrodes into the vitals of the nation. Murder, arson and looting still govern the conduct of man. The Ramnad police firing, Government's post-mortem enquiry and an ultimate report justifying their action are nothing but the continuance of the old order. The popular demand for a judicial enquiry has been turned down.

There is unchecked freedom for a strange maniac to indulge in talk of breaking, burning and killing. The Government look on under the plea of legal limitations but the history of the Ramnad riots was traced as far back as 1930. It does not augur well for the Government or for the people to allow things to take serious dimensions and then resort to firing and later submit a statistical report of the number of injured and dead.

Our Prime Minister waxes eloquent over world peace and holds aloft the banner of Panch Shila in foreign countries where he is hailed as an Ambassador of Peace. Should we not have that peace translated into practice here when we invoke the name of Gandhi on all occasions and under all circumstances ?

Madras R. S. V. RAO

NEHRU A WORLD HERO

Sir,—Junius says in *Capital Comments* (SWARAJYA, October 19) : "What Mr. Nehru says today is no indication of what will happen tomorrow". One swallow does not make a summer, but Junius has made use of a whole range of specious swallows to make an artificial summer. If Mr. Nehru had pinpointed the need for more effective publicity for the Five Year Plan, it was obviously one of his duties to call attention to short-comings. That will not justify the conclusion that he wanted to get rid of the present machinery, lock, stock and barrel.

His remarks at the Law Ministers' Conference have been likewise torn from their context. He did not declaim against the appointment of more judges as such even if there be need, he only meant that more judges would not end the Law's delays and mend matters unless other things which are equally essential also happened.

Mr. Nehru is a man with an open mind for honourable compromises. His greatness lies in neutralising human failings to the extent possible and carrying on, but never are his eyes turned away from the goal.

Having undertaken the burden of rebuilding a big nation, Mr. Nehru does not obviously want to run away in the middle and abdicate his responsibility, more particularly when a veritable babel of tongues is raised in the name of democracy.

It is indeed a tragedy that there are people in India who are not thankful that Providence has vouchsafed a succession of brilliant minds for the country's service. If at all there is one man in India today to whom we can ascribe maturity of thought and mental equilibrium, it is Mr. Nehru. Hero worship may be an evil thing in the eyes of some, but no nation ever made its mark without its hero. And in Mr. Nehru we have indeed a world hero.

Chingleput N. VEMBUSWAMI

THE PRESS AND ITS FUNCTIONS

Sir,—In dealing with "The State of the Press" (SWARAJYA, October 12) you have referred only to one aspect of the question, namely the relations between the employers and the employees. That is purely an internal problem and there is nothing surprising about it, if only we keep in our mind the post-war trends in industrial relations in our country in general. Thanks to the concept of 'Socialistic pattern of society', capital and labour have been divided into regular warring camps. It is rather unfortunate that this tendency should have crept into the Press as well.

But what is even more depressing about our Press is its attitude. The questions that we should ask ourselves in this connection are : Is the Press discharging its functions properly ? Is it acting as it should, shaping, moulding and educating public opinion ? In short, is it successfully playing the role of the Fourth Estate in our country ?

This aspect was dealt with by Rajaji during the course of his criticism of the recent budget proposals. He sternly rebuked the Press for its mild reaction to the sweeping nature of T.T.K's taxation proposals. But there the matter ended and nobody has taken up the issue again.

In a country like ours where the majority are illiterate, or to put it statistically, where nearly five-sixths of the people are illiterate, the Press has a far greater responsibility towards the public than in the case of advanced countries. Looking back over the first ten years of independent India, we find that there has been more and more encroachment on the part of the State into the life of the individual, affecting him economically, socially and culturally. No doubt all this has been done in the name of the Welfare State and bringing about an egalitarian society. No one knows the exact significance of these phrases but one thing is clearly felt by all : the freedom of the individual, which is the very essence of democracy, is being curtailed far in excess of the requirements of a democratic society. The ever-increasing governmental measures have amounted to a regular harassment of the individual, or to use Rajaji's phrase, the complete encirclement of the individual by the State.

An independent and effective Press alone can deal with such matters by putting before the public the implications of the Government's policies. The Indian Press has dismally failed in this task of focussing the attention of the public on the totalitarian trends of the Government. The non-emergence of a single right-wing political party in our country so far may be attributed to the failure of our Press. All the political parties in our country are advocates of leftist views and an Opposition, if it is to function at all, should be a rightist one and definitely non-socialistic in character.

For the establishment of such a party an independent Press is absolutely necessary. The present trends reveal that out of fear or otherwise the Indian Press is functioning as if it is subservient to the Government. This is a dangerous portent that does not augur well for a nascent democracy like ours.

Cuddappah. K. T. RAMACHAR

E. V. R. AND KAMARAJ

Sir,—If E. V. R. could make such inflamatory speeches and get away with it, it becomes evident to the meanest intelligence that those in power are only too willing to dismiss this matter with the barest shrug of their shoulders. Our Chief Minister, it appears, doesn't think much of such vitriolic outbursts. In as much as the community affected is a minority, incapable of influencing the polls substantially, it cannot expect justice from a government headed by a Congressman who wasn't even man enough to spurn offers of electioneering assistance from this vendor of hate. The Home Minister's concern over legal impediments preventing governmental action against E. V. R. fools no one. The sooner such half-hearted pronouncements are given up the less nauseating would the political atmosphere be. Better by far if our Government made a clean breast of it and owned up that they were in agreement with most of E. V. R's politics, and that they weren't prepared to antagonise this fanatic for the sake of a negligible minority (from the ballot-box point of view).

CITIZEN

Mrs. BESANT'S VIEWS ON STUDENTS

Sir,—The picture of Mrs. Besant painted by you in 'Sidelights' of 12th October on her attitude towards students participating in politics is a partial one. It is true that during her management of the Central Hindu College and during her opposition to the Non-co-operation movement, she held the view that political struggles are for men, not for boys, and the hot blood of youth should not be utilised by politicians to create public ferment, and that great issues should not be committed to the untrained brains of schoolboys. She said, "I would rather turn them loose in a laboratory full of chemical explosives than into the whirl of public life where they may, in mere excitement and folly, cause a riot in which lives may be lost and property destroyed".

She was not wholly unsympathetic to the aspirations of the Indian youth. When she entered the stormy field of politics in 1916, she opposed G.O. 559 which prohibited students from serving as volunteers at a political conference. "Their budding patriotism is treated as sedition, their high spirits as rebellion, their self-respect as insubordination ; their national heroes must be worshipped in secret. The very qualities, now repressed, are national assets to be utilised, not eradicated. Their high spirits, their daring, their pride, their sensitive dignity are the jewels of a free nation. Our boys must be as free in India, as English boys are free in England." No nationalist movement can succeed without the sacrifice of the intellectuals of the nation ; and students form the backbone of movements for political freedom, all the world over.

Now that India has won freedom, students' energies would be well spent in the intensive and intelligent pursuit of their studies and in their equipping themselves for serving their country in various spheres. Their best interests lie in the acceptance of Dr. Besant's view that they should not enter the arena of party politics during their college career.

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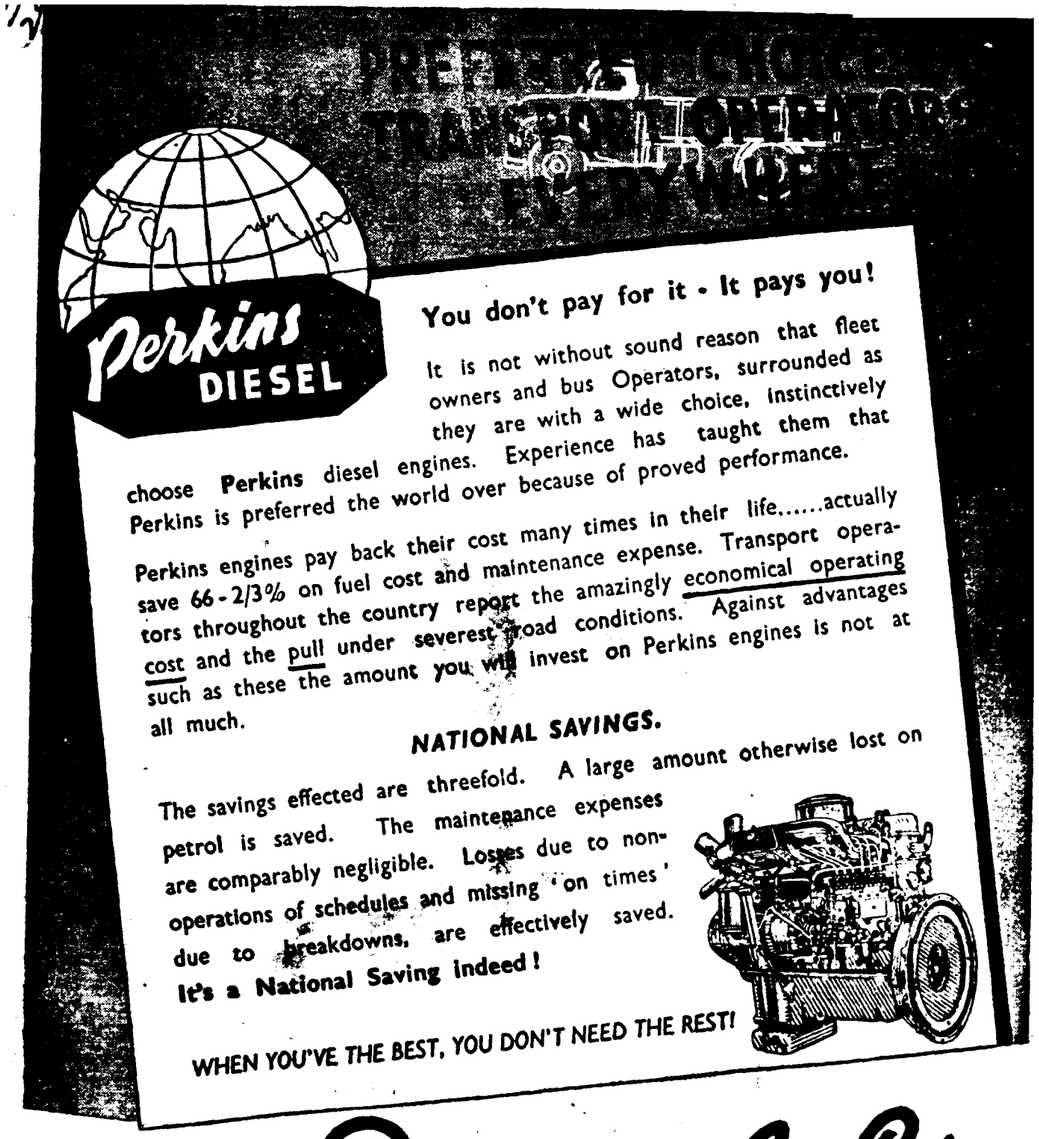
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PEACE THROUGH FOOD

The relation between food and life was emphasised by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a forthright manner in his inaugural address at the 15th World Vegetarian Congress that met in Bombay last week. The President said that the only means of escaping the hydrogen bomb was to escape the mentality which produced it, and the only way to escape that mentality was to cultivate ultimate respect for all life. "It is only another name for vegetarianism", he declared. This is so axiomatic a proposition that it is rather odd that any special pleading on its behalf should be found to be at all necessary. But habits have a way of deadening the sensitiveness of the human conscience by imparting the sanctity of custom to undesirable practices. To break through this hard crust of unfeeling addiction to meat diets, with its wholesale slaughter of animals to gratify it, Srimathi Rukmini Devi and her devoted band of vegetarian evangelists have been carrying on unremitting propaganda in this part of the country. On the eve of the Vegetarian Congress they have published a series of leaflets in colour which illustrate the horror of non-vegetarianism in gruesome detail. These pictures exhibit the slaughter house in all its cruelty, its sadism, its atmosphere of unfeeling callousness to the tortures inflicted on the living animals in the process of killing them, its insanitary setting of blood and offal. It is impossible for the least sensitive, with any spark of kindness in them for fellow-creatures, not to recoil in disgust from the repulsive spectacle depicted in these pictures.

In the old days there used to be several superstitions about the superiority of meat diets in the matter of supplying the nutritive requirements of the human body. These have now been laid to rest on the highest scientific authority. We are told, for example, that the International Committee set up by the League of Nations after the first World War, was asked this question: "What is the minimum supply of meat necessary to keep a soldier on active service in good health?" The answer was: "None—as all the requirements for a healthy diet can be obtained from the vegetable kingdom".

The influence of food on character is one of the traditional beliefs reflected in the teaching of the great religious books of the Hindus such as the Gita. Health, goodness, avoidance of cruelty, consideration for other created things, and above all the development of the sort of mentality that abhors bloodshed and rejects war, all these are promoted by vegetarian food. This truth cries out to humanity pleading with it to eschew meat and take to vegetarianism. The peace which our Prime Minister has been labouring so hard to establish in the international sphere, has the likeliest chance of fulfilment through the popularisation, throughout the world, of the habit of vegetarian food. We are fond of flaunting the Asoka Chakra and celebrating the anniversary of Buddha as symbols of our national devotion to the doctrine of non-violence. The essential test of non-violence is non-killing and its significance as a way of life lies in the establishment of vegetarianism not merely as a desirable goal but also as a duty.

All-round Pretension

Every crime that anti-social persons are capable of committing cannot be particularised by means of legislation. The principles only can be laid down that distinguish legitimate activity from punishable transgressions, and in the ultimate analysis the rule of law from which citizens expect protection depends for its sanctity on the conscience and commonsense of the ruling power. When these are lacking, the most punctilious thoroughness in legislation will not serve as a suitable substitute. We are therefore not impressed by the Madras Government's newly proclaimed zeal to defend the honour of the Constitution with a new law. The Constitution was dishonoured long ago when the ruling party themselves violated the principles of administrative justice which it was their duty to cherish and defend, in ever so many instances. What they lacked was not power under law but the sense of duty to do the right

thing. In such cases legal remedies can avail nothing. Just as we have a Government in the State camouflaging its iniquities with legislative make-believes that deceive nobody, we have Opposition leaders that make a pretence of condemning the Government but fight shy of the logical implication of withholding confidence from it at the testing time of voting. Thus there is all-round pretension. Like barren cows, no party is able to feed the people with the milk of human kindness. All encourage the sowers of hate with manure for their poisonous crops, according to their means and resources.

A Study in Contrast

Thousands of citizens gathered in Annamalai Manram on Tuesday evening to do honour to Lifco's great exploit of publishing cheap editions of Tamil classics under 64 titles at the incredibly low price of 4 annas for each book. Notable absentees at the function were top leaders of the Southern Languages Book Trust administering an American endowment pledged to much the same objective as Lifco. Whereas Lifco, with a minimum of administrative expenses, has to its credit a maximum of achievement in publishing worthwhile books at low cost, spreading the book-buying habit extensively, it may be said that the S.L.B.T. has reversed the scales, spending enormously to produce precious little. This should be a warning to American philanthropists whose well-intentioned generosity in promoting culture abroad is often found, on account of deficient direction, to result in elaborate expensive paraphernalia out of all proportion to the quantity and quality of the service rendered. At Tuesday's meeting Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who presided, and Rajaji who was one of the distinguished visitors, severely castigated Government's policy of nationalising text-books. This would result, they warned, in monopolistic intellection, lowering of standards, indoctrination and inefficiency, besides taking the bread out of publishers' mouths; it would not materially improve Government's finances, it would only enmesh them into difficulties they were now free from; it would not even answer in practice the argument adduced in favour of it in theory: far from eliminating corruption, it will only transfer it to another scene of operation, collecting it from many centres in one place, centralising it, as it were. Compared to these two distinguished statesmen, the present architects of cultural nationalisation are immature and inexperienced, and they would gain a lot by concentrating their attention, as so wisely advised, on essential things of utility and service to the public demanding urgent action, instead of going about hungrily to grab more and more of power.

UNILATERAL RENUNCIATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

J. B. PRIESTLEY'S APPEAL

J. B. Priestley has made a most noteworthy declaration of his views in an article that has appeared in the latest issue of "New Statesman" (Nov. 2) in answer to Mr. Bevan's volteface. It is a great contribution to the literature of unilateral action for getting rid of nuclear weapons which was initiated by Rajaji in his historic letter to "The New York Times" in Christmas week of 1954. The following are extracts from J. B. Priestley's article which we reproduce with respectful acknowledgement to "New Statesman":

If statesmanship is to see us through, it will have to break the familiar and dubious pattern of the last few years. Perhaps what we need now, before it is too late, is not statesmanship but lifemanship.

It is possible that the spell can be broken. If it can, then it will only be by an immensely decisive gesture, a clear act of will. Instead of endlessly bargaining for a little of this in exchange for a little of that, while all the time the bargainers are being hurried down a road that gets steeper and narrower, somebody will have to say I'm through with all this. In plain words, now that Britain has told the world she has the H-bomb she should announce as early as possible that she has done with it,—that she proposes to reject, in all circumtances, nuclear warfare.

If there is one country that should never have gambled in this game, it is Britain. It has been said we cannot send our ministers naked to the conference table. But the sight of a naked minister might bring to the conference some sense of our human situation.

The only move left that can mean anything is to go into reverse, decisively rejecting nuclear warfare. This gives the world something quite different from the polarised powers: there is now a country that can make H-bombs but decides against them. It is still not to late. And such a move will have to be 'unilateral'. Doomsday may arrive before the nuclear powers reach any agreement; and it is only a decisive 'unilateral' move that can achieve the moral force it needs to be effective.

Our bargaining power is slight; the force of our example might be great.

Alone, we defied Hitler, and alone we can defy this nuclear madness into which the spirit of Hitler seems to have passed, to poison the world. There may be other chain reactions besides those leading to destruction; and we might start one.

The British of these times often seem to be waiting for something great and noble in its intention that would make them feel good again. And this might well be a declaration to the world that after a certain date one power able to engage in nuclear warfare will reject the evil thing for ever.



Sotto Voce

Soilless Civics

Our Planners having resolved on imposing co-operation by Government ukase, it logically follows that local self-government must also be stretched on the rack of Planning. The Study Team appointed by the Planning Commission has recommended the scrapping of the present district boards in the name of decentralisation. The linchpin of the scheme the Study Team would substitute is the panchayat samiti, "a single, representative and vigorous democratic institution to take charge of all aspects of development work in rural areas". The village panchayats at the base will however remain, the happy hunting ground of ha'penny Hitlers.

* * *

The panchayat samiti will spring like Minerva in full panoply out of Jove's head. Its jurisdiction will be co-extensive with that of a Development Block under the N.E.S. The problem of providing executive machinery is slickly solved by making available to the samitis gratis the services of officials already employed on Development Block work. These officials will thus have their finger in every local government pie. But, the Government being their paymaster, the panchayat samiti will not be in a position to look the gift horse in the mouth.

* * *

There will be a rather ineffective *zilla parishad* to co-ordinate the work of the samitis, of which the District will have as many as there are Development Blocks in it; and the samitis are also to be grouped in a number of circles for joint action. Quite a number of State Governments however think that the *parishads*, of which each district will have two or more, will be no substitute for the District Boards. Not so the Madras Government. Modestly pointing out that the idea of panchayat samitis (or panchayat unions as they prefer to call them) originated in their own brain, they prefer to the "unwieldy" district boards these small and tidy samitis.

* * *

The samitis will no doubt be too small to give trouble; being mere delegates of their respective panchayats, their members will most of the time be at sixes and sevens with each other. But there will be neither decentralisation nor increase of local responsibility. The re-orientation of the entire machinery of local government is to subserve the interests of Planning from the top; in other words, the tail will wag the dog. The panchayat unions and the ancillary bodies above and below will be expected to contribute subordinate co-operation and complaisant zeal. The abolition of the district boards may however help in the disintegration of the social and cultural cohesion of the districts which totalitarian ambition has found inconvenient.

* * *

The new congeries of institutions will be far more cumbrous than the old three-tier system of panchayat, taluk board and district board. These served, however imperfectly, to give some training in civic responsibilities. That is apparently regarded as a dangerous luxury. In the debate on the White Paper the Madras Home Minister argued that the people had enthusiastically co-operated in executing developmental works, but when it came to maintenance their enthusiasm waned; the samiti was intended to pump zeal into them continually. But, surely, enthusiasm that could wilt so readily must have been a simulated thing. How, then, can it be artificially kept alive?

An organic local community grows from grass-roots. The village must have a mind and will of its own. When Kautilya says, "If any one refuses to give his aid in a work beneficial to all, he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him", he is obviously relying on the existence of a common climate of opinion in the village favourable to constructive co-opération. Where shall we look for that now? Besides, let it not be forgotten that the old-time panchayat succeeded because its horizon was wisely bounded by what the villagers needed and understood.

* * *

The Madras Government hope that the panchayats will get the services of "the natural leaders of the different social and economic groups in the village". Does this mean that they would welcome revival of the old aristocracy of birth, breeding and brains, the men of *madhyastha chintaa*? It is true that even in democratic England, according to Elie Halvey, the foundations of rural self-government were laid by the landed gentry who functioned as J.P's: "the body of magistrates was coincident with the good society of the district". But this 'mediaeval' idea must be abhorrent to Mr. Nehru's radical soul; in any case what earthly chance has it under adult franchise?

* * *

The ruling clique in Madras, while denouncing casteism and communalism, has won its electoral triumphs by systematically exploiting just those master-passions. The district boards at least provided some relief from frustration to those who did not meekly submit to Congress hegemony. No wonder that the proposal to abolish them is suspected of being inspired by the desire to establish one-party rule at every level. The gimcrack *panchayat raj* which is to exploit the people's romantic attachment to the past may however afford considerab amusement as a bizarre e ment in political agropon

Vi

SIDELIGHTS : :

An Indian lady—her home is in Madras—who recently visited the United States, has given me this account of her extraordinary experiences on her return homeward journey :

"On my return journey from the United States, I was a passenger to Bombay, travelling by Air India International (Flight No. 104) leaving London at 10 a.m. on Wednesday the 23rd October. The plane was scheduled to reach Bombay at 13.05 hours (1-05 p.m.) on Thursday the 24th October.

"I reached Zurich at about 3 o'clock, local time, on Wednesday the 23rd October. The plane was scheduled to leave Zurich at about 4-10 p.m. There was some mechanical trouble and the plane was delayed, but no information was available as to the extent of delay. Now and again we were told that the plane would start in about half or an hour's time. At about 10-30 p.m. we were all taken to a hotel inside Zurich and put up there for the night. Although the plane was expected to leave Zurich in the early hours on the morning of Thursday, 24th October, it only took off at 11-30 a.m. and reached Cairo at 6-25 p.m. on the same day. After an hour's stay at Cairo, the plane took off at about 7-30 p.m. on its non-stop flight to Bombay. In the normal course of events, the plane should have reached Bombay in the early hours of Friday the 25th October. After the take-off from Cairo, it was announced that the plane would proceed directly to Delhi instead of to Bombay without any reason being assigned. From conversation amongst the passengers it was learnt that the plane was being diverted to Delhi to enable Sri T. T. Krishnamachari the Finance Minister, who was also one of the passengers, to attend a meeting at Delhi. The plane reached Delhi at 10 a.m. on Friday the 25th October and it was understood that it would take off in a short time. But it transpired that there was not sufficient fuel and consequently the plane took off at only 2 o'clock and reached Bombay at 4-20 p.m.

"My husband had come to Bombay from Madras on Thursday morning and he had booked his return journey and also mine to Madras, provisionally for Thursday night. He was informed on Thursday morning that the plane was due to arrive in Bombay at 5-05 on the morning of Friday the 25th October. He therefore cancelled his journey to Madras by paying cancellation charges and rebooked seats provisionally by the 8-15 plane on Friday the 25th morning. But on Thursday night he was given to understand that the plane would arrive only at 12 noon on Friday and therefore he had to cancel the second booking also once again and fresh booking was made. Then he was informed that the plane would arrive at 2 p.m. on Friday, but at 2 p.m. no information was available at the airport as to whether the plane had left Delhi and when it would arrive at Bombay. Only at 2-30 p.m. information was available that the plane would arrive in Bombay at 4-30 p.m. The plane arrived at 4-20 p.m.

"The original anticipated delay was 16 hours due to mechanical trouble but actually the delay, due to the diversion of the plane to Delhi, was 27 hours and 15 minutes".

* * *

There were about 60 passengers on this particular plane. The story related above refers to the consequential annoyance, distress, inconvenience and dislocation caused on account of the diversion of the plane from its scheduled destination in the case of one passenger only out of the sixty. The sum-total of the misery inflicted on the friends and relatives of all the sixty may be inferred from this one instance, I am told that another lady whose destination was Delhi, found on arrival at the air port there that her husband had gone to Bombay to receive her. Was she to go home where no welcome awaited her, or travel all the way to Bombay to be properly received? Air India International clearly exceeded its legal rights and powers in thus turning the course of its aircraft with no compelling, unavoidable necessity, violating its contracts with the passengers concerned as to the next halting place. It may find itself liable to pay heavy damages if any of the passengers were to take the matter to court. Perhaps without the governmental brazenness in the background that nationalisation involves, this sort of dangerous indifference to passengers' rights might not have been possible for ordinary air carriers of human cargo. It is like a train bound for Calcutta changing its course towards Delhi without the passengers knowing about it till after departure! In the case of such passengers there is the option of getting down at wayside stations. There was no such option for the fellow-passengers of the Finance Minister borne by air between Cairo and Delhi.

* * *

A Bombay journal (*Blitz*) has broadcast a strange reason for the liberty taken with its passengers by Air India International. It cites the authority of *knowledgeable* sources to say that the Government were reluctantly compelled to take the step they did, as they "did not want to give T.T.K. another opportunity to express his wild, incorrect views that made a mockery of India's foreign policy before meeting the Union Cabinet". One hesitates to give full credence to the *Blitz* story that the Finance Minister was "muzzled in mid-air". For one thing, it reduces the status of the Finance Minister to a monitored position with the right to freedom of movement and expression curtailed. The head of the Government of India would perhaps be consulting its dignity much more by eliminating from it altogether any member whom he could not trust with complete freedom at all times, than by retaining him, yet inflicting, for however short a duration, some sort of duress or gagging or restraint or silence, as the price of such retention. For much less than this—for a fancied inadequacy in the power of his former portfolio (Commerce and Industry) — T.T.K. once resigned in a huff from the Nehru Cabinet. Having strained at a gnat then, is he likely now to swallow the whole camel of humiliation involved in his not being allowed to land where he had first planned?

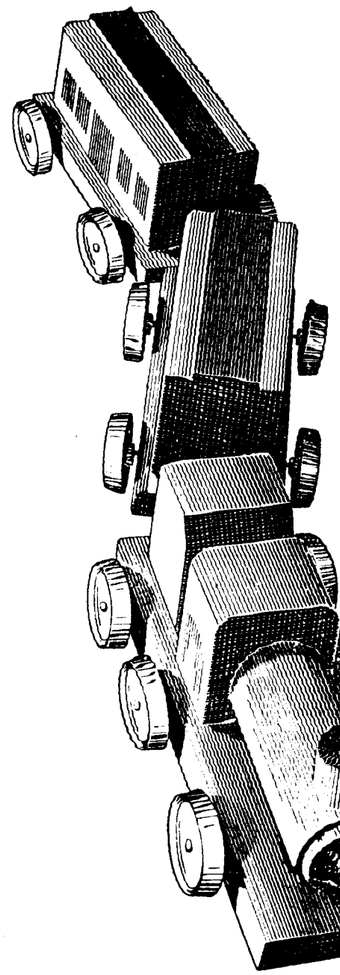
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One never knows however the truth about things when the Press in general is cowed by fear of authority in one form or other and is not faithful to its function of reporting events correctly. The entire newspaper world of India is still reverberating with plaudits to the success of T.T.K's recent mission to the United States. But quite different is the impression I get from a valued American friend on the scene. He knows both the countries and many of their leading figures, and his main interest is the integration of people and nations divided by distance, language and religion into ways of common understanding and friendship. He has, as it were, dedicated himself to this mission; loving India deeply, he plans to settle here at the end of his career; and as his words are well worth paying attention to, I make no apology to readers for quoting him at length :

"Mr. Krishnamachari's visit to the United States, contrary to blown up accounts of his daily progress in the Indian Press, was hardly noticed in the American newspapers, and few Americans outside the inner circles of official Washington, and financial and intellectual circles in New York, even knew the Indian Finance Minister was in the United States. In spite of several valiant attempts by a few of the leading journals editorially to approve American aid to India, none of them had the fervor of the *Wall Street Journal* editorial which roundly condemned foreign aid, and aid to India in particular.

"The average Indian probably believes, as I guess from the many articles and leaders on Krishnamachari cluttering my desk, that Eisenhower is interested personally in India's problem, a high-level commit-

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tee is devoting a good deal of thought to a solution of India's economic problems, and Wall Street is loosening its purse strings for India's ruggedly individualist businessmen in handsome fashion. While not denying the truth of the above, what the Indian does not appreciate is the context within which aid to India is being discussed—a context of Middle East crisis, integration problems, Sputnyk diplomacy, stock market flu, and so many other domestic and foreign distractions that even the subject of foreign aid, to give or not to give, and to whom, is far down the list of current anxieties. India's problems are caught in the static interregnum of a foreign aid program between sessions of Congress, in which there is no room for manoeuvring by the executive department of the American government. Whether cause or result, the truth of the matter is that the American people are not at all aroused by India's need, in fact are almost totally ignorant of it, and the soft-shoe sparring by the contendants within the velvetty precincts of international finance, whether the venue be Foggy Bottom, Pennsylvania Avenue, or the Waldorf-Astoria, has whetted no one's curiosity, let alone evoked anyone's ardor.

"From the point of view of India's good friends in the United States, the present moment is one of real concern. The weak focus which Krishnamachari's visit brought to bear on India's troubles has not created confidence in the consistency of India's policy, as it has not with any certainty cleared the air regarding intentions of the man and men behind the Finance Minister's voice. India's friends feel that it would take an extraordinary combination of factors to push an Indian aid program through a recalcitrant Congress next January, and in an election year this is too much to hope for. Furthermore, India's friends find themselves unnaturally silent and uncertain, and in some cases neutralized. While they are certain of India's need for help, they are not at all agreed on what is the best method of helping. Their faith in India has not basically been shaken. But they are much in the position of the Indian friends of America after American military aid to Pakistan was announced; sometimes frustrated, often bewildered, and without positive influence.

"The reasons for this are not hard to find for anyone who takes the trouble to watch the daily pageantry of Indian official pronouncements and pontification on foreign policy and domestic economy. There was a time a few years ago when American politicians and military men seemed to commit indiscretion on top of indiscretion in the jousting which attended any move in foreign policy in or out of Congress. But, whereas the years have brought better sense and a feeling of greater personal responsibility to some of our public figures who dabble in statements on foreign policy, the plethora of Indian statements and *obiter dicta* seems to issue forth in increasing confusion as if Indians had learned their lesson well from their American prototypes. Furthermore, India's friends in America have found no successful defense against the virus of Krishna Menon. This seems to be as pervasive as the Asian flu, and more difficult to cure; and it has been known to attack Indian and other Asian diplomats as effectively as it does Mr. Menon's American T-V audiences.

"India's friends in America remain friends, for most of them know the reality of India firsthand, but a lot of us have very weak and indecisive voices at a time when we should be articulate and passionate. It would not take much to recover the initiative, but the Indian public opinion must courageously seek to help its American friends. And those who form Indian public opinion must renew their determination to look at India objectively and forego the pleasures of national egocentricity. Only a wideawake realistic leadership in both countries can navigate the months ahead. But a preliminary act of faith is required on both sides, faith in the basic motives, the one of the other.

"Some of India's good friends in this country wait hopefully for signs from India of a positive faith in America instead of a continuous suspicion and fault-finding. It is rather lonesome for some of us who sincerely try to make India understood in America to realize we have so few counterparts in India who either are similarly disposed in active work or have the courage to express their opinions. Americans who know India from personal experience know that there is a sizeable feeling of kinship for American tradition and motive among many Indians of all kinds. There should be some channel for this feeling to come to the surface and find public expression. Indian official opinion might then be released from its present inhibitions. The end result should be nothing less nor more than a positive activity among equal partners making for mutual respect without loss of self-respect".

SAKA

Too Fat?

The Customs Inspectors in New York, nowadays, paste a trim yellow, black and white stamp on each piece of cleared baggage.

Each stamp carries a serial number, for later reference in case of dispute, and is backed by a special gum adhesive, so that no moistening is necessary.

I couldn't help but contrast this system with Customs in Bombay, or Liverpool, or Lahore. There, as in most of the world's ports of entry, the man scribbles a chalk mark on trunk or bedroll or typewriter, and that's the sign you're clear.

The new U. S. stamp, perhaps, is a figure of life in parts of America today. It is original, practical, accurate—but elaborate when simplicity would do as well.

It recalls the cartoon in the New Yorker recently, of a suburbanite showing a friend his new air-conditioned bird-house. "Well", he says, "it's the sort of thing that keeps the economy rolling".

Yet other nations make a mistake, surely, to think of American abundance as fatal. People are better off than ever before. But fat could soon be worked down to muscle.

JOHN E. FRAZER

HOLY BOOKS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

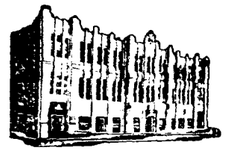
The Bhagavad Gita is the most handy and comprehensive source book of Hindu doctrine and ethics. It is accepted as such by Hindus of all denominations.

This holy book is a chapter in the Mahabharata and purports to narrate Arjuna's doubts and how they were cleared. In spite of the beauty and poetical appropriateness of this background conceived by the ancient author, we should remember that the Gita as a scripture of Hinduism stands apart from the story of the Mahabharata.

To take the Kurukshetra battle scene literally and to interpret all that is said in the Gita in that light would not only not help us to understand the Gita aright, but may even lead us to positive error. It would be a cumbersome process, again, to convert the whole of the Mahabharata story into a sustained allegory in order to save the Bhagavad Gita from being an authority for mere war-mongering. We should forget the Kurukshetra when we study the Gita as a scripture of Hindu *dharma*.

The vast social changes that have taken place since ancient books were written create for us an incapacity to judge many things found in them and difficulty to understand their meaning aright. A reverent spirit is necessary to understand any religion. To start with a suspicion that the founders and teachers of religion in any land were skilful deceivers interested in some scheme of self-advancement or in the advantage of any particular class and that the rest of the people were duped to regard these deceivers with unbounded reverence and affection is foolish in the extreme. The saints and religious leaders that have commanded the devotion of successive generations of normal human beings in any country have done so, because by direct personal contact at first and by experience handed down as tradition from one generation to another, the founders and teachers of the religion were known to their contemporaries to be good, sincere and deep-thinking men, worthy of being followed. Undoubtedly personal and class interests have perverted religion as they have perverted other institutions. But to impute fraud to the source is an unscientific attitude of mind in the investigation of truth. It is in a spirit of reverent affection that we should approach the study of an ancient scripture. We should learn to distinguish the general from the particular and thereby to extract the permanent out of what was said very long ago under very different circumstances. We should exercise our power of imagination which will enable us to do all this. This applies to the Koran and the Bible and to all holy books as much as to the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita of India.

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INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA

By V. SUBRAMANIAM

(The author, formerly a journalist, has contributed a number of articles on Ceylon to various Indian journals. At present he is working in the Federal Public Service of Australia under a scholarship offered by the Australian National University. He was twice the winner of the Haldane Prize of the Royal Institute of Public Administration).

Australia is a country with which our relations have been so far extremely friendly. Except for a very occasional mention of the so-called 'white Australia' policy this friendship has been unchequered. Australia's contribution to India under the Colombo Plan in material gifts and facilities for training has been very considerable. Australians as a people are again very friendly to everyone and are particularly impressed with what little they have seen of Indian artistes.

It is worth while explaining the 'white Australia' policy first. Australia was nearly an empty continent when the ancestors of the present Australians began to people it two centuries ago. Near the end of the last century, when the country was being exploited fast, there were also born two things typically Australian, the egalitarian spirit and organized labour. These two were really responsible in preventing the importation of cheap indentured Asian workers for the quick exploitation of resources as in some other British colonies. By then importation of Negro slave labour was rendered impossible. Nor did Australia have cheap local native labour in abundance as South Africa. As a result Australia escaped facing Asia or Africa the wrong way — and facing problems of segregation or 'apartheid'. The Australian Governments of the various States did not look at the problem at that time from the human or social angle. When they federated in 1901, all parties were keen to exclude non-white settlers, mainly to prevent competition from labour accustomed to lower wages and standards. Racial differences were no doubt mentioned in the debates of the time but it was essentially the economic motive which was dominant. Partly in deference to the wishes of the British Colonial Office the administration of the relevant Act is not in terms of race but through a 'dictation test'. Any unwanted settler is excluded by the migration authorities who give him a dictation test in some strange language. In practice, businessmen from Asia, whose volume of business exceeds a certain limit, are permitted to reside for any length of time in Australia and keep a few employees of their nationality.

This policy has been attacked from time to time by speakers in Asia. Three years ago, the then Indian High Commissioner, General Cariappa criticised as unwise for a vast sprawling continent the policy of excluding non-white settlers, when land-hungry millions in South East Asia were ready to fall a prey to Communism. But this did not cause any heated argument in Australia as was expected. It is a good sign that it can be discussed without ill-feeling.

The usual arguments on the Australian side are two : first, that most of Australia is really shrub and desert and cannot be peopled : and secondly, that any mass immigration of those accustomed to lower standards is a threat to their present standards of living. The first is true in the sense that Australia's size is no indication of her resources or inhabitability. But whether she can or cannot take in more than her present nine million at a much faster pace is another question. The Government is taking in for the last ten years anything from 100,000 to 200,000 settlers a year of European migrants. They are quite well absorbed in a few years. Nobody knows at present what is the optimum population this continent can hold. When some of the *ifs* like the practicability of using atomic energy are settled it may be a large figure indeed. As a solution of Indian land-hunger, this is no immediate answer. On the other hand, white Australia has successfully absorbed nearly a million foreign migrants, more than half of them originally ignorant of English and with customs and institutions quite different from the English. In Australia itself, a small minority of informed Australians have been pressing the claims of would-be Asian immigrants. Regarding variations in standards of living, this argument has been partly disproved by facts. The quickness with which the Dutch and East European immigrants set about acquiring cars and refrigerators and even T. V. sets and insist on higher wages has been really amazing. As Dr. Kondapi pointed out, there is nothing fixed as an Indian or Asian standard of living which Indians or Asians carry with them all the time. If there is an implied imperative to adapt oneself to Australian standards it is in fact achieved in the normal course.

The real difficulty however would be — if at all an Indian quota is granted — that the sort of migrants Australia would want would be exactly the sort whom India can ill afford to spare. Australia would not be prepared to take in the sort of unskilled labour which India was forced to supply to Ceylon or Malaya or British Guiana. They would want skilled workmen and trained farmers with capital. They would be glad to take in Indian students. Those already here have proved their worth. Such a quota system would have some value to India but only in an oblique sense as a symbol of the establishment of Indian claims for reciprocity.

Australia's membership of the SEATO naturally creates another problem for India. Australia discovered in 1942 that she had to depend on America in any emergency and could not depend much on the mother country. In a way it was really her search for security that finally resulted in the SEATO with strong American backing. While the Australian Government has been apparently lukewarm on the side of Pakistan in the Kashmir and other Indo-Pakistani issues, the Australian Press has taken up Pakistan's side during the last two years. Very strong anti-Indian leading articles have appeared on the Kashmir issue in Australian newspapers recently. This is understandable, particularly after India's successful stand against Britain over the Suez affair. But there is no need to be unduly concerned about this. The Australian daily Press has been mainly anti-labour for half a century without much effect on the political situation. Secondly, the Labour Party which is in opposition now, supports many of Nehru's policies in foreign affairs. The meeting of the labour leader Dr. Evatt with Nehru should have strengthened this mutual understanding. It must be remembered however that the SEATO is considered the very *sine qua non* of Australian security.

The Australian political parties have no well-defined attitude on 'apartheid', but their general liberal attitude and their lack of strong racial feelings would normally dispose them against it.

India has shown a commendable gesture in offering an unlimited number of Colombo Plan scholarships to Australian students wishing to come to India. The response so far has been poor. The real difficulty is that India cannot offer better facilities for training in science, medicine or engineering than Australia can. Subjects like Indian art, philosophy or history do not at present draw many Australian students. This may however change in course of time, and batches of Australian students may be attracted to India.

As it is, there is a real lack of unofficial Indian representation in Australia in the sense that there are not enough businessmen or journalists visiting this country. The good impression that two Indian dancing artistes have produced shows how much non-official visits can help.



CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is a matter of weeks now. The Congress will hold its next session in Assam. For a second time, and after a long interval of 31 years, Gauhati will be the venue. Times have changed and new men have arrived on the scene. The call of austerity has gone abroad. But Congress stout hearts do not easily palpitate. A modest sum of twelve lakhs is the target fixed for the biggest political rally of the coming year when Sri U. N. Dhebar will wear the crown again. Open sessions of the Congress are conspicuous for a certain pageantry as a concession to the crowds that will assemble from far and near and there is no disposition to 'economise' on that score. The Congress chariot, with the favourite son of Saurashtra seated in it, will be drawn, they say, by 63 elephants—63 because it is the 63rd session and elephants because it is Assam. All this is meant to conform to a pattern, Socialist or otherwise.

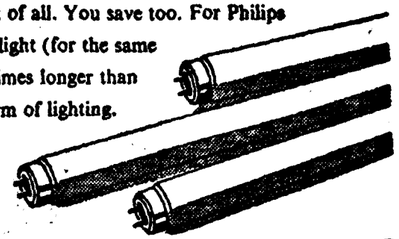
* * *

There is much to be said or conceded in the case of the Presidential procession, marked by the might and majesty of the elephants from the jungles of Assam. For, on the last occasion in Gauhati, things had gone awry. Then the President of the Gauhati Congress — S. Srinivasa Iyengar — missed the elephants, for no fault of his. A few days before the session — it may be recalled — the great Swami Shraddhanand was shot dead in Delhi by a Muslim fanatic, and the Reception Committee of the Gauhati Congress dropped the procession and did away with all pageantry. 1958 should thus make amends for the omissions of 1926 —and not deny Mr. Dhebar his due. It is, perhaps, not right to discount ceremonial, in the name of austerity, especially when the 'common man' is to be placated, pleased and pampered. And breathes there a 'common' man who is not impressed by a parade of over three scores of elephants, maybe for fulfilling their function in the economy of politics? Possibly, even feudal chiefs and princes did with fewer elephants on the occasion of their durbars. But how can Mr. Dhebar do with a single one less, having regard to the precise number of the session whose deliberations he is called upon to conduct by the unanimous vote of the country's oldest and biggest political organisation? One must be fair to him.

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PHILIPS

FLUORESCENT LAMPS and FITTINGS

Rumour has it that Mr. Dhebar has been shaking his head dismally at the Plan — not merely at its prospects but at its very content. He is for more of decentralisation and he does not want any foreign aid; it is even said that he has blurted this out at higher levels. If true, I wonder if he would take the public also into confidence in Gauhati. Not many of our big men are so big as to speak out their mind at the crucial moment. Junius knows of an occasion when a formidable editor-legislator, asked in private, by the Governor of his province, about his 'personal views' in regard to a certain matter, exasperated him by saying bluntly: "Your Excellency should know that I have no two sets of opinions — one public and another private". Would that Mr. Dhebar were of the same sturdy type! Gauhati may find him rising to his full height, instead of stretching himself over others' shoulders. Incidentally, it may be observed that no Presidential address will be stimulating if it is to be previously 'passed' by the High-Command; it will only turn out to be one more *command* performance.

* * *

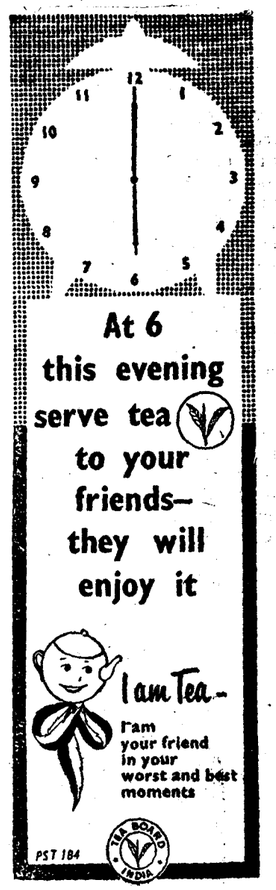
Like the Bourbons of old, the Congressmen of today have learnt nothing from history. Its lessons are but wasted on them. Their desire, if not decision, to set up a rival candidate against Mr. Asoke Mehta in a bye-election is a measure of their prejudiced mind and extremely limited outlook. If for nothing else, at least for the services he has rendered to the Congress Government as Chairman of the Foodgrains Inquiry Committee, he should have been, or be, left unopposed by the Congress. Actually, there are weightier reasons. In the context of recent appeals to the Prime Minister to facilitate the emergence of a really good Opposition in Parliament, the Congress should have easily enabled Mr. Asoke Mehta to return to the Lok Sabha without much opposition, and any from its side. It is, by virtue of its numbers in the House, in a position to make so handsome a gesture. Few men in the last Parliament could equal Mr. Asoke Mehta in bringing distinction to the House and a certain animation to its debates. He is one of our best informed politicians; he has an original approach to problems, an easy mastery of facts and figures and a persuasive eloquence; he has always commanded the attention of the House, more particularly of the Treasury Benches. He would be an ornament to the present Parliament which is not suffering from abundance of talent. But the Congress has not changed since over 30 years ago it turned a deaf ear to the fervent appeal of no less illustrious a man than Pandit Malaviya, not to commit the mistake of contesting in U.P., the seats of two such intrepid and impeccable political leaders as Chintamani and Kunzru. Where small minds are projected on a big canvas, nothing of this kind will of course materialise.

* * *

Let Junius wind up this week's feature with two titbits:

(1) The world is excited over the possibility of dogs going to the Moon while the world should be agitated over the possibility of itself going to the dogs!

(2) T.T.K. tells us that in Europe he had no money for shopping. And Junius tells him that he was just talking shop.



USE DAILY

Neem

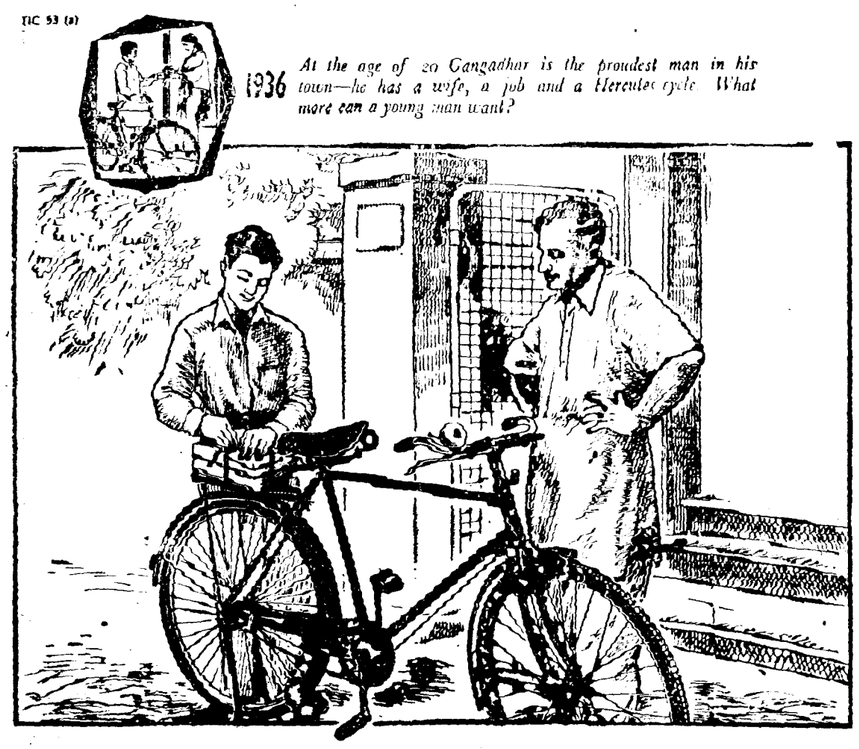
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A NOVEL OF SOUTH INDIAN LIFE

BOOK REVIEW

There is no breath-taking plot to invest the story of *Kalyani's Husband* with sustained interest. It is conspicuous for its lack of sensational incident. Yet it manages to grip the attention of the reader from the first page to the last. This result is achieved mainly by means of artistry in the portrayal of life centering round characters, ordinary as well as extraordinary, recognisable by one and all as human flesh and blood within their own experience. Kalyani, the heroine of the story, is the daughter of an unsophisticated rustic gentleman of the old school with a native zest for good living and hospitality without ostentation. Cool, collected and efficient in practical affairs, he is initiated into the complexities of civilized living in the city in the process of his looking after the education of his only daughter. She blossoms into a doctor of talent but her professional exploits are not the theme of this story. She loves and is loved by Sekhar, a brilliant lawyer, and they marry. It is a perfect home blessed by prosperity and success, and according to every calculation of probability, they ought to have lived happily ever after. The contrariness of the human male here comes into the picture. Kalyani is cultured, civilised, refined and introverted, an example of the most devoted and dedicated practice of wifehood. Her excellence fills her husband with pride but he is not content. He hungers for the ordinary in whose presence he could indulge his uninhibited animal passions without the irksome restraints of high level good behaviour. The impact of this longing, favoured by circumstances, lands him into companionship of a courtesan, a musical celebrity full of adoration for him. After a while, he breaks away from this connection and takes to Indira, a poor relation and a young widow who flowered into beauty and fashion after her husband's death. After years of self-suppression, she is now wholly self-centred and treats him abominably. Shame, distress, contrition, humiliation, all combined, send him suddenly to premature death.

These are the brief outlines of the unexciting story of *Kalyani's Husband*. They do not even look like complete, and convey an impression that something more significant, a major narration of arresting drama, is yet in the offing, waiting to be told. (The author in fact has divulged to me that Kalyani is reserved for a big role in the nation's freedom fight which she will play in a second volume.) Though the incident-content of the present story is quite commonplace, the author has managed to fill the inner lives of his characters with an enchanting interest. This is the secret of the fascination of the book. Underneath the fiction, reality grips the reader. It is as if actual persons are living out their lives in his presence without the power of concealing the motivations underneath their words and deeds, such as people in real life possess. And this is what imparts to this work a pervasive charm.

Sri Krishnaswami has a fine gift of phrasing. He has mastered the art of floodlighting contemporary scenes by working, into the texture of narrative, imitative snatches from actual turns of speech and idiom in common use among the types of people portrayed. Not a little of the enjoyment of this book consists in the rediscovery of familiar words and phrases first heard by the reader in diverse environments of town and country, in fresh reconstructed contexts on its pages. By the time one has finished reading these pages, a great part of the group life of the South Indian community with its characteristic peculiarities is illumined in simple language of exquisite diction and quaint power. There is no doubt that with this novel of South Indian life a talented craftsman of great promise has made his first bow to a potentially vast public at home and abroad.

K. S. R.

Kalyani's Husband by S. Y. Krishnaswami, I. C. S., Higginbothams. Price Rs. 3.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FAMILY PLANNING

Sir,—The protagonists of birth control always attempt to make us believe that India has exceeded the point of her optimum population, and in support of their opinion they quote chapter and verse only from those who are in favour of it. They forget, or ignore altogether, the contrary views held by such eminent scholars and authorities as Prof. Sarkar, Dr. Thomas P. Dutta, Sir Visvesvaraya and Anold Lupton. All cases of food production falling short of the reproductive rate do not mean over-population. In Switzerland and England, the population exceeds by far the food production, yet they are not considered as over-populated because they can secure food easily from the world market, in lieu of their pre-eminence in industrial production.

When the supporters of birtn control say that the parents have to offer their children opportunities for future employment and earning of bread, they make a hopeless confusion between the duties of parents and the duties of a modern democratic Welfare State. In Russia and modern China, birth control is not encouraged at all, yet nobody believes that the condition of children in those countries is any the worse for it

Enthusiasts of birth control should not forget in their enthusiasm that birth control in practice is not so easy as in profession, specially in a backward, poor, illiterate and vast country as India. There is no cheap and cent per cent effective contraceptive method. Even surgical operations have failed in many cases, contributing to disharmony in family life. Many of the contraceptive methods are dangerous both psychologically and physiologically in the long run. Anxiety-neurosis is a direct effect of prolonged birth control practice. Birth control is generally practised by the middle class intelligentsia, and the cream of the society comes from them. So by limiting the births in this class we are indirectly helping to increase the number of social undesirables. If the parents of great Indians like Ramakrishna, Tagore, Gandhi, Subhas Bose had, like modern enlightened couples, practised birth control after having two children, India would have been deprived of leaders she may be truly proud of. If population control is at all essential for India, nobody knows how much scaling down is required. To reach the American standard of living, India will have to introduce a quota system of reproduction, debarring a large majority of couples from having any children at all. Blind advocates of birth control in India should re-examine their views in the light of the Pak-American military entente. The fate of modern France is a lesson.

The ultimate salvation of India lies not so much in birth control as in the introduction of an all-comprehensive and honest national planning, One cannot cut one's head to fit into a particular cap. It is better that we try to change the present undesirable form of our socio-economic structure, rather than limit the future promises and possibilities of the nation.

Tiruchirapalli. M. P. HARAN

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THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Sir,—The policy pursued by the Government of India with regard to the official language is certainly not in the interests of the country. Why should English be treated so contemptuously? English, it cannot be denied, enjoys world-wide vogue for its felicity and richness of vocabulary. Macaulay who introduced English in India certainly deserves high praise, for from the day it was introduced, English took us to new realms in the field of science and education. It gave rise to new political thought. Is it worthwhile to shun this language at a time like this when we have undertaken the onerous task of going through a series of Five Year Plans for which high technical and scientific knowledge is essential? Sound advice from an elder statesman like Rajaji must not go unheeded. His views, expressed in a lecture to students of the Madras Christian College recently, must be given due weight. His words are the fruit of ripe experience. We should not sacrifice efficiency in a frenzy of narrow passion.

Anantapur. P. RADHAKRISHNA

HINDI QUITE IMPERFECT

Sir,—The bold and correct statement of Sri C. Rajagopalachariar will be welcomed by all the non-Hindi speaking people of India. Hindi is an imperfect language. Such an imperfect language with irregular spelling has no claim to become the national language of India.

Madras C. LAKSHMANA IYER.

OVERDOSE OF SERMONS

Sir,—Our doctors of political philosophy, by administering an overdose of sermons, are driving the common man to the grave. They demand more than is justified from him without regard to his health.

For whom are these plans?

Anantapur P. RADHAKRISHNA

WHY COMPULSION?

Sir,—Rajaji is reported to have told Sri Pragada Kotiah, General Secretary of the Andhra Handloom Weavers' Congress, that the weavers should continue to agitate for the reservation of sarees and dhoties for the handlooms. At the same time, they should not, Rajaji added, depend upon any subsidy from the Government, as that would never solve the problem of the handloom industry. "The real subsidy is that the people shall be made to wear handloom cloth."

It is difficult to understand why people should be "made to wear" handloom cloth under the compulsion which reservation implies. We are not opposed to handloom cloth as such, but nobody should be compelled to wear it merely because it is handloom cloth. Let the handlooms establish their superiority and win popular favour by the two common tests applicable to all the commodities in the market—better quality and lower prices.

It may be argued that such a situation will never come to pass, as the handloom can never face the competition of the organised textile industry. But by reserving a sphere of production exclusively for handlooms we are not solving the problem from the economic angle in that the consumer has no choice in the matter of selecting the goods. In other words the evils of nationalisation manifest themselves fully in the case of the artificial market created by reservation.

Cuddappah K. T. RAMACHAR

"FREE SPEECH" IN CHINA

Sir,—The *Peoples's Daily* of Peking published recently the following remarks of Mr. Ko Pei-Chi: "I will say it again that the masses want to overthrow the Communist Party. If you do not change, if you continue to degenerate, they will some day do so. This is the law of Socialist development. Why do the masses not trust the Communist Party? Because during the past 8 years they have come to see its duplicity. When the party needs a particular man, it will woo him even though he be a mortal enemy. It will cast off any man it does not need, though he has poured out sweat and blood for it. The party members are inhuman, they address even their mother as *comrade*. The masses do not trust the Communist Party."

The Free Speech movement started by Red China on April 27 of this year was actually a clever plot to trace the potenial enemies of Communism and many innocent intellectuals unfortunately walked into this trap ignoring the apprehensions of the chief librarian of the Futan University of Shanghai who said: "I may speak as I will, but after a period, after a year or two, will not a written record of my words be brought up against me?"

Within two months after the launching of the Free Speech movement by Red China, the Chinese Communists started a campaign against all intellectuals who dared to express what they felt. Among the intellectuals who are now being publicly humiliated and persecuted are Fung Yu-lan (who had led a Communist Chinese delegation to India a few years ago), the sociologist Fei Hsiao-Tung, the demographer Ta Chen, the political scientist Chein Tuan-Sheng, the novelist Ting Ling, the editor Chu Au-Ping, the democratic politicians Chang Po Chun and Lo Lung-Chi and many others who had gained reputation as the opponents of Marshal Chiang Kai Shek.

SUMANT S. BANKESHWAR

Bombay

TO FOSTER FREE ENTERPRISE

Sir,—The Chairman of the Bombay Gas Company Limited offered recently two suggestions to the Government which are of tremendous import to the industrial world and are calculated to foster the spirit of free private enterprise within the democratic framework of a planned economy.

(1) That deposits of profits and depreciation should be constituted as a current fund for the industry.

(2) That taxes on wealth, property and other capital equipment be converted into facile forms of compulsory loans to the Government. (redeemable after the successful implementation of the Plan.)

These suggestions reveal some regard for the interests of the share-holders whereas the politicians, as the self-appointed custodians of the public sector, appear to believe that the only function of the tax-payer is to pay.

Bombay. V. T. RAJAN

Kalyani's Husband

(A Novel of South Indian Life)

By

S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

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Sotto Voce

Arrogant Man

Modern man has a holy horror of being laughed at. In the West vegetarians, along with nudists and Seventh Day Adventists, are contemptuously dismissed as cranks. India contains the largest number of vegetarians in the world; but they are usually on the defensive. For Jove on Olympus thunders against "kitchen-morality". The Union Minister of Community Development preaches large-scale consumption of fish as the solution of the food problem. Our secular Government, which pays ostentatious homage to the Buddha, spends tons of money on propaganda for selling meat. Intellectual pretenders proclaim their total freedom from prejudice by parading their partiality for pork and beef.

* * *

President Rajendra Prasad, who is the very soul of compassion, had presumably these things in mind when he gently explained to the Vegetarian Congress in Bombay that the majority of people in this country were still non-vegetarians. And he pointedly added, "The people get the Government they deserve". Only the growth of a dynamic faith in vegetarianism with its implications for ethical progress among all classes can induce Governments to change their ways. Srimati Rukmini Devi and her associates rightly felt that the Congress had a special message for us in our present crisis of culture.

* * *

Some good folk already caution us against lurking spiritual pride. They point out that there is no special virtue in the vegetarianism of those who are vegetarians by habit and caste tradition. I myself think there is no harm in blowing our own trumpets a little. It is being so constantly dinned into our ears that change is the law of life and tradition is stick-in-the-mud-ism that the common man will be all the better for cultivating a good conceit of himself on this score. He has after all stuck manfully against odds to a self-denying regimen which the commonsense and humanity of the entire world is slowly coming to value.

* * *

It would be unreasonable to expect Eskimos and Laplanders to become vegetarians—at any rate, till the atom bomb turns the Arctic waste into a Garden of Eden. But if the European can take credit for the virtues that are supposed to go automatically with life in the temperate zone, may we not point out that Providence, by placing at our disposal the abundant vegetation of the tropics, has facilitated a more humane and natural way of living? This undoubtedly contributed to our fore-fathers' spiritual stature. But now we have many false prophets who, dazzled by the success of predatory civilisations, pooh-pooh traditional restraints. A new pride in our heritage of respect for the sacredness of all life may shame backsliders, check waverers and gain fresh adherents to a good cause.

* * *

This doesn't mean that we should resort to crude hot-gospelling. It does mean, however, that those of us who believe in these values should be loyal to them in practice. I still remember how scandalised I was by the discovery that a savant who spoke movingly of "the voiceless life at our doors" had a keen relish for turtle-soup and scoured the mud-flats of his native rivers for the succulent testudinata with all the zest of a school-boy. When the late Mr. K. Natarajan sturdily maintained that though his friend Bishop Nicholson ate meat there were few men more godly or humane. I could not help thinking that he was unconsciously adopting the conventional Western standards of humanity.

* * *

Ahimsa, of course, is of far wider scope than non-killing. But compassionate carnivorousness seems to me a contradiction in terms. At the best it argues a total want of imagination. We have at one extreme religions which sanction killing for food on the ground that the lower orders of creation were made for man's enjoyment. At the other we have the new gospel of 'Veganism' which would eschew milk and milk products as rigorously as it would egg, fish or flesh. But the sensitive imagination has never found any practical difficulty in striking the golden mean.

* * *

Ramana Maharshi disposed of casuistical hair-splitting when he countered the objection that plants have life with the humorous retort, "So too the slabs you sit on"! If we treat cows in the old Indian way, as part of the family, and refuse to countenance the tampering with their integrity involved in such abominations as artificial insemination, we do them and their young no wrong by taking their surplus milk. On the other hand only a naive anthropocentric view of life or the thick crust of custom can make one shut one's eyes to the obvious fact that life is as precious to other creatures as to ourselves. But the sages knew long before Freud that any moral code imposed by a mere effort of will, one's own or another's, can only breed a lie in the soul. Ahimsa, they said, is established in Truth. Truth may be seen in a flash but is more often the result of long *samskara* and deep reflection.

VIGHNESWARA

KALYANI'S HUSBAND
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SIDELIGHTS : :

Pandit Nehru's birthday is now being celebrated all over the country and in some parts of the world outside also. Ten years ago when he became the first Prime Minister of free India, it was as if he had the destiny of the nation in his hands. And the nation looked forward to his stewardship with hope, confidence and an adoring regard in which were blended both respect and affection. This was the blessed result of the background out of which he rose to power — a background filled with imprisonment, discomfort, strenuousness and continual lack of the ordinary pleasures and amenities of life. He was a hero in the popular esteem. And the reckoning they made of his qualities was completely on the *plus* side.

* * *

In the holocaust that followed, with mass murders and millions of Hindu and Muslim refugees crossing the frontiers in panic, his bravery shone with a splendour that made his people proud of him in the midst of the sorrows that afflicted them. He was fortified then by the close collaboration with him of the veterans that had spread to the masses the power and greatness of the Mahatma himself, men like Rajaji and Sardar Patel. The first phase of the Kashmir issue and the integration of the States were dealt with in a masterful style of intrepidity that extorted admiration everywhere and elevated the Prime Minister from national to world leadership.

* * *

While Sardar Patel lived, a dichotomy was apparent in the affairs of the Centre. Superficial observers spoke of Nehru men and Patel men. Subsequent events have shown how illusory this impression of rift really was. Vallabhai Patel fulfilled while he lived complimentary functions which released the Prime Minister from the limitations of his qualities. His impetuosity was thus mixed with the ballast of a restraining wisdom that steadied it and set it on an even keel and helped it to navigate safely and purposefully in the roughest weather.

* * *

Mahatma Gandhi, as is well known, retired from the administrative side of politics, after making Nehru his political heir. Some premonition seems to have prevailed on him to dilute the importance of this political succession by detaching from it his moral and spiritual responsibilities and making a separate legacy of them to another heir. He sensed impending corruption in the advantage taken by the Congress of the British withdrawal, to instal itself indefinitely in power, rejecting his own advice for its dissolution as a political body. There was a distinct gap between Gandhi's conception of moral duty and his expedient tolerance of post-freedom Congress administration. He lived in torture of mind and conscience over the way things were going, and there is no knowing to what further titanic conflict he would have bent his superb energies if he had lived. But the assassin's bullet put him out of action.

* * *

In the choice of men for important purposes of State, the Sardar possessed uncanny judgment. He was a man of iron will. He knew his mind. He had a clear vision of the direction in which he wished to go. Perhaps even the Mahatma was a little in awe of him. His political formidableness and sureness of management saved the Congress regime as much from the consequences of Gandhian dissociation from it morally as from every other peril that threatened or confronted it. When he passed away, the entire burden fell on the Prime Minister. Thenceforward, he revealed a distaste for stalwarts and equals, and a growing fascination for the second-best. It has turned his office into a throne surrounded by eager worshippers with bowls of eternal incense in their hands.

Swaraj in India has not been kind to the selfless patriots who sturdily played mighty roles in bringing it about. Many of its highest rewards have gone to those who had been hot favourites of the previous British regime. In the atmosphere of sycophancy that has thus descended from the past on the present, merely to hold office is, nowadays, to be covered with glory. Is it surprising therefore if the Prime Minister, with his many social graces, charm of manner, personal rectitude and purity of purpose, his torrential energy and spirit of dedication to the nation's service, should stand out in the publicity forums and among the millions habitually prone to prostrate before authority, as a matchless figure of gigantic stature with unsurpassed achievements to his credit? Yet for a correct picture of his concrete work as Prime Minister, it would seem necessary to subtract the adventitious plaudits invariably attending on power, from the overpowering impression of popularity which he never fails to make. What is left of him if the glamour of power and the grace and charm of a highly attractive personality are eliminated from the total effect?

* * *

The true index of a ruler's worthwhileness lies in the happiness and contentment of his subjects. After ten years of Nehru, India is seething with revulsion against the multi-faceted corruptions of the Congress bosses. Many have begun to wonder if history did a good turn to the country when it replaced the British with the present set of their successors. Comparatively little is heard in the world of the personnel at the helm of affairs in Germany and Japan, but in the course of ten years after crushing defeat in the last war, they have accomplished a miracle of good government, with unemployment removed, industrial and economic regeneration carried to a sensational pitch, and with the peace and contentment of prosperity distributed bounteously all around. With so much of creditable performance to boast about, their

(Continued on Page 15)

LIVING BY THE BOMB

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There was considerable dissatisfaction in certain sections of the American Press at the confession made by President Eisenhower in July of this year that in 1945 he had found it far from easy to uphold the American way of life against Marshal Zhukov "through the long and many discussions" that they had about their respective doctrines. In reaction to this anti-American admission, James Reston of the *New York Times* asked: "Do you want to leave the inference that it is difficult to defend the proposition that democracy is a more idealistic system than Communism?" Others suggested that the President of the United States should "give more time to books and less to bridge, more time to appointments with Washington, Emerson, Jefferson, Franklin, Whitman, Lincoln and others, and less to appointments with Dulles, Nixon, Knowland, Sherman Adams, etc."

Zhukov claimed that Communism appealed to the idealistic and the American system "completely to the materialistic". The President confessed he had a very tough time trying to defend the American position because Zhukov said: "*You* tell a person he can do as he pleases, you appeal to him through everything that is selfish in man. *We* tell him that he must sacrifice for the State, which is more idealistic."

Eisenhower's failure to meet Zhukov's point was taken up by many journals, and the explanation was offered that Ike "let it go too much in terms of black and white. Both sides are mixed, all systems are in fact mixed much more than their champions like to admit."

But that would be a way of withdrawing from the contest. The real bottom of the matter is, however, something else. The free way of life as distinguished from Communism accepts the element of selfishness in human nature and exploits it for the benefit of society. It seeks to canalise the energies issuing out of materialistic selfishness in the direction of the welfare of the community. The process is, though regulated by the State, largely based on willingness. Communism ignores human nature and seeks to attain society's material welfare by force, fear and the strength of imposed habit. Therein lies the essential difference that ultimately leads in the one case to the spirit of the individual surviving and in the other to its being killed on the altar of State compulsion. What is based on a conflict against human nature always carried with it the seeds of revolt. What accepts human nature and canalises it makes for lasting peace.

Again, the President might have taken up the issue of democracy against totalitarianism: democracy, which gives first place to the wishes of the people, and totalitarianism, which gives first place to the materialist goal and shapes its course through coercion.

But what concerns humanity today is not the psychological or logical justification for either of these two ways of life. We have to deal not with possibilities and alternatives, but with facts. The two ways of life have been respectively adopted by large masses of people, and the experiments are going on. What causes grave concern to the rest of the world is that both these ways of life have got wedded to new weapons of mass destruction fraught with incalculable harm to humanity and civilization both in the processes of manufacture and in their use when the hour strikes.

Judge Robert Wilkins, in a recent article in *Freedom and Union*, Washington, writes:

> "If events and attitudes continue in their present trend, one could today predict a third World War as confidently as President Wilson predicted World War II in his famous St. Louis speech. There is a scriptural adage that still applies. If we substitute 'bomb' for the word 'sword', it takes an increased significance: Those who live by the bomb will die by the bomb".

The words "those who live by the bomb" have an additional meaning beyond that of the words of Jesus about the sword. The manufacture of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles gives employment, and very great profit to a large number of private capitalists. To change this policy requires, in democracy, the courage to face a great dislocation in internal economy, in addition to the considerations associated with defence. Difficulties in correcting the fundamental error of nuclear policy have been increased by reason of this. Vested interests have been created in the bomb. Past attempts at disarmament, in the days when the powers possessed only what are now called "conventional weapons", were repeatedly frustrated for this reason, although the change over of factories, equipment and skill would have been a relatively simple matter. The processes of nuclear weapon production have greatly magnified the problem, and even if all other difficulties were removed this would be a very big hurdle. It is a serious additional misfortune for the world that people running the nuclear race have settled down to *live* by the bomb —live, in a very material sense, and not alone in the sense that Jesus condemned.

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An Appeal

The economic difficulties confronting the country have been accentuated by the recent failure of food crops in several States. This has created a critical state of affairs, which is reflected in inflationary pressures and a serious rise in the basic cost of living. This has brought with it hardship and suffering to many of our people.

The situation is such that the Government and the country need the support of all who can help, and particularly do we see a challenge to Free Enterprise to rally to the aid of the Nation.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi : Contrary to expectations, there was nothing uproarious in Parliament at the opening of the winter session. Even the Finance Minister who singled himself out as the most controversial figure on the Treasury Benches had not yet to face much music. The Tyagi—T. T. K. exchanges were perhaps only a prelude to the storm that was to burst out. That even one's party men should have had to complain of one's rudeness was but an indication of the trouble ahead. But anyone could sense that something was brewing. Meanwhile, Mr. Krishnamachari made one more austerity call to save the Plan while galleries buzzed with the comment that small savings and big shavings ill went together. Even the Prime Minister, when he initiated the debate on the Plan, was so uninspiring. We are, however, assured that the Plan holds the field and Mr. Krishnamachari the fort. One thing is certain : the debate left no one more hopeful of the future of the country : "one thing is certain, the rest is lies".

* * *

In an earlier dispatch Junius wrote of the Congress President's alleged misgivings about the Plan. He is now on firmer ground in maintaining that Sri Dhebar started thinking aloud, a trifle furiously. He was not actually thinking of any easy solution to the problem facing the country, created by developments in directions hardly anticipated. He is, it seems, agitated over the fact that people were thinking in terms of aid for survival when they should be rather thinking in different terms—in terms of a supreme internal effort for survival, or in terms of greater self-reliance. He is all for self-sufficiency at district or divisional levels and unabashedly in favour of decentralisation of the organisation to a certain extent and of local initiative to a considerable extent. He seems to feel aggrieved that the country is forgetting too fast Gandhiji's message of self-reliance and has not 'the climate of awareness and earnestness' that can only be created by the setting up of certain standards like direct participation in productive effort. Perhaps he passed on some of these thoughts to the policy-makers or architects of the Plan ; certainly echoes of a Gandhian revival in the context of Indian economy will be heard in Gauhati when the chance comes to Sri Dhebar to give his own message to his countrymen.

* * *

It will be interesting to see the manifestations of the austerity drive at the Congressnagar in Gauhati where the construction of roads and bridges in the vicinity at enormous cost has evoked stormy protests. No party in power can afford to do some of the things which the Congress is supposed to be doing for making the Gauhati session not only successful but spectacular. Protests have already reached Delhi, against the enlistment of University men as members of the Reception Committee and the use of University premises for Congress rallies. It is an unwise move and it may turn out to be a dangerous precedent if, for instance, the Communist party will decide to hold a conference in Kerala. Assam's Ministers should resist the temptation of harnessing departmental heads or agencies to the collection of funds. Gauhati should beware of gala and extravagance if the Congress is not to lose further hold on the people.

* * *

The Capital is ripe with speculation about the future of Congress Secretaries. Perhaps it is needless ; for, everyone of them has a future. With Sri Dhebar's re-installation it is certain that whoever goes, Sri Shrimanji stays, having been the President's brain-trust and conscience-keeper. It was a triumph of his political astuteness that the principal General Secretary declined to re-contest a Parliamentary seat, ostensibly for giving a chance to new-comers. Lok Sabha has lost nothing by this act of self-denial on Sri Shrimanji's part, nor has he lost anything. Do not party bosses weigh more than even Treasury-Bench-warmers ? Whether he is gravitating to a gubernatorial *gaddi* or not, Sri Madhavan Nair is making room—and so is Sri M. M. Chaudhuri, whether he is succeeding Mr. Mehdi as Assam's Chief Minister or not. For the two vacancies the competition seems to be limited to very few. One of the Upadhyayas from U.P. is very much forging ahead. What should interest the South more is the almost certain arrival, on the Secretarial scene, of the present President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. Sri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju is known to be one of Sri Dhebar's hot favourites. He has definitely some advantages—youth, energy, ambition and eloquence in Hindi. Last time when it was given to Andhra to fill a gap, it was Sri Kala ; now it will be Sri Alluri. They have one thing at least in common—a way of doing things or getting things done, without being overpowered, or handicapped, by too much of political ethics.

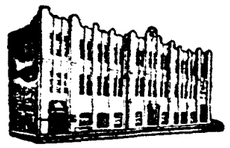
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One of the seniormost State Ministers, unburdening himself in a talk with Junius, bemoaned the increasing loss of Congress sway over the multitude—and very innocently he wondered why. The answer is simple. Nothing is wrong with the Congress as such but everything seems to be wrong with Congressmen, individually as well as collectively. The impression is gaining ground that, generally speaking, they have become a greedy lot—and greedy not of power alone. Unless they join together in removing that impression, they will all, good and bad alike, share a common fate that Nemesis has always in store for the breed.

When all men are equal

In Pakistan all men are equal when they go to pray, and somehow the knowledge of that pervades everything. — PHILIP MASON, in a B.B.C. talk

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VEGETARIANISM, ROOT OF HINDU DHARMA

By N. RAGHUNATHA AIYAR

"How can the drunkard be truthful or the flesh-eater compassionate?" Such runs a Samskrit verse which appears in the anthologies. It reveals a climate of opinion, continental in its provenance, which links up vegetarianism with a superior ethic. Its emergence can be traced back to the mediaeval ages, if not earlier. Fa-hsien (7th century A.D.) reported that "no respectable person ate meat, the consumption of which was confined to the lower classes". This ethical attitude was the result of a long evolution. And since Fa-hsien wrote, vegetarianism has made further strides among the various sections of the Hindu population, in spite of the fact that Islam and Christianity, the religions to which successive rulers owed allegiance in the past millennium, were not opposed to the taking of life for food.

Non-killing for food was but a special application of the doctrine of non-violence which is at least as old as the Upanishads. *Na himsayaat sarvaa bhuutaani* (Injure no living thing) is a Vedic injunction. As the idea of Vedic sacrifices derives from the sacrifice of the primal Purusha (described in the Purusha Sukta) as the necessary preliminary to the act of Creation, it posits an intimate psychological connection between the sacrificer, the sacrificial victim, and the god to whom the sacrifice is offered, and thus negates the idea of violence or injury. Compare the Bibilical story of the call on Abraham to sacrifice his eldest born.

But in the Rg Veda itself one finds a growing repugnance to killing animals even for the propitiation of the higher powers. There are hymns which declare that "the devout offering of praise or of a fuel-stick or of cooked food" is as efficacious as the more conventional sacrifice. One of the most striking philosophical discourses in Srimad Bhagavata is addressed by Narada to King Prachina-Barhis, who has killed innumerable animals in thousands of sacrifices. The sage administered a salutary shock to him by conjuring up a vision of the multitude of rams with iron horns that were waiting to gore him when he should die and pass to Yama's world. "You have developed a monstrous egotism by this endless slaughter (*brhadvadaad maanee*) and do not know what you have let yourself in for", he says.

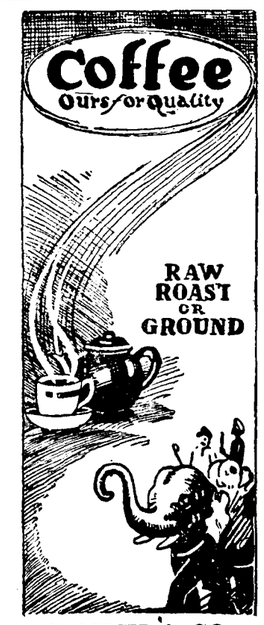
It is, however, the metaphysical idea of the basic identity of all life that is at the root of the Hindu repugnance to killing. Both the Yoga Sastra and the Vedanta insist that only those who renounce violence in thought, word and deed can successfully undergo the respective disciplines. And, though not all men became Yogis or Vedantis, it was the adepts and the liberated souls that set the standards of ethical behaviour which it was the duty of the lawgivers and the popular teachers to propagate among the masses.

In this long and chequered evolution of ideas aiming at the integration of individual self-perfection with the ethical progress of society as a whole, the Maanava Dharma-Sastra represents the great divide. Manu allows the killing of animals "in sacrifices, for the feeding of honoured guests, and in rites for the manes"; he would also seem to allow it "when one's life is in danger"; and he suggests that a person may partake of the remnants of the flesh of an animal bought by him and reared by him or flesh given by another out of what is prepared for offering to the gods and manes. That would appear like throwing the gate pretty wide open. But later (V-46-55), Manu expresses himself plainly in favour of total abstention from killing animals even in sacrifices. He points out that, as no flesh can be had without killing living beings and as killing cannot lead to heaven, one should give up flesh. At the same time he is a realist, like the authors of the Dharma Sutras, who (as the Ujjwala commentary on the Apasthamba Dharma Sutra points out) had to take note of the practice and predisposition of men and to curb their undesirable instincts not by total prohibition but by imposing restrictions and limitations. Like the Gita Acharya Manu finds that human nature is intractable and human appetites are stubborn. Looking at the world around him he could not overlook the fact that large sections of people still ate fish and flesh, drank wine, and indulged in sex. So he declared that what the Sastras allowed to certain persons and on certain occasions could not be described as sinful, but abstention in these matters (even where they were allowed by the Sastras) would redound greatly to the merit of the abstainer. And the Mitakshari on Yagnyavalkya Smrti quietly effects a revolutionary extension of the sphere of moral obligation by declaring that the rules and taboos regarding food are equally applicable to all varnas.

This process of adopting the rules regarding food taboos to the requirements of a society which comprehended many elements in varying stages of spiritual evolution, while at the same time expecting a steady illumination of the higher path which, it was emphasized, could be followed by every one (irrespective of his social or caste status) who aspired to spiritual progress, was carried very much further in the Epic and Puranic literatures. In the scales of varna and ashrama, the higher the status the greater the responsibility for practising and setting an example to others of self-control which, with self-denial, was regarded as the sovereign virtue. In the Epics the Brahmachari, the Vanaprastha, and the Sanyaasin (belonging to the three higher castes) are depicted as being vowed to absolute ahimsa, which meant total abstention from flesh foods. Thus Kausalya, bewailing the hardships that her darling son would have to undergo in the forest life, says that he would have "to live like a muni abjuring flesh" (*hitwaa munivad aamisham*). The Bhagavata goes so far as to deny immediate salvation to the king, because he inflicts injury, though as a matter of duty.

Asoka banned meat-dishes at his own table and reduced the number of sacrificial victims. Among the Puranic figures Rantideva, the king whose numerous sacrifices caused a river of blood to flow no doubt did enjoy a high reputation for holiness. But it is the other Rantideva who figures in Srimad Bhagavata (Ninth Skanda) that became for the people at large the supreme symbol of compassion. During a prolonged famine, he gave away all that he possessed, including the last morsel of food and the last drink of water, and with his dying breath gave utterance to the immortal aspiration: "I want neither Heaven nor yogic powers nor prosperity, if only I can take upon myself all the sorrows and sufferings of all other living things by entering into their very being, and thus free them from misery". The story of Satya-Vrata in the Devi Bhagavata (Third Skanda), who, having long been an unlettered invincible dunce, became a poet and a seer by the grace of the Devi, also reinforces the same lesson. Though a dunce who scorned himself and was scorned by others, he made a vow of truth-speaking. So he was in a great dilemma when a boar wounded by a hunter took refuge in a shelter behind his ashram and the hunter wanted to know where it had hid itself. The sight of the poor suffering animal had liberated the boundless springs of compassion in him, and that made him utter unwittingly the *bijakshara* (mystic syllables) pleasing to the Devi, which endowed him with the supreme poetic faculty and helped to save the animal by giving a reply which, while it maintained his reputation for truthfulness, confounded the hunter. The point of the story is that it was the compassion bred by the practice of *vairagya* and truth-speaking that attracted the grace of the Devi.

The Mahabharata and the Puranas emphasize that *sila* (character and conduct) and *aachaara*



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(ceremonial observance) enjoined by the Sastras are equally important for spiritual progress. On the question of killing animals for food, this attitude of Puranic Hinduism was far more effective than the teaching of either Buddhism or Jainism. While Buddhism laid all the emphasis on character (the Eightfold Path) its treatment of ritual and ceremonial observance as of little importance resulted in the taboos regarding non-killing being gradually relegated to the background; and flesh-eating is the general rule among Buddhists. The Jains have rigorously oberved the prohibition against killing for food and meat-eating; but apart from remaining a small community, their interpretation of the doctrine of ahimsa has tended to be barren, because of their inability to see that himsa may take many forms besides killing on physical injury. The central teaching of Hinduism has, on the other hand, emphasized, in the words of Dhritarashtra (Ch. 140 of the Rajadharma Sub-Parva of the Santi Parva) that "*sila* (conduct) consists of *adroha* (non-injury) to all things in thought, word, and deed, *anugraha* (active benevolence), and *daana* (giving according to once's capacity)". "A man must be ashamed of any act of his that results in harm or suffering to another", said the old king. And in the Dharma Vyaadha Upaakhyaana (Aranya Parva, Adhyayas 306 to 314) which is the *locus-classicus* on the subject, the topic of ahimsa is canvassed with a subtlety as well as a comprehensive wisdom which holds good for all time.

A Brahmin ascetic becomes cross with a good lady who delays giving him alms, because she has to attend on her husband's urgent needs. But, unperturbed, she tells him: "Don't think you can burn me by your angry looks as you did the crane which soiled you with its droppings". Humbled by this remarkable power of second sight in a simple woman, he asks her to initiate him in the secrets of the Self. She directs him to a butcher in the city of King Janaka as the best teacher he could have. He goes to the "righteous hunter" unquestioningly and waits on his convenience. The butcher accosts him, ascertains his purpose, and deferentially takes him to his own home where he explains that his spiritual sadhana consists in loving service to his old parents. When the Brahman expresses surprise that one so advanced in spirituality should follow so brutal and disgusting an occupation, the butcher points out that absolute abstention from taking life, knowingly or unwittingly, is impossible, as all life lives upon other life. Even ascetics who make a vow of ahimsa cannot completely eschew himsa, all that they can do is to limit it to the barest limits possible.

"I was a Brahman in a former birth", said the Dharma Vyaadha. "By cultivating friendship with a king, I was lured into the practice of archery and indulgence in hunting and unwittingly killed a *rishi* who cursed me that I should be born a hunter, but with the redeeming grace that I should remember my former birth and repent. I follow this occupation, because it is the hereditary calling of the family I was born in, and one must follow *swadharma*. I don't kill the animals whose flesh I sell, and I don't eat flesh myself. So long as there are men who eat flesh, so long will somebody have to do the work I do". That, it may be explained in parenthesis, is the reason why, while Manu holds that everybody connected with the slaughter of animals commits sin, Yama maintains that the man who eats their flesh is the worst sinner.

It was this conviction that led millions of people in this country to make a vow of vegetarianism. And even in recent times whole communities who were flesh-eaters gave up the practice on grounds of compassion as well as of ceremonial purity.

As the Dharma Vyaadha taught, it is far easier for a man to slip from the life of self-control and self-denial to which he has been bred by family or caste tradition than for one who has been bred in a *laxer* family or caste tradition to lift himself up by his own efforts. The new waves of atheism and materialism in the land as well as the craze for following outlandish fashions and the superstition that eating fish and flesh is conducive to superior physical efficiency, are luring away many of the younger generation of Brahmins and other higher classes from their traditional moorings. Every effort must be made to prevent this backsliding. This, it seems to me, can best be done by following the Puranic methodology. It pointed out that the practice of the higher virtues without which there can be no spiritual advancement for the individual and no vital culture for the society, is contingent on growth of self-control, consideration for others, and compassion for all living beings. The man who understands the full force of these truths cannot but realize that, while non-killing and non-indulgence in flesh foods may not be the last word in ethical progress, they are indispensable for the good life lived in all its fullness and grace.—(Condensed from *Souvenir of the XV World Vegetarian Congress, 1957.*)



PECULIARITIES OF ENGLISH AUTHORS

By FRANK SWINNERTON

Thirty or forty years ago a celebrated foreign author, visiting Great Britain for the first time, noticed with annoyance that no band played for him in the quayside. There were no guns, no civic reception, and no massed journalists to receive his wisdoms. He returned at once, in dudgeon, to the land of his birth.

The author was not a Frenchman; but this is something that, in Laurence Sterne's words, "they order better in France," where author-ship is taken seriously. In Britain no writer expects any notice to be taken of him, unless he has lately achieved distinction in another field. As a V.C., a golf champion, or a famous cricketer he might be recognized by a few spectators. As a film star he would probably be mobbed. But as an author he need expect neither stares nor kowtows. He would be thought very peculiar indeed if he drew attention to himself.

THE IRATE VISITOR

The foreign author did not know this. He was aware of great popularity with British readers, who bought his books. He was used to acclaim. He thought of Britain as a land of celebrated authors, and remembered the legends of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson at the Mermaid Tavern, Burns and Scott in Edinburgh, the Irish poets and dramatists talking like titans in Dublin. He saw in his mind's eye the rolling figure of Dr. Johnson passing up and down Fleet Street, Tennyson and Carlyle in their great cloaks, Dickens and Thackeray meeting on the steps of the Garrick Club, Robert Louis Stevenson in his velvet jacket, and Bernard Shaw striding in winter without an overcoat but with red woollen gloves. He thought with awe of the world's anxiety when Kipling lay desperately ill of pneumonia in New York in 1899. Yet this degenerate people ignored him. He would have none of it.

The irate visitor was out of his element. He knew that French Academicians permit themselves to decorate life with what Stevenson called "a bit of purple", that they sometimes dress fantastically, and have strange pets and mannerisms which seem quite proper to men of genius. He did not realise that in Britain the authors of his day were all identifying themselves with "the common man," and that they had abandoned all outward peculiarities, and every claim to special privileges.

UNPRETENTIOUS

Walter de la Mare once confessed that in youth he had allowed himself a few poetic extravagances of dress, hair, and carriage; but the vanity quickly passed, and he became as sedate in appearance as a businessman. Nothing but a hat could conceal the fine head; but out of doors he wore the hat and passed unseen. Kipling himself was a completely insignificant figure. Thomas Hardy was so modest, and so unobtrusive, that people who met him were amazed at his literary fame. H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett, though Bennett carried himself with dignity and dressed with care, did not look like celebrities and did not expect to be recognised as such. Wells, who introduced himself into his own novels as "little Wilkins, the novelist," cared only for the acceptance of his "ideas," nothing at all for personal fame. He would walk everywhere, a plump, twinkling-eyed man with no pretentiousness at all, and pass for a suburban builder.

The next generation was the same. Its unwritten law was: "No show. No ostentation. Be quiet, ordinary; smoke your big pipe, like Barrie, if you must; but don't look odd." The law was helped by something else, which was the attitude of the British public towards authors. This needs to be defined.

TOO MANY BOOKS AND AUTHORS

In Britain, books are read; a few enthusiasts intrude upon their author's privacy by letter or visit; but in general the book is simply a book. The name upon its title-page is hardly noticed. And there are so many books, and so many authors, that it is hard to tell one from another. Only when he writes for a newspaper with an immense circulation does the author attain wide popular fame. He may then be applauded at the first performance of a new play in London's West End. If this happens, he is much embarrassed, and creeps into his seat with a red face.

So the two elements combine. British heroes have been great cricketers, footballers, or jockeys, with a sprinkling of sailors and soldiers. With the sole exception of Sir Winston Churchill, they have not been authors. The author's occupation, compared with that of other men, is regarded as effeminate trifling.

The British author knows his place in the eyes of his countrymen. He also has tremendous pride. He thinks Shakespeare was a greater man than Dr. Grace, the cricketer, or Lord Nelson, much as he admires those two heroes; but he will not argue about it. Nor will he compete by any personal show with the popinjays in other walks of life. Eschewing every mannerism, he looks as much like other men as possible; and if he remains unknown to those who pass him in the street that is exactly what he wishes. In any case he knows it would be useless to expect bands or massed journalists. Even Shakespeare did not have them. Shakespeare, in fact, was so modest that some people have doubted his ability to write his own plays.

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TECHNIQUE OF DISTRIBUTION

By N. K. AIYER

One of the chief causes of business waste is the failure to correlate production schedules and sales forecasts. Producing goods faster than they can be disposed of intensifies competition. Although it may be said that increased production reduces the cost of manufacture, this advantage will be more than offset by frenzied and wasteful selling effort.

Very useful and valuable sales aids could be evolved from market analysis statistics. Appreciating this, a few progressive business houses have created separate statistical departments, as adjuncts to their sales divisions. The data compiled have been put to excellent use by such organizations, resulting in increased sales turnover and added profits. It has also helped them to shape their production programmes so as to derive maximum benefit therefrom.

Of late, the gap between the consumer and the producer has widened very considerably and with it the need for familiarising the consumer with the manufacturer's wares has become very important. Advertising and publicity play a prominent part in effectively doing this. Advertising is a very real and vital force in modern business. It maintains and widens markets for old products and creates and develops markets for new ones. It also helps to build prestige to the house introducing the product.

Advertising today is a highly developed science. It has its complex and intricate problems, and unless full value is taken out of it, the expenses incurred may become an unremunerative burden.

When business takes a downward curve, the first thought that occurs to most businessmen is to slash advertising appropriations or eliminate advertising altogether. This, if put into action, may be dangerous, as there are instances of products having faded out of the market, when advertising has been withdrawn. Successful businessmen are persistent advertisers.

Personal salesmanship always has been and probably will always be the chief influence in persuading and holding the buyer. It carries the message of the product to the dealer or to the consumer. It is therefore of paramount importance that proper persons are selected as sales staff and suitably trained.

There are certain inherent defects in selling, which should be carefully guarded against when a firm chooses to sell its goods to a sole distributor or wholesaler instead of to the consumer direct. There is no follow through by the firm of its product in such cases, as the contact stops with the sole distributor or wholesaler. Although selling may be through a centralised source, the producer must sense the opinions of the consumer and retailer about the product and take steps to remedy the defects reported, if any. The producer must also see that quality is maintained right through the channels of trade and no damaged goods are allowed to be sold. Retailers normally do not care what the consumer is interested in, but they are mainly interested in their turnover and rapid sales. So the responsibility is on the producer to get first-hand information about the product from the ultimate consumer.

Packing does not improve the quality of a product, but it does give the product distinctiveness, attractiveness, identification, and an invaluable interest-compelling quality. Strength and durability of packing cannot be sacrificed for appearance appeal. Care should be exercised to see that packing is tamper-proof, to avoid pilferage or wastage in transit. An attractively packed article has its own advertising value.

There is usually a time lag between production and consumption, necessitating storage. Where such is the case, proper packing is of vital importance to avoid decay or deterioration, while in storage.

Prices that are too low will wreck a business and those that are too high will handicap sales. Prices that are correct will produce maximum sales, resulting in maximum profit. All prices must conform to the economic law of supply and demand.

The margin of profit need not necessarily be big to ensure success in business. The selling price of a manufactured article should include cost of manufacture, cost of distribution, and desired profit. The margin of profit should be sufficient to compensate the manufacturer for the risk undertaken and ensure an adequate return on investment.

It is the common practice to allow discounts from prices quoted on commodities. Discounts usually are of three varieties — trade discounts, cash discounts and quantity discounts. In trade discounts, higher than actual prices are fixed as list prices and an allowance made. Cash discounts are offers to encourage buyers to make prompt payments. Quantity discounts are percentage discounts granted from a base price, for purchases in quantity.

To the business world the War brought a gift — the seller's market. In a seller's market, the demand far exceeds supply and there is an abundance of buyers. Orders pour in faster than the rate at which goods are produced; as a result, little or no attention is paid to quality. The transition from a seller's market to a buyer's market is usually rapid. When money becomes scarce, consumer capacity shrinks. When consumer capacity shrinks, consumer demand takes a downward trend. When the buyer's market appears, scientific methods of marketing will play a very important role in business.

As a result of the application of science to industry, new varieties of articles are being produced. With increase in the varieties and volumes of articles and decrease in buying power, competition for the consumer's rupee is bound to become keener.

New business houses without any established goodwill have to face a situation entirely different from those of older firms. The old established firms have the advantage of having already effected mass contacts and created consumer acceptance of their goods. To compete with established businesses successfully and create sales for their products, newcomers will have to do an intensive marketing job. The capacity of their selling organizations and the effectiveness of their marketing methods will be severely put to the test. Only efficient business houses with an up-to-date marketing set-up will be able to function profitably and stay in business in the future. Modern business has become a highly skilled profession requiring specialised knowledge, to achieve any tangible measure of success.

The emphasis today is on more and more production. Before long, the principal business problem will be, not how to produce more but how to distribute profitably what has been produced. Much progress has been achieved in the technique of production, with little or nothing accomplished in distribution. Manufacturing costs have been progressively reduced and unless distribution costs are also kept within reasonable bounds, the profit so essential to the prosperity of any concern cannot be achieved.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

VIVIDHA BHARATHI AND CARNATIC MUSIC

Sir,—Whilst the All India Radio have, during the recent years, expanded their activities a great deal, it is a matter of some disappointment for lovers of Carnatic music, who are residing on this side of the Vindhyas, that no tangible steps have been taken to improve the reception of broadcasts relayed by stations in the South. In the absence of adequate coverage of South Indian programmes by stations in the North, it is but natural for us to look to the stations in the South for such programmes. It becomes, therefore, all the more necessary that the stations in the South should be made sufficiently powerful, so that South Indians in the North can get clear reception of South Indian broadcasts.

When steps were afoot for installing two powerful transmitters—one in Bombay and the other in Madras—we all looked forward to our long-standing grievances being redressed. What, however, has happened is that both these new stations are only used for transmitting Vividha Bharati programmes (mostly in Hindusthani), with the result that as far as South Indians are concerned, we are still required to be satisfied with the old state of affairs. Looking to the fact that Carnatic music is as rich and melodious as Hindusthani music, and also that over a million South Indians have made North India their home, it is but proper that adequate coverage of Carnatic music should be given in the programmes of North Indian stations, or the powerful transmitter in the South should be fully utilised for transmitting South Indian programmes, or both the new powerful transmitters should be used to broadcast programmes of Hindusthani as well as Carnatic music and other programmes on a fair and equitable basis to ensure greater coverage and clarity of reception for the South Indian programmes.

AIR authorities should take early remedial steps to redress the legitimate grievances of this, by no means insignificant section of the Indian population.

S. RANGANATHAN AND FRIENDS
Bombay.

FUTILE, AUSTERITY CLARION CALLS

Sir,—There has never been any close scrutiny into the real problems that impede a substantial increase of foodgrains. At present, land reforms are the plaything of political parties. Land revenue cannot be treated as sales tax.

A fortnight ago, our President exhorted the nation to take to vegetarianism. Now, as a panacea to the food shortage in the country, our planners suggest a change in the food habits of the people. Is it not worth while to embark upon some permanent measures? The country has yet to know the efficacy of the Act enabling the Government to acquire food stocks.

The authorities would do well to take the public into confidence instead of issuing clarion calls to the masses to forego what little comforts they have.

Mulund. P. K. SANKARAN

KHRUSCHEV IN STALIN'S FOOTSTEPS

Sir,—Khruschev, like Stalin, sees a threat in any power independent of his own and has been picking off his rivals one by one by accusing them of all sorts of imaginary crimes and in a typically Stalinist way. He got rid of Beria with the help of Molotov, Malenkov, Shepilov and Kaganovitch, and then he got rid of the latter with the help of Zhukov. And now, with the removal of his last rival Zhukov and complete renewal of the party apparatus, Khruschev has finally succeeded in wrenching for himself absolute power to rule supreme as Stalin did before

him. He has now removed every one whose authority was rooted in the Stalin era.

Is Zhukov really guilty of the charges he is accused of? If he had slowly developed his own cult in the army by glorifying his role in the last world war and violated Leninist principles, why was he nominated to the Presidium only five months ago? Why was he allowed to develop his cult all these years? Was not Khruschev himself praising Zhukov all these years after Stalin's death and till Zhukov was finally purged, and did not Khruschev himself promote Zhukov to the post of Defence Minister? Did Khruschev come to know of Zhukov's blunders all of a sudden on the morning of October 29th?



Khruschev's dismissal of Zhukov, the most popular Soviet public figure is meant only as a warning to those whose popularity and past services make them feel entitled to defy him and to dare to oppose his will or conspire to oust him out of the party.

SUMANT S. BANKESWAR.
Bombay.

IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH

Sir,—The language issue is not a simple one. We learnt English because we could not get any job without it. After two hundred years of British rule in India, English has become the spoken language of even the common man. English today is much more important than before. It is the most potent instrument of world contact today. English language is the store-house of world wisdom and to put away that language will be suicidal for the nation at large, at this stage, in as much as India has been playing a prominent part in the world.

Hindi is not the language of the majority of the people of India. English should not be neglected and discarded as long as Hindi has not been developed to its level. To neglect English before Hindi is developed is to invite disaster. To impose Hindi as the official language, if not now, at least a century hence, Government will have to introduce it compulsorily and that with police force. And it will take at least a hundred years to impose Hindi as the official language of India.

R. SUDHARSHNA REDDY
Hyderabad.

INDIVIDUAL AND PARTY HONESTY

Sir,—I read with despair the letter "Honesty does not pay in the Congress regime" in the issue of SWARAJYA dated 9th November. It gives the picture of an honest individual worthy of appreciation. If the honesty of the Congress depends only on one or two honest individuals, instances can be given to prove the honesty of the Congress party.

Once our Prime Minister's car was stopped by the guard at a railway level-crossing. Mr. Nehru patted the guard on the back in token of his appreciation. Does not this incident show that *honesty does* pay in the Congress regime?

A former Railway Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, resigned from the Ministry soon after the Ariyalur train disaster. This shows that there are persons in the Congress organisation who deserve to be revered. If the honesty of a party does depend on the honesty of one or two individuals, why is there so much opposition to this organisation? The reason is, definitely, that the collective action of the party is different from that of a few, exceptional, honest individuals in it.

R. SANTHANAM

THE INTERVIEW METHOD

Sir,—The written examination as a basis for appointment is nowadays at a discount. While the Union Public Service Commission has slashed down the importance of the *viva voce*, it passes one's comprehension why some of the departments of the Central Government have not followed suit. Time and again eminent educationists have favoured a combination of written examination and interview. Either of these will not be indicative of the latent talent one has. It is high time the departments of the Union Government paid attention to this fact.

SULUR KARUPPANNAN

RESTRAINTS ON EDITORS

Sir,—It is a universally accepted axiom that a free Press is among the most essential requisites for the healthy functioning of democracy. In India, the Press is free, only of domination by the rulers. Scrupulous regard for the freedom of the Press so far fortunately displayed by our Government has failed to give the nation an independent Press. Our editors are still working under very offensive restraints imposed by the newspaper owners.

A recent example of the miserable plight of learned editors comes from Bombay. The celebrated editor of a widely read daily, it is learned, was told by the proprietors to take lessons from them in newspaper editing. Like the fearless journalist that he is; he rejected this suggestion, which has cost him his job. I have stopped reading the paper in question which I had been reading for over ten years, and I shall track the Bombay daily's ex-editor wherever he goes. This is the very minimum I can do to save myself from the taunt of my conscience.

The P.T.I's glory has become a thing of history. This once-reputed news service organisation has mysteriously been totally silent on the matter of the aforesaid assault on editorial independence.

R. MANI
Calcutta.

CIRCUMVENTING THE JUDICIARY

Sir,—The persistent refusal of the Government to order a judicial enquiry into the Ramnad riots betrays its lack of faith in judicial processes. Not very long ago, the Government conveniently chose to by-pass the clear verdict in no uncertain terms of two eminent High Court Judges about the discharge of his powers in an irresponsible manner by the chief executive officer of a district. He was allowed to continue and complete his full term of office undisturbed till retirement. Instances of this kind can be multiplied to illustrate the regrettable fact that the record of the Government has been one of circumventing judicial processes to suit their own predilections.

Implicit faith in the judiciary and an honest intention to carry out its verdicts are the primary requisites for the success and survival of a nascent democracy.

T. S. KRISHNAMURTHY
Madurai

Sidelights

(*Continued from Page 4*)

leaders are humble and do not make arrogant scenes in international conferences. Our Defence Minister Krishna Menon rarely attends to any problem of defence staying in the country, and is always globe-trotting industriously [illegible] friends and making enemies [illegible] India wherever he goes. On the one hand he is bidding for the pathetic distinction of a second Messadegh. On the other, he has established his repute as an intemperate dialectician without balance or sense of proportion, and an incapacity to open his mouth and make a speech without striking an arrogant pose and causing deep offence to his counterparts in the rest of the world. We have as our Finance Minister one who has antagonised the whole business community with his taxation proposals and ruined the atmosphere of popular support for the Government's economic plans. In unofficial politics, the Congress crown used to be reverently regarded as a mark of honour bestowed by the nation on outstanding leaders who had rendered the greatest service. Rajaji, next only to the Mahatma in eminence of status and individual contribution to the successful conclusion of the great struggle for freedom, continues still unhonoured in this way, though none is more qualified than he to set right the moral rot corroding the Congress organisation today. To the hallowed dignity of Congress President, the Prime Minister hoisted Sri Dhebar, a name unknown outside Sourashtra when it happened, and what is more, Sri Dhebar seems to be in the running for record frequency as holder of the honour, with the prospect of beating the *Mahatma himself*! It is not a service to the Congress to have thus wrecked it — substituting national figures of historical significance in its leadership with an amenable nominee having no independent political strength of his own.

* * *

Our Prime Minister is quick to rush forward to any troubled spot in the world with clarion calls for liberation of the oppressed. But for weeks now, with all the appurtenances of honour from the State Government, the leader of a hate-charged communal movement has been on the rampage in the South calling upon his followers, according to the newspaper reports, to kill brahmins and burn their houses. It is a situation of challenge to the Prime Minister, one that calls into question his very right to rule if he could not cope with it successfully. Yet not a word of comfort has he so far uttered to cheer the threatened victims of this pampered and insurgent movement of hatred and violence, in fulfilment of his ordained duty as protector of all citizens.

* * *

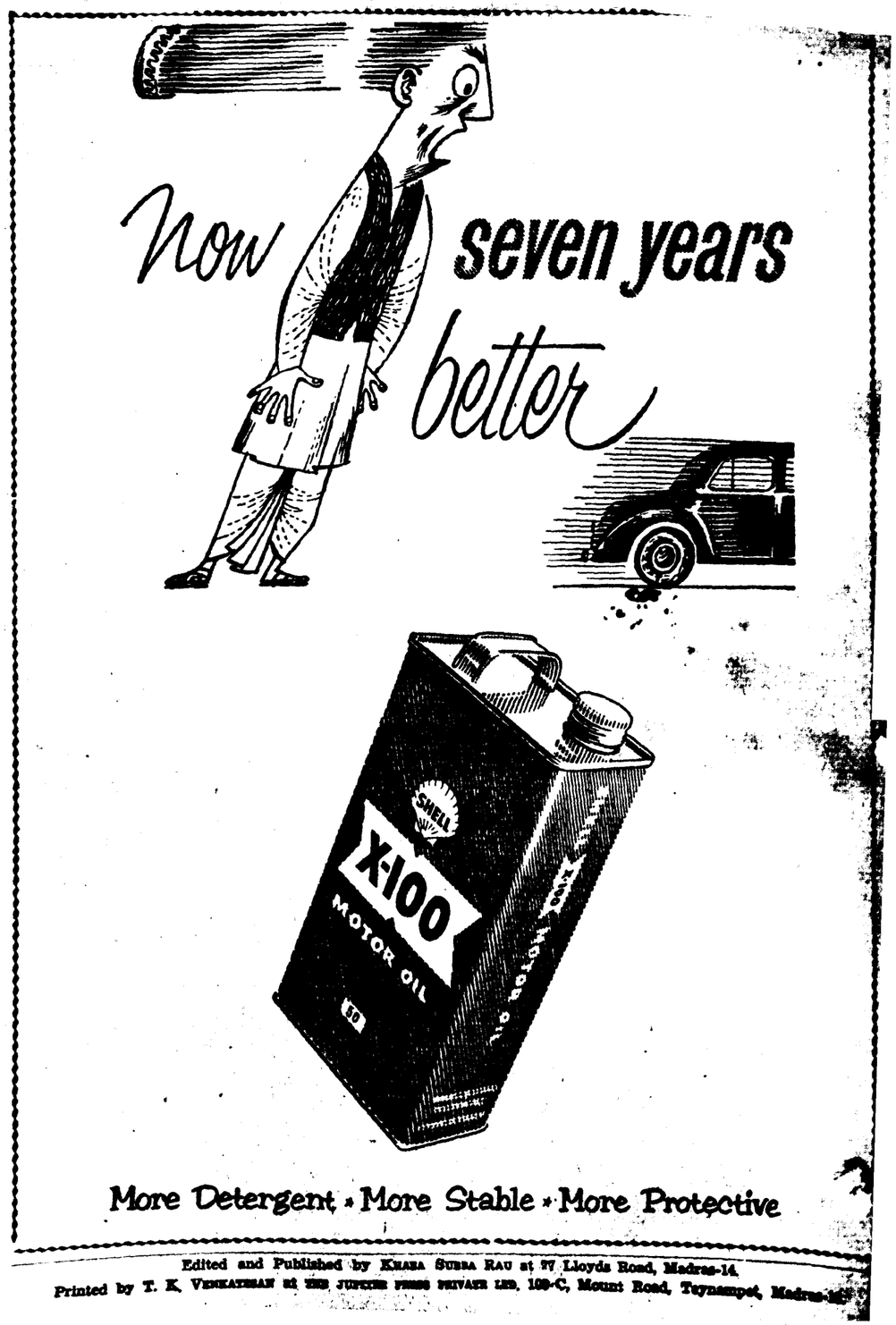
A heavy account is accumulating on the *minus* side to balance the cent per cent *plus* with which Pandit Nehru embarked on this great adventure of ruling India ten years ago. As Prime Minister, the birthday felicitations crowding in on him, the gifts and encominums, speeches and celebrations, have been dazzling in their variety and magnitude. This solitary devotee, standing outside the current of the stereotyped customary homage that flows from the multitude to the mighty, has only this birthday wish to offer the Prime Minister: Let not the *minus* engulf the *plus* before his task is done. The path of conscience does not pass through the intoxication of applause from crowds, or continual volubility in their midst. The Prime Minister will be helped to cast off the influence of the inferior souls established in key positions and rise to the true stature of his great historical mission, if he takes more counsel within himself, avoiding all exhausting indulgence in activites of no significance for public welfare and genuine national good.

SAKA

The Lesser Tyranny

I would rather the communism of the joint family than the communism of the sociological doctrinaire or the civil servant or the military dictator. — J. CHINNA DURAI, in a B.B.C. talk.

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RAJAJI

Rajaji passes this week one more milestone in his long and distinguished life. We wish him many happy returns.

There are some whose very existence is a source of liberal education to all who come in contact with them. Rajaji is of this class. He spreads enlightenment as if it were a second nature. This is done not with exhortations ostentatiously but quietly with the very minimum of words. Rajaji has spoken and written quite as much as any leader or writer in any part of the world. But never has he wasted a single word in purposeless repetition and meaningless redundancy. In this as in other matters he is our great exemplar of economy.

Rajaji's reputation for acute intelligence has not served him well in politics. More meanings are sometimes attributed to what he says than he himself is aware of. The relentless resentment of mediocrity pursues him with an endless inquisitorial search for double meanings. In reality, however, his honesty is implacable. It is a different sort of honesty from the one that seeks publicity for its manifestations. It is exacting and not exciting. This explains why he is not very popular with so many of our present wielders of "responsibility" to whom the exhibition of impressions of honesty is more important than cultivation of the reality.

Rajaji is no stickler for change for its own sake. He has no fascination for speed of movement. He is out of sympathy with many of the enthusiasms of our slogan-fed democracy. And because of this he seems often to be an unacceptable figure to the multitude. Even so was Socrates. All through history, the unbending great, inflexible in honesty of purpose, have won their way to the homage of posterity only through contemporary misunderstanding in their own time. It is so with Rajaji also. All his insights, matured by sorrow and disappointments, have filled him finally with an indefatigable compassion. There is no defeat for such a one, whose very presence is like a benediction on his fellow-men.

Contrast

The contrast is as sad as amusing: that E.V.R. who is prosecuted by Government after examining the official shorthand reports of his recent speeches for incitement of his following to murder and arson, to do away with the lives and properties of brahmins, is pressed by the trying judge Sri Subramania Nadar to be on bail and he negotiated the required statement from him to that end, whereas Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar who is charged with the offence of murder and ordered to stand his trial is kept a prisoner under the preventive detention law without giving him the facilities to defend himself and is not handed over to the custody of the trying judge in order that the accused person may apply to him for bail.

No wonder the Government is suspected of being partial to Sri E. V. R. Naicker and prejudiced and unfair to Thevar. If only to remove this suspicion Sri Thevar should be at once released from preventive custody and the question of his being released on bail left to the judge who has to try him on the murder charge. The contrast is made even more glaring by the fact that E.V.R. continues to emphasise his intention to incite murder and arson though he desires it to be understood that it is not for immediate execution he so preaches his crime programme, whereas Sri Thevar totally denies that he ever preached disturbance of peace or the commission of crime and a large number of people in the area believe that his influence actually contributed to peace. There may be no objection to E.V.R. being a free person and having facilities to defend himself, but what we object to is the confinement of Sri Thevar by executive order when he is at the same time put on trial upon a capital charge. We have no intention to prejudice either case and we hold the view that every person is entitled to prove his innocence and his trial should not be prejudiced whatever his public reputation may be. But we protest against any person being prejudiced in his defence on a very

grave charge by being confined by executive order. The Government should choose to drop the murder charge against Sri Thevar or release him at once from the detention under the preventive law.

Secretive Procedure

The following news item is significant of the spirit that vitiates our Indian Democracy :

M.P.S' COMMITTEE ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

New Delhi, Nov. 30. The Rules Sub-Committee of the Committee appointed by Parliament to advise the President on the Official Language Commission's report is to-day understood to have decided to recommend to the Committee that its meetings should be private.

The sub-committee, it is learnt, rejected a number of the suggestions made by Mr. Frank Anthony, the only non-Congress member present at to-day's meeting.

The sub-committee decided that verbatim records should be kept of the Committee's proceedings, but rejected Mr. Anthony's suggestion that a copy of the proceedings should be supplied to every member of the Committee who wished to have it.

Nothing is a greater safeguard of justice and fairplay in democracy than publicity. Once in five years there may be a general election when power may pass from one group to another as a result of a reference to the people about the stewardship of those to whom the duty had been entrusted. But the constant day-to-day watch of people is necessary to keep the appointed agents of democracy in the straight path. Once they are allowed to operate in private, the sanction of public opinion is removed and we open the door to intrigue and injustice. Even judges would become less useful if trials are allowed to be held within closed doors and the public do not know what evidence is given before them and how the judges behave. Much greater is the certainty of parliamentary committees being indifferent to justice and fairplay when the doors are closed against the public eye and ear. After all, the majority in Parliament is reflected in the committee elected on the proportional election basis and no wonder Mr. Anthony has been outvoted. But it is a grievous mistake and an anti-democratic act. The whole of non-Hindi India would resent this closed door secretive procedure. The maintenance of the machinery of democracy in proper condition requires publicity. The agents of democracy know how to get over their faults and shortcomings at the time of the general elections. All their faults do not come into issue at that time. But every act of theirs while they hold office should be open to public view. It is this alone that acts as a deterrent against wrong-doing.

THE MAGNITUDE OF CRISIS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

At last it has been discovered that the best way of getting work done is by entrusting it to the individual and not to a body of people no one of whom stands responsible. The Prime Minister has given unambiguous expression to this lesson of experience. Let us hope the discovery will have its full logical implications and application in practice. The food 'deficit' has assumed a magnitude of crisis. If the individual owner of land is made responsible to society to produce more and a definite percentage of increase, he will do it. But he should not be deprived of the fruit of his extra zeal. He should be made to feel that he will gain if he raises it from his land. He should not be saddled with men to assist him of whose quality he is not allowed to be judge, or of whose industry he is less than sure. If a farmer cannot evict the man who works under him, he cannot get such service from him as he is entitled to get. Servants and labourers are not to be slaves. This is true but the servant should not be made the master of the situation—a master who is not the legal master bound as such to society, but an unqualified master dictating to the legal master and refusing to do his job. 'Tenants' under the small owner-farmer have become no more than such peculiar servant-masters as a result of slogan-led and vote-catching policies adopted in recent times regarding land. Straightforward brutal expropriation cannot do so much harm to society as this kind of maiming the proprietor without transferring the responsibilities and interest of ownership to any one else. Society wants some one to own the land that has to be looked after as a man looks after his wife. Nothing has contributed to the fast increasing loss of interest in agriculture as the recent unimaginative policies adopted by vote-hunting parties vying with each other, offering terms to everyone but the farmer-owners. This competitive policy to grow more votes does not grow more food.

Are we going to make up for the food deficit—a permanent and fatal deficit as shown by those who have gone into it—by low-grade industrial production enthused by ministerial appeals and exported for sale to countries that have been long ago industrialised up to the brim ? Or are we hoping to tide over the food difficulty by selling oriental curios to fashionable men and women among the new rich in America and elsewhere ?

Or are we going to do it by mortgaging our Independence or large chunks of it in some shape or other ? We must take steps to make the backbone of Indian life, agriculture, an attractive occupation as it was once upon a time and as the older people among us remember.

It is good sometimes to look backwards with the idea of looking forward. Changes are necessary but what is good can be made bad altogether by over-doing it.



Sotto Voce

Immaturity

It is difficult to imagine the kind of debate that took place in the Lok Sabha on the Finance Minister's survey of his Western tour, happening in the legislature of any other country in the world. Nothing practically was said by way of controverting or supporting the modest hopes he expressed of "substantial help" forthcoming from America and West Germany. Mr. M. R. Masani alone, of all the speakers, sought lucidly to analyse the basic factors that stand in the way of these hopes being realised. But even he succumbed to the prevailing temptation to distribute good and bad 'chits' according to one's own ideological prepossessions.

* * *

Not for the first time have the handful of Communists succeeded in dragging a red herring across the trail. It was suggested that they did not like the prospect of the Second Five Year Plan going through, though much pruned and docked, as the probable result of the Finance Minister's eleemosynary expedition to the lands of Capitalism. That was the reason (so ran the argument) why they attacked him on the one hand for his speeches abroad, and on the other demanded that the Government stick to the whole Plan and nothing but the Plan. But, in thus giving them more credit for subtlety than they perhaps deserve, the Government allowed themselves to be manoeuvred into a political debate on India's international policies which was not calculated to bring comfort to her friends or confusion to her enemies.

* * *

Mr. Masani, while venting his spleen on Mr. Krishna Menon, seemed to obey an obscure law of compensation in throwing the Finance Minister quite a few bouquets. The Communists in their turn, emptied a cornucopia of compliments on Mr. Menon's head. But they cried for the blood of Mr. Krishnamachari, because, in an interview with an American pressman, he had posed, however hypothetically, the possibility of a conflict between India and People's China and suggested that Mr. Dange and his comrades would then be ready to play the Trojan horse. And Acharya Kripalani basted the Finance Minister equally vigorously, not so much for his maladroitness, as for the unseemly begging which he was out to do on behalf of his Government.

* * *

The surprising thing is that the critics of the two Ministers should have acted as if they were surprised by the sudden discovery of these high functionaries' egotism and exhibitionism. Mr. Menon's egotism is so vast as to be almost impersonal. His assurance is as unshakable as that of the lion on the Asoka column. Mr. Krishnamachari is anything but certain of himself. His nervousness makes it necessary for him to be continually squirting little quanta of unpleasantness at everybody who is not excessively deferential. He patronised Mr. Rosenthal by superiorly referring to him as 'a young man'. While deprecating dramatising by journalists, he himself couldn't resist visualising Enemy No. I picturesquely in the person of Mr. Dange and told a not too excited House that if the Communists came to power, he (the Finance Minister) would be among the first to swing. But he was not above playing for sympathy by plaintively objecting to the Communists girding at the "lesser lights" in the Cabinet while ostentatiously praising the P.M.

* * *

But the reason why the man in the street was mystified and rather distressed by the Finance Minister's performance abroad was not that he tried to be pleasant to everybody. It was not even that he was seeking to be the universal friend. It was rather that he cultivated a glib expediency which seemed to give a chameleon-like complexion to his political personality and made India look small in the eyes of the world. In America he was full of praise for the tremendous achievements of American capitalism and private enterprise and he confidently aired his high hopes of help to India from the Land of Liberty. But as soon as he landed in Britain he had no hesitation in confiding to sympathetic ears that he hoped Britain, the leader in Democratic Socialism, would prove more appreciative of India's efforts. And he had hardly left Europe before he began thinking aloud whether after all Russia might not be the friend in need.

* * *

Mr. Nehru could, in his speech, have corrected the impression that T.T.K's utterances might have created of a basic lack of convictions, economic or political, on the part of his Government. But, unfortunately, he seemed to think it sufficient to repeat that he didn't care whether we got or failed to get loans from any country, provided we kept our armour untarnished. There was no need for him to emphasise with such vehemence that India didn't envisage war with any power in the East or the West. Her historic *Ajatasatru* Yudhishtira had one hundred and one enemies, not counting Karna. Meanwhile it is a melancholy fact that India wants money from abroad badly if even the core of the Plan is to be saved. And there is little prospect of the money coming from anywhere but America. I daresay that America for her own reasons, will still give us some help without paying undue attention to fireworks set off by the Communists in the hope that it might become a conflagration. But debates like these brand us with the stamp of immaturity.

VIGHNESWAR

SIDELIGHTS : :

Rajaji will be 79 this week. This issue of SWARAJYA is a modest offering in honour of the occasion. He now holds a unique position in the country. He is the only one living among the former lieutenants of the Mahatma not involved in the pre-occupations of some official position or other. In respect of the others, continued dilution of character caused by the strains of office and the temptation of clinging to it for as long as possible, have, as it were, cast on the political scene almost new personalities under the old skins. Between the old days of struggle for freedom and the present period of enjoyment of it, there is of course a visible link in the Prime Minister, the choice for that dignity of the Mahatma, prime organiser of the revolt against foreign rule. But between the Nehru of ten years ago and the Nehru of today, there is quite a difference, a difference which illustrates the distance between the Gandhian conception of Swaraj and the pattern of it that has taken shape after the exit of the Mahatma.

* * *

Except for the symbolic unity of a surviving top leadership, there is little sign otherwise now of continuity between the old and the new moralities. The eyes of the party leaders in favour with the Prime Minister are turned on the ballot-box. If they cannot get votes, they buy votes. Of their methods of collecting money for the purchase, the less said the better. In the temple of worship in which the ballot-box has come to be installed, strength of numbers has become the major means of power. Movements are springing up telling the more numerous that the less numerous are their legitimate prey in the proportion of their numerical insignificance. Since the freedom fight was fought on the basis that might is not right, we have travelled far. We have reached a point when no right seems to have a chance of being maintained that is not sustained by might.

Rajaji is the only great Congress leader of the Gandhian tradition not personally accountable for this deplorable drift. Though his acceptance of the Mahatma, while he lived, as the nation's supreme leader and master, was absolute, he never accepted submission without conviction as an obligation of discipline. There were occassions when he exercised the right of dissent as an integral part of the content of loyalty itself. And he exercised it, risking ostracism and indefinite exile into the wilderness, against the whole body of his Congress colleagues not excluding the Mahatma. But as his revolts were based on no selfish motive but were charged with accurate prophetic forecasts of things to come (which generally turned out in time to be true) they were not lost on Gandhi, but on the other hand contributed new angles of vision to widen his calculations. The constructive might of Rajaji's disagreements has thus entered into Congress policy on momentous occasions, displacing earlier fallacious assumptions. It has been written into the history of our country.

* * *

It is self-interest that clouds intellectual clarity. In public affairs no personal interest has ever obscured Rajaji's formulations of right and wrong. In fact, the entire subordination of personal interest to the public welfare is the basic principle of his whole philosophy of life illumined by careful reasoning and calm reflection. It is not an arid philosophy, since his experiences in active politics have been of unparallelled richness and variety. It is not the language of hyperbole but the simple truth that there is none in the whole country today who can hold a candle to him in experience, wisdom, ability, intellectual vigour, high character and disinterested sense of public duty.

* * *

There is none so capable as he, if given the chance, of stemming the rot that has got into Congress and its administration. But for himself, he seeks no such chance, having got out of the rut of ambition even for altruistic ends. Deep faith in God is one way in which the sensitive human conscience preserves itself against indifference and despair in a world of deteriorating values. Whatever Rajaji sees which is evil and which goes on with none or nothing to check it, serves nowadays to increase his insight into the future the more clearly, so well sustained is he by faith in the divine planning of Providence, against the frustrations of the miserable plannings of short-sighted Ministers and Governments. His criticisms of events and policies are like pearls of wisdom, of which the beauty may not be comprehended for the time being, but they are of an imperishable lustre which time will burnish and make more glorious. It is the blessed privilege of SWARAJYA to some extent at any rate to be the repository of such resplendent pearls of wisdom.

* * *

SWARAJYA has been called Rajaji's journal, his voice, his mouthpiece, the docile and servile instrument of his intentions and purposes. All this, even if meant in derogation by way of impugning the editor's freedom, I take as so much honour. Who is the real possessor of a picture? The painter who paints it, the onlooker who enjoys it, or the collector who hangs it on his wall? So, too, in the case of a journal, possession is beyond definition. It belongs to all who contribute to its life in a significant manner. Independence does not consist in avoidance of agreement with right thinking or in making a flourish of disagreement in proof of freedom from servility. Access "with no strings attached" to a master mind which is today the nation's most precious asset and may well be humanity's hope tomorrow, is a stroke of good fortune that comes but rarely, to cheer the path of the conscientious journalist. And it is in conflict with nothing worth cherishing, no sacred right or imperative duty.

SAKA

THE SUPREME WEAPON

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It was easy to burst the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and demonstrate that the Western Alliance powers no longer depended upon the Russians and had no need to ask favours of them. Churchill rejoiced at the consequent happier prospect in Europe. Explanations were given that it was to save human lives that this horrid step was taken even though Japan had virtually surrendered. And it was done giving Stalin the barest notice of it but without fully informing him of the nature of the new weapon. But the law of *karma* has taken its course. Russia has now achieved mastery over the ultimate in weapons, the intercontinental ballistic missile with nuclear warhead.

Possession of this weapon gives the Soviet Union unquestioned superiority over Britain and her allies in Europe. The elaborate mechanism of Western military power in the continent is now found to be of no real utility. This realization of inutility includes ground and air forces established by NATO, and the vast system of logistical support for these forces as well as the air bases in Britain, on the continent and in Africa, from which "the great deterrent" of nuclear bombing was to be exerted.

The leadership of the West so confidently assumed by the United States at the close of the war is now very much in question. The British have realised this. They also know that they cannot resume the leadership themselves and therefore they are all the more concerned with this non-technical aspect of the situation, what is now called "bargaining power". Sooner or later the question will be raised in the minds of the public of these countries whether membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is any longer the best way of avoiding nuclear war, and whether America must be allowed to take all the political decisions in moments of crisis.

Meanwhile in the ledger of spiritual losses and gains every one including *The New York Times* agrees that American society is not as free as it was half a century ago, the defence programme forced on America having interfered with a substantial part of the freedoms on which she had been priding herself.

A very very brief letter from one David Figart of Briarcliff Manor, New York, dated Nov. 10, 1957 that appeared in *The New York Times* puts the reality in a nutshell: "The supreme problem facing the American people today is not to surpass Russia in nuclear weapons—nor even to overtake her. It is to recover some of our spiritual vision. There is a weapon with which we could win this cold war. It is goodwill. The Russian people bear us no enmity—we bear them none. Any other starting point for negotiations will surely fail".

This small letter contains better advice than what President Eisenhower has been getting from all his newly enrolled scientific and other advisers. It is difficult for pride to retrace steps, especially frustrated pride. It was easier for America to do what Mr. Figart and others like him advise when it was believed on all hands that she was the stronger party. But it is not too late, though indeed late.

Churchill gave the sad title "Triumph and Tragedy" to the last volume of his narrative of the World war, "because the overwhelming victory of the Grand Alliance has failed so far to bring general peace to our anxious world". It is yet possible to turn the tragedy into a triumph if Britain and America recover their spiritual vision.

RAJAJI, THE MOST SUCCESSFUL MINISTER

By SRI PRAKASA

Governor of Bombay

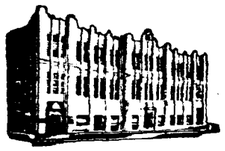
Rajaji is a very learned man. He was a practising lawyer; but when he once non-co-operated he never went back to the profession again. His household life is pure and simple. He has unrivalled powers of self-control and self-discipline. His clothes are simple and always scrupulously clean. During his days as Chief Minister of Madras, he had to work very very hard. He had taken upon himself the task of three Ministers. I have heard that some times he used to faint, working so hard. But he refused to lessen his labours when medically advised to do so. In despair, the doctors told him to eat more food if he wanted to get sufficient strength and energy to grapple with his heavy duties.

Praise must be given to him for having cured himself of asthma which few people have done, by strictly regulating his diet and keeping strict control upon himself both in the matter of the quality and quantity of his food. His books and his speeches show what a great master he is of philosophy, politics, astronomy, literature and varied other subjects. In debates he is unrivalled. When I was General Secretary of the Congress, I witnessed how easily he could get the better in discussions of even big brains like those of Pandit Motilal Nehru and others.

He has a subtle and flexible intellect, and I believe he can prove to be true whatever he might like to espouse for the moment. This is his strength and this is his weakness too. That is why he seems to support mutually contradictory lines of thought at different times. This may also be the reason why to ordinary men he seems to live an 'unsettled' life and appears to espouse opposing causes.

Nobody appears to be sure what

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line of thought he would adopt at a particular time and support it with his wonderful and profound intellect. There can be no doubt however that he has no personal axe to grind; he certainly, for the moment, sincerely believes that what he says is the right and proper course. We must not forget that in the world in which we live, there is nothing that can be regarded as immutable; and the exigency of the moment needs must make a practical man take steps in life which may appear to others strange and unaccountable and even reactionary. His language however always connotes intellectual courage of a high order. When he once comes to a decision, he is prepared to argue for it with all mankind. So long as he does not change his own opinion, no one can shake him. He is prepared to part from his friends for the sake of his opinions if that tragedy must be faced. Regarded as one of the inseparable lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi, he had even to leave his own master; but his personal affection stands unmoved; and in his personal conduct he maintains his old world courtesies, so very natural to him; and very rightly he is most sensitive to unfair attacks on his integrity or sincerity.

He possesses a great deal of moral courage also. In his social life, too, he evinces this inner strength and courage.

My personal intimate contacts with him were during the days I was the General Secretary of the Congress. I was struck at that time by the subtlety of his intellect, the extent of his knowledge as well as his unruffled temper, his uniform courtesy, his efficiency and his determination. He is not above the ordinary weaknesses of human beings. He has his partialities, his obstinacies and even his jealousies. But while talking to his fellowmen I have found him boldly standing up for his colleagues as few do.

Once I proposed that in Swaraj there should be no sentence of death. Rajaji was against my view. I was not unaware of the fact that one of the Presidents of France decided that he would change every sentence of death passed to life imprisonment in the exercise of his prerogative. The news got abroad before long: and it is also said that the number of murders rapidly increased. The guillotine came back into operation. When I proposed as a fundamental right of the Indian citizen that he shall not be executed, I remember Rajaji turning round to me and saying: "You do not know your own country. All types of men inhabit the land. We cannot do without executions". Another of my proposals was that there shall be no titles bestowed by Government. Rajaji said to me in an almost distressed voice: "I really see that you do not know your country at all. If you stop titles like Rao Saheb and Khan Saheb, how would you stop titles of Mahatma, Desabandhu and Tyagamurti? In our country unfortunately, people are very fond of titles and special privileges".

Verily Rajaji is a unique figure in our social and political life. Men may attack his opinions as they please; but no one can accuse him of any selfishness or of seeking any personal interest. He is after no personal gain. He says and does what he thinks is in the best interests of the country. He combines his frankness with extreme courtesy, his greatness with humility: his knowledge with tolerance; and his patriotism with efficiency. He has made no parade of his sacrifices. He has always been in the front rank in the Congress movement. Among the Congress Ministers perhaps he was the most successful. — *(Excerpts from an article written twelve years ago.)*

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TRIBUTE TO RAJAJI

By VISWAMITRA

The enigma of Rajaji starts with his birth. He does not know the date, and his birthday is but a chronological recognition of the passing of one more year. In the endless march of time, any demarcation by reference to one's self is an egocentric interference, and it seems fitting that in respect of one who is both wise and old, the event should be a symbolic celebration by those who are devoted to him, rather than a religious reminder of it by himself.

Rather let us count his years in terms of a procession of sacrifice, service, success and sorrow. During the early days of the fight for freedom he was the mentor of Congress stategy, and the medicine man for the cure of obstreperous opposition from within. He was the *alter ego* of the Mahatma. As Chief Minister of Madras, he was the first to see the possibilities of the sales tax. He pioneered the policy of the party in prohibition, temple entry, agriculturists' relief and subsidy for hand woven cloth. Others followed. In 1942 he joined issue with Gandhiji himself on the question of war time civil disobedience, and the necessity for a National Government and a people's army in the face of imminent invasion, which all but came off. He was the first to measure the strength of the Muslim move for separation, and he evolved a formula which reconciled the minimum of Indian unity with autonomy for the provinces. In 1950 he refused to continue food controls which were corrupting the centres of administration. He tried to make primary education purposeful and ecological to the rural life, but by then blind forces had taken the stage, and insistence on misinterpreting him had been elevated to a political creed.

Today he is functioning as a one man opposition in a country that won freedom and has thereafter walked into slavery. Overcentralisation, the slow withering of regional autonomy, undemocratic dictation of national policy, he perceives the passing of freedom in the vortex of these forces. He sees that the States have become dependent and dole-minded and have been reduced to the status of feeble local bodies, and the Centre, operating from a distance, is exercising power without responsibility. Unless the regional forces are united into a constructive opposition, he is certain that we shall drift into an all-time, one-party, Centre-directed government. To him the imposition of Hindi by the North is one more step in this stifling process. Beyond the boundaries of India, the Western powers are torturing science into the service of mutual destruction. But his still small voice is not to be silenced. Writing and speaking, he makes himself felt. The futility of the bomb-race amuses him. "If *ideology* means anything at all, *the struggle* must be in the plane of logic and reason, not in physical conflict. It is a tragedy that which way of life is the better one is to be settled by exploding bombs, like a duel with pistols to prove who spoke the truth". It is a tribute to the respect in which his opinions are held, that alone, and in the face of a phalanx of orthodox-expertness, he killed the B. C. G. campaign in South India.

In recent years he has been drawn more and more to the life of the spirit. It is an inevitable consummation of vast experience and clear thinking. But not for him the isolation and luxury of abstract speculation. He postulates a synthesis in which are merged the ideals of work without reward, devotion to God, and self-realisation. It is a harmony of *yoga* in all its facets. In consonance with tradition, he rejects the apparatus of normal ratiocination in the quest for God. He said the other day in an article in SWARAJYA: "It seems to me if we make this expedition to discover the source of this perennial and holy river of man's faith in Good, we shall reach the reality of God, which logic has been unable to discover. This non-utilitarian faith in Good, that man's mind refuses to give up, testifies to the Reality. God reveals himself in man's conscience, the *antaraatman*, as our *scriptures call it*".

Perhaps it is the price that a prophet has to pay that he should suffer a spate of contemporary misunderstanding. But he has a contrary will which is wedded to truth, and it forces its way towards sunshine, leaving the gloom behind. And those who have the privilege of his friendship know that his sallies are on the surface, and deep down in his heart glows a warmth that scorns to flame into insincere demonstration, and a love that he leaves to speak by acts rather than professions.

He brings to mind Browning's Rabbi:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be.
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith 'A whole I planned
Youth shows but half; trust God,
See all, nor be afraid'.

Let us hope and pray that for him and for us, through him, the best is yet to come.



CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The T.T.K.-week in Lok Sabha passed by, without making any difference to the world or to anyone. There was no question of his being thrown overboard on the strength of votes; nor was there any doubt about his not being censured otherwise — perhaps even privately by some of those who publicly stood behind him. Such are the ways of democracy! Nothing unexpected happens in Delhi, it seems. It would be truer to say, that 'nothing ever happens' in Delhi. Let us recall this Harcourt episode: "What will happen then?" Churchill asked William Harcourt once. "My dear Winston", replied the old Victorian statesman, "the experiences of a long life have convinced me that nothing ever happens". How true this is of political life in Nehru's Delhi!

* * *

Mr. Krishnamachari may well congratulate himself on having survived the verbal onslaughts on the floor of the House. Severe they were for any sensitive soul but not too severe for one like Mr. Krishnamachari with an obviously thick integument. What if some extremely harsh expletives were hurled at him from the Opposition benches! From the Treasury Benches were handed to him some bouquets of praise. The Prime Minister's intervention was friendly and chivalrous; that was as expected. But one hardly looked forward to Sri Pantji's garland for T. T. K's neck. Master of mellifluous diction and dispenser of soothing syrup, the over-generous Home Minister doled out a panegyric. And one could have hardly asked for a more effective balm for one's bruises. It was good to realise that Mr. Krishnamachari was not without his friends, admirers and well-wishers. Junius wondered if, after that spate of Pantji's platitudinous pomposity, he should ever be prepared for the Finance Minister's efflorescence into a Bharat Ratna!

* * *

Of all descriptions of Delhi, there is none more realistic than that the capital is the contractor's paradise. For want of space, the sky-scrapers are becoming popular. They have already changed the face of New Delhi as well as its outlook. Yet one is confronted with the grim paradox that the more the buildings spring up, the greater is the demand for additional space, and not the least for what is called office accommodation. According to statisticians, the shortage of office accommodation in New Delhi is nearly 500,000 square feet. So, with a view to relieving congestion in the capital, it is proposed, we are seriously told, to shift some offices to Nagpur, Bhopal, Mussoorie and some cities of Rajasthan. It is for the umpteenth time that one has heard of this kind of talk at Ministerial levels. Public memory is proverbially short. About seven years ago — it was Mr. N. V. Gadgil's day then — Parliament was presented with a list of nineteen offices, proposed to be shifted from Delhi, at the instance of a committee appointed by the Cabinet. Even a date was fixed — March 1950 — as the deadline. But nothing happened as each office figuring in the list found or invented excuses to stay put. It is too good to be true that things are going to be different now. If someone were to ask the Central Government to tell how many schemes projected by Government and duly publicised, were later dropped altogether, the list would be much more impressive than any that the Ministry of Housing, Works and Supply can readily give in respect of the offices to be shifted, or proposed to be shifted, from the capital. There is little use mistaking about one thing. Nature's rockets easily fall to the ground but not Delhi's rackets!

* * *

There are people — how few they are — whose very presence amidst us gives us confidence and strength, besides happiness and joy and we cannot be too thankful to Providence for having preserved them for us — and for our sake. Not difficult to understand that. For, how shrunk and shrivelled would England have been but for Churchill at Chartwell. There is a Man who has seen life as life should have been seen and lived it as it should have been gone through, in calm or storm. And possibly on Saturday when he woke up 83, he smoked an yet fatter cigar, with a humorous twinkle in his eye, in the true English mood that, if "it is pleasant to see the sun on the morning hills, it is not less pleasant to walk home when the shadows are lengthening and the cool of the evening has come". In India, Junius's thoughts turn to Sri Rajaji who will be 79 next week — one of our very rare men by any standard. Some are surprised that he still revels in controversy. But isn't it one way of keeping one's heart young? There is yet another reason. For some men who live for others rather than for themselves, the world's problems are their own till their last breath. Let us, when it is still given to us, salute Sri Rajaji with prayerful good wishes as a man of affairs and statesman, philosopher and sage, whose life is 'a sum total of religion and morals' and is a proud

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RAJAJI IN HIS LAWYER DAYS

By R. V. KRISHNA AIYAR

I was enrolled as a vakil of the High Court on the 18th April 1907 and immediately I left for Salem, my native place, to practice there as a lawyer. Having been first in every university examination for which I had appeared, I was naturally anxious that I should not be an example of brilliant students proving failures in life and so it was not without a good deal of trepidation and anxiety that I faced the future. On reaching Salem, I paid courtesy visits to three or four senior members of the Salem Bar. But to my utter disappointment and sorrow, they only commiserated me with the words "Why do you enter this already overcrowded profession? Can you not, with your high academical qualifications, get a decent footing in Government service?" Rajaji had been at the Bar for only six or seven years then. But by virtue of his fame for successful advocacy and the volume and lucrativeness of his practice, he had already begun to be counted among the seniors of the Salem Bar. When I went to him to finish up my round of visits, he expressed his delight at seeing me; he had suspected that I might yield to the temptation of a safe Government job, but was glad that I chose a profession which afforded such scope for talent as no other profession did. He said that though there was no question of one member of the Salem Bar helping another member with money or work, he would give me all the sympathy and encouragement which it was in his power to give and that I was sure to prosper in the profession. His words of kindness and encouragement fell on my ears like nectar falling on parched lips. I felt I had seen my mentor and guide; and I gained courage, confidence and hope. I paid no further visits to any other senior member. From that day when I first saw him till the day nearly 39 months later when I left Salem to take up an appointment at Erode as district munsiff, he treated me, junior though I was, as a friend and as a companion worthy of his association and showered on me acts of kindness which, as the Hindu saying goes, I cannot repay even if I take seven more births.

In those days, Salem as the headquarters of Sri C. Vijayaraghavachariar, had a reputation for political activity and though it was more widely known than any other person in Salem, yet it was Rjaji that was the real moving spirit and life of all kinds of progressive activity in that town.

Associated with Rajji was his friend Sri B. V. Narasima Ayyar who afterwards became famous as a legislator and a protagonist of Home Rule for India, and who still later while yet in the prime of his life, gave up secular activities and turned to a life of asceticism and became the founder and indefatigable preacher of the Sai faith. Another friend of Rajaji was K. G. Venkata Subbier who after a term of successful lecturership in Mathematics in the Madras Christian College had joined the Salem Bar and later on became the Public Prosecutor and Government Pleader of that place. Though not brilliant, he was a man of great ability and steadiness of character and was an accomplished scholar. There was yet another friend of Rajaji, K. Seshu Iyer, a teacher in the Salem Municipal College — a short, brilliant, active gentleman of remarkable versatility whom we used to call the 'All Knowing Seshu'. There were other friends also, like Sri T. Adinarayana Chetty, who had the utmost confidence in Rajaji's guidance and leadership and co-operated with him. At the same time there existed also in Salem a disgruntled group of men, mostly pleaders, who were engaged in pejorative activities against Rajaji, attacking him mostly for his unorthodox activities in social matters.

When the Congress split into Extremists and Moderates, under the influence of Rajaji, Salem politics became extremist. In 1908, the Moderates resolved to hold a Congress of their own at Madras excluding from it the so-called Extremists and with this object they introduced a rule that every delegate to the Congress should sign a written declaration agreeing to what used to be known as the 'Moderate creed', namely, self-government under British control and constitutional methods of agitation. A longstanding political association in Salem called the Mahajana Sabha claimed exemption from this creed. But the moderate leaders of Madras then headed by Sri V. Krishnaswami Ayyar refused to exempt the Sabha and Sri V. S. Sreenivasa Sastri who had just joined the Servants of India Society and was then the right-hand man of Krishnaswamy Ayyar, was sent to Salem to negotiate with Rajaji and other leaders of the Extremist movement at Salem. But he could not effect any compromise and a move by Sastri to hold a public meeting in Salem with a view to forming a new Moderate party ended in a fiasco, as under the leadership of Rajaji, persons only went upto the gate of the place of meeting to witness the discomfiture of the conveners inside the hall and not into it to attend the meeting itself. Mr. Sastri had therefore to go back to Madras empty-handed. I find that in his biography of Sir Pherozshah Mehta which he wrote decades afterwards, he has referred to the trouble which Salem gave to the Moderates in connection with the Madras Congress of 1908. Though he refers therein to Sri C. Vijayaraghavachariar as having been at the bottom of the move against the Moderate Congress, it was in reality only Rajaji.

When Rajaji espouses a worthy cause, he is never daunted by seeming unsuccess. He therefore took up the matter of his exclusion by the Moderate Congress to the forum of public opinion, and issued a manifesto exposing the high-handed action of the Moderate leaders in Madras. Sri K. Natesa Ayyar, who afterwards became a Government Pleader at Salem and myself were co-signatories of the manifesto along with Rajaji. It created some sensation throughout India and public meetings were reported to have been held in different centres condemning the action of the leaders in Madras in excluding the Salem patriots from attending the Madras Congress. Eventually, we could not attend the Congress as delegates but attended as visitors.

Rajaji was in favour of abolition of all caste distinctions and as a preliminary to it favoured inter-dining and inter-marriage among the castes. In those days, orthodoxy at Salem was in an aggressive mood. When, a few years before, Mr. R. Narayana Iyer, a Brahmin I.C.S. officer, came to Salem as a fresh Assistant Collector and a few leading Brahmins at Salem interdined with him, a coterie of orthodox men boycotted them as caste renegades. But Rajaji never minded this coterie; and some time later, in spite of bitter opposition, he actually helped a Harijan student with finance to study in the higher forms of the Salem Municipal High School. He also inspired one or two junior members of the Bar with enthusiasm to take up Harijan work and among them was a pleader by name K. V. Subba Row who may really be said to have lived and died for the Harijan cause.

Believing in the necessity for the unification of castes and in communal harmony, Rajaji, along with some friends of his, joined the order of Free Masonry which is popularly believed to stand for brotherhood and equality of men. Within a short time afterwards, he with the help and co-operation of Mr. Buckley, then Collector of Salem, who was also a distinguished Mason, actually founded a new Masonic Lodge in Salem and very soon brought it to prominence. In spite of his enthusiasm for Free Masonry, he was, when he joined the Non-co-operation movement in 1920, expelled from that institution for disloyalty to Government by a few of the I.C.S. officers who at that time wielded authority in that institution. In their eyes, even Free Masonry was to be a field where their political superiority was to be asserted.

On one occasion, K. G. V. and I accompanied Rajaji to Kurnool to attend a social reform conference there. On our way back, K. G. V's watch fell out. Rajaji began at once to count the telegraph posts on the

line from the place where the watch had fallen. It was night time and we did not realise then what Rajaji was doing. When the train stopped at the next station, he called the station master and told him: "At a place beyond so many telegraph posts, a watch of ours has fallen on the railway line; if any of your men can discover it and send it to us, we will give him a decent reward". On the third or fourth day from then, K. G. V. duly got back the watch. We could only admire Rajaji's ready resourcefulness. Other people in the circumstances would have given up the watch as lost and as impossible of recovery.

Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha movement in South Africa was then causing great interest in India. A youngman of Salem, B. V. Namagiri, used to speak at meetings about this movement. He was a very good Tamil speaker, but he was a Government servant, being a clerk in the Salem collectorate. One day, Mr. Clegg, then Collector of Salem, called him and said: "Young man, you are entitled to hold any opinion you please on these matters. But if you ventilate them as you have been doing, you will come to grief". Namagiri soon resigned his job and started, at Rajaji's instance, a Swadeshi store. Rajaji regularly patronised that store and Namagiri soon became a successful trader and in due course became the owner of more than one bungalow in Salem. Rajaji was an ardent supporter of the Swadeshi movement and encouraged only handloom goods. Khaddar had not come into vogue at that time.

From the commencement, as if directed by destiny, Rajaji showed great admiration for Gandhiji's movement. Once a native of the Salem district who had taken part in Gandhiji's Satyagraha in South Africa, came to Salem. Rajaji kept him as his guest in his house, listened to all his accounts regarding Gandhiji, brought him to the Salem Literary Society and made him give an informal talk to the members about Gandhiji and his movement. I still remember as if it was yesterday, his description of Gandhiji as a "little man in appearance, with heart as big as the mountain which you see in front".

He was a great admirer of Bharathi. Once he went to Pondicherry where Bharathi had taken refuge, as to a place of pilgrimage. K. G. V. and I accompanied him to Pondicherry. We stayed in Pondicherry for three or four days, and more than once we heard Bharati sing some of his patriotic songs. Rajaji's admiration for Bharathi was based not only on his patriotism, but on his enchanting poetry.

Rajaji was a lover of books and reading. He started a book club in Salem in which some of us were members. With the monthly subscriptions paid by us, good newly published books used to be purchased by the club, circulated to the members who read papers on the books read by them and take part in discussions regarding them. These meetings used to be followed or preceded by good dinners. Several of these meetings were held in Rajaji's house where we used to have excellent dinners. Rajaji had two very good cooks at the time and the dinners in his house used to be eagerly awaited and relished. Rajaji was a very good host. The Salem District and Sessions Court is situated three miles away from Salem Town. In those days there were no facilities for tiffin during the lunch interval in the compound of that court. Whenever Rajaji had work in that court, his cooks used to bring tiffin which would be sufficient for several persons and most of the vakils present used to be invited by Rajaji to partake of the same.

Rajaji lived a good and decent life. He always resided in one of the best houses in Salem. From almost the commencement of his practice, he had a horse and carriage of his own and used to drive it himself. The story is well known of how one day his horse which he was himself driving bolted and began to gallop headlong through the crowded streets of Salem and how he kept his head cool and the reins tight and allowed the horse to run and exhaust itself without any accident to himself or to any other person. Later in Madras, even when motor cars had not come very much into vogue, he possessed a motor car and learnt to drive it himself. He subscribed liberally to public causes and was generous in his private charity in respect of which it may very well be said that his left hand did not know what his right hand gave.

In all his activities he had the unhindering and helpful co-operation of his wife who was then living. She was the very embodiment of womanly virtues. She died in 1917 and Rajaji who had loved her dearly is said to have tended her during her illness in a way which evoked the admiration of all his friends.

Rajaji's father also was living at the time. He was an orthodox gentleman, noted for his scholarship and piety. He was proud of his son's attainments and successes and though he did not approve of Rajaji's unorthodox ways, he never interfered with his activities in the sphere of social reform and always gave a kindly welcome to his friends.

Even when he was a vakil, Rajaji often used to deprecate the fleecing of clients by vakils for fees and used to say: "A client comes to a vakil because he is already in some trouble; it is immoral for a vakil to take advantage of the client's trouble and extract all the money he can from him". If he was earning by the thousand, it was not by any kind of legal extortion. I have myself been present either at my house or his when clients engaged him for their cases. He would never higgle with the clients for fees; he would ask the client how much he could pay and the client would mention a fairly big sum which Rajaji would accept or he would himself mention a sum which the client would immediately accept. He had such reputation for winning cases that no client would risk losing his services by offering low fees to him. In fact it was a factitious criticism in the Salem district at that time that Rajaji was the cause of increase in serious crime in the district; for, criminals committed crimes without fear of punishment, saying "There is Rajaji to save us".

Nor was his reputation unjustified. He had an eye for the weak points in an opponent's case and had an incredible capacity by his dexterous arguments to lead a judge step by step into a flattering and satisfying illusion that he had discovered the truth of the case by himself, though it was always the conclusion which Rajaji wanted him to arrive at.

In those days there was a weekly journal in Madras, called *The Liberal*, edited by an advocate by name Subrahmanyam. A most popular feature of that journal was a weekly open letter in which the faults and foibles of some leading personage or other in India would be held up to ridicule for the delectation of a credulous public. In one of the issues, the person castgated was T. Swami Ayyar, district munsiff at Salem, who had quarrelled with a pleader S. Subramanya Ayyar. Swami Ayyar, though not a graduate, was an able munsiff, but he had the bad quality of attending court only at 2-30 p.m. every day and had also obtained the unwholesome reputation of partiality to a gallant class of Salem pleaders. The open letter in *The Liberal* had been written by S. Subramanya Ayyar and was certainly a very defamatory one. Swami Ayyar thought that that was a good handle for teaching Subramanya Ayyar a lesson and he initiated proceedings against him under the Legal Practitioners' Act. No vakil in Slem would appear to defend Subramanya Ayyar. But Rajaji agreed to defend him, and when the case came up before the munsiff, the curt hall and precincts of the court were full to capacity. Rajaji argued the case in a superb manner, all he time making the munsiff and te audience laugh and convincing the munsiff that it would be foolish on his part to pursue the matter further and making him drop the proceedings.

Envious vakils used to attribute the uniform succes of Rajaji in his cases to partiality on the part of judges. But it is absurd to say that all the judges of all the couts in the district during all the year of Rajaji's practice there decided Rajaji's cases in favour of his cliers because of their partiality to him. Surely there must have been something in his advocacy

(Continued on Page 15)

'. . . OVER A. I. R.'

By M. KRISHNAN

There are times when specific detail in a strongly-felt criticism can only be harsh and graceless. *It is not* the performance of a person that is in issue on such occasions, but the manner of planning a job, a general trend. *Why provide instances*, when the trend is sufficiently displayed to be indicated as a trend? In the criticism of the Madras Tamil school-broadcasts that follows, I shall not refer to any broadcast by way of example, except where it is highly illustrative. However, I may assure the reader that I listened to many broadcasts in this series during November, and that throughout I kept in mind certain difficulties native to the planning of such broadcasts.

One of these difficulties is the changeable and somewhat mottled complexion of Tamil prose, spoken and written. Though no linguist, I feel sure that in few other languages can the spoken and written dictions differ so widely. True that these differences, which seem utterly bewildering at first, can be largely reconciled by a deep study of words, but how many writers and talkers stop to think over the words they use before using them, how many have the classical background and the familiarity with the oral literature that alone can help them to discern and appreciate the value of such a study to sure expression? I must confess that I am no enthusiast for the prose of my contemporaries. I cannot help thinking that very few of the recognized prose-writers of today have any merit in their work. The style of many of them revolts me with its crudities, its redundant verbiage and weak exaggerations, or else its precious, self-conscious, trite brevity and its horrible tenderness—so blatantly do these men lack craftsmanship and assurance that they must go back and learn the language anew and better before they can write at all. It is not that I am influenced by the middle-aged tendency to think poorly of contemporaries—honestly, I like the prose of these men better than that of the accepted masters of yesterday. I mention all this only to ask the question, is it not possible for A.I.R. to insist on certain standards of diction and expression in accepting matter for school-broadcasts, meant for young and impressionable listeners?

The answer is that it is not. Tamil prose being of such near origin, having suffered so recently by the fortuitous rise to eminence of men who lacked craftsmanship and style, cannot now be circumscribed by imposed standards. Words laxly used must be suffered, till our writers and speakers develop a finer appreciation of the language, in the course of the next generation or two. But this tolerance need not be absolute.

Because I just don't have the space here to make my point explicitly, I must indicate it briefly, and run the risk of being misunderstood! May I repeat that my point is that while A.I.R. will not be able to find the number of broadcasters it needs for its educational programmes if it insists on good spoken Tamil, and while what constitutes good spoken Tamil is a thing that cannot be specified closely today, it is still possible and desirable for A.I.R. to tell its talkers to try and avoid expression that is too pedantic as speech, and speech which is too coarse and vulgar as prepared speech.

Here I may mention Srimati N. Ramasubramaniam's spirited talk on a Tamil proverb about bullocks which, rendered into loose English idiom, could be "Spare the rod and spoil the child" (Nov. 29, Tamil Women's Programme). This talk was not broadly colloquial nor was it pedantic, in spite of its literary allusions. It was a delight to hear simple, forthright Tamil spoken, with power and ease, the kind of Tamil which in a transcript, would lose little of its force and elegance, and which was still so natural when spoken.

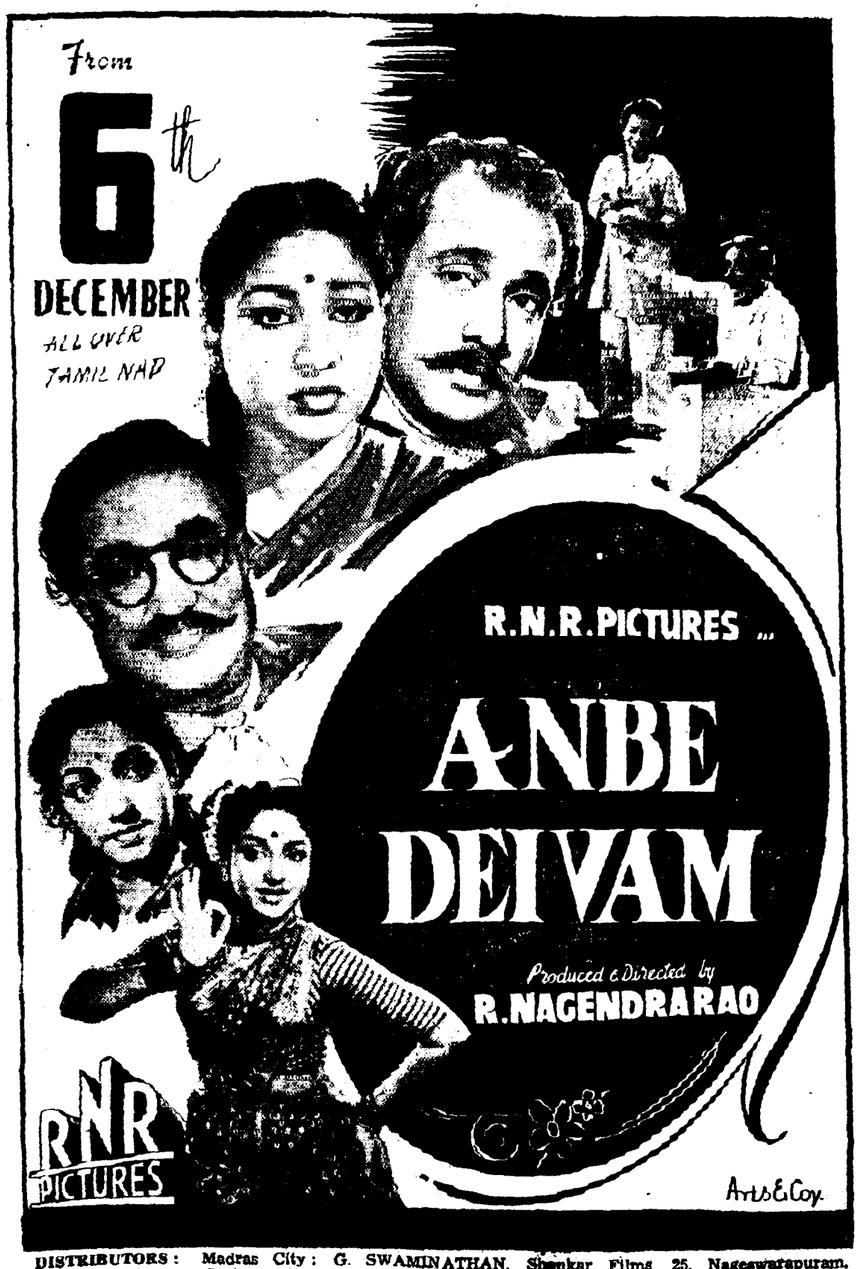
By way of contrast, may I cite Professor K. N. Umapathi's talk in the Tamil Middle School programme earlier that day? This was a talk on the need for young people learning to swim, and the accidental damage that can be caused in or by water (sorry, no simpler or clearer way of indicating the scope of this talk). An extremely limited subject, but even so the speaker failed to mention the sea, though he talked apprehensively of river and tank and pond and well. Nor did he mention the dangers of Madras tap-water, so full of micro-organisms that I fear the recent convocation of vegetarians here must unwittingly have consumed quite a lot of non-veg. stuff. But that is not my quarrel with the Profcssor; it is that his language was too pedantic, too needlessly pedantic. I know how unfair it is to tear words out of their context and present them, *transliterated*, as examples of anyone's diction. So, may I present you with the first sentence in this talk, and assure you that the sentences that followed were cast in very similar mould?

Vibathukkal enbavai nammakku erpadum ethirpaaratha siria allathu peria innalgal.

Such archaic language, used to convey simple statements of fact or opinion, can only lend bathos to whatever is said.

I have intentionally reserved my main criticism of A.I.R. educational broadcasts till now. Never mind the language, A.I.R., which is concerned with speech and not writing (though it insists on a script) may not find it possible to be too choosy over the Tamil diction of its talkers. But can't it insist on their talking Tamil? Why does A.I.R. employ talkers who lisp, whose Tamil accents are so insufferably affected and coy or else so insufferably coarse and uneducated? I cannot, for reasons explained, refer to particular broadcasts—but there is no need for such specification. Just listen to the Tamil broadcasts of A.I.R., Madras (or, for that matter, Tiruchi) and you will very soon hear Tamil being spoken in a mincing, foreign manner, as if it were English, Tamil being mumbled, stuttered and cooed. Strong language, I realise, but I speak the truth.

AT MADRAS CASINO — PRABHAT AND SARASWATHI



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Perhaps, especially in broadcasts meant for primary schools, it would be best to adopt spoken Tamil, the simple and unaffected manner of common speech, as spoken by educated people who habitually think and talk in Tamil. This thought occurred to me after hearing T. Janakiraman tell a story from the Mahabharata, in the Tamil Primary School programme of November 26. Earlier I wrote of men who had made a name for themselves as masters of Tamil prose, without the ability to write—may I pay my tribute to Mr. Janakiraman as an authentic writer, whose skill and verve and sure sense of style and form I admire and applaud? I believe Mr. Janakiraman is very much concerned, officially, with the Tamil school-broadcasts of A. I. R., Madras. I rather suspect that he told his story, unburdened by any script. Anyway, he alone of all the school-broadcasters I heard, preferred to use the spoken language—perhaps because he knew his literary reputation was quite secure! He must have felt a pang of disappointment when his audience confessed that it had not heard of Bhishma (in spite of the fact that Bhishma had been featured prominently in earlier Primary School broadcasts); and he had to seek refuge in a proverb which counsels one not to betray one's native place, even if one must come out with one's name, when a listening child asked him to where the hero of his story belonged. His story was not one of the most interesting of the many Mahabharata tales, but he told it well and it was evident he held the attention of his listeners. We want more such story-tellers in the school-broadcasts.

* * *

I was once taken to task by a former Station Director of A.I.R., Madras, for saying that school-broadcasts are not listened to in most Madras schools—I was advised that I had no business to jump to such conclusions, on the basis of stray inquiries made by me, when A.I.R. had such impressive statistics of listening schools. My inquiries were sufficiently careful and revealing to

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RAJAJI AT SEVENTY NINE

By K. P. MALLIKARJUNUDU

The popular belief that age has a withering effect loses its validity in the case of Rajaji, now about to enter on his seventy-ninth year. Age, instead of diminishing, has enhanced his intellectual faculties. That a resilient mind, susceptible of receiving new ideas, and capable of serving as a bridge between the past and the future, holding firm the moorings of the past, is able to render greater service to humanity, as age advances further and further if opportunities for its exercise are made available, is sufficiently illustrated by the life of Rajaji at seventy-nine.

It is a strange coincidence that Gandhi, Rajaji and Nehru came into this world each separated by a decade. Gandhiji was born in 1869, Rajaji in 1879 and Nehru in 1889. Each contributed mightily to the achievement of Indian independence. In Indian mythology is found the story of Tripurasamhara according to which Lord Siva waged a battle with the demon called Tripurasura and killed him. Lord Vishnu became the arrow and Brahma the charioteer. Likewise, in the battle against British imperialism, waged by Gandhiji, while Nehru became the spearhead, Rajaji acted as the charioteer. It is no secret that Gandhiji consulted Rajaji in every important matter whether they could agree or not and that he took his final decisions after such consultations.

It cannot be gainsaid that our country is now passing through a very critical period both in the internal and international spheres and it is fortunate in having the dynamic leadership of Nehru. Is the need for consultation with men of ripe wisdom, rich experience and reliable integrity, any the less now under the existing circumstances, having regard to the intricate problems of our country, than in Gandhiji's days? Undoubtedly there is need for calm and clear thinking by men who have a spiritual background, possess a wide vision and a large perspective, and are hampered neither by any doctrinaire approach nor by any narrow-grooved realism. Shrewd minds that can penetrate into the cobwebs of complicated situations free from fear, hatred and selfishness would certainly be of immense help in the solution of our present problems of confusing complexity. There is no convincing reason why the services of Rajaji are not made use of in some form or other when, despite his age, he is physically strong and healthy and mentally stronger and healthier than ever before to render assistance by way of advice.

I remember to have read in the newspapers some time ago certain observations made by Nehruji to the effect that though Rajaji is a man of great wisdom and whatever he says deserves close attention, his advice may not be acceptable as he is out of touch with the latest developments, not being in any official position. Not to take the advice of such a man putting him in possession of all facts necessary for such advice is to incur responsibility for the wasting of a precious national asset. The efficiency of any administration is, indeed, measured by its capacity to eliminate waste and put to the best use all the effective resources available to it, both human and material. A good word even from a child can be accepted, and it is in that humble spirit that I write this. Many thinking persons would agree with me that Rajaji is an eminently suitable man to offer enlightened advice on all grave problems of national import at the highest level, by reason of his incisive intellect, mellowed wisdom, rich experience sanctified by sacrifice, and his farsighted statesmanship which can see things dispassionately in the right perspective, uninfluenced by fear, hatred, or selfishness.

Inflation is like taking alcohol, stimulating while you are having it and fun as long as you can get another drink. But in the end you have to face the hangover.

—ROBERT CARR.

RAJAJI: CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTIONARY

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

Seldom has a man been more roundly castigated for his alleged sins of omission and commission, and more belauded in his lifetime than Rajaji. Rajaji is called the modern Socrates, Nestor, Bhishma Pitamaha of the Indian National Congress and above all the "saviour" of Madras in more ways than one. Foreign papers have paid him encomiums as "a lawyer with razor-edge brain", "a modern Savonarola from the South", and "the brahmanised Gladstonian liberal". On the other hand, he has been called a man with dictatorial temperament, a fox and a minister with 17th century mentality.

In the midst of all these flowers and brickbats, Rajaji has been unruffled and serene in the tradition of our old rishis. He keeps doing his duty, never worrying about the consequences. The cardinal teachings of the Bhagavad Gita are nowhere better exemplified than in the lives of Gandhiji and Rajaji.

Rajaji has lived a full life of 78 summers. His life has been one long struggle—struggle against orthodoxy, struggle against British imperialism and struggle against stupidity, individual and collective.

He has many dazzling firsts to his credit. He is the author of the sales tax, now described as the *kamadhenu* of the tax structure. The Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act and the Temple Entry Act were the offspring of his brain. He has contributed not a little to the eradication of the bane of the Hindu society — untouchability, which is being made much of by the present-day politicians and capitalised by the interested.

Rajaji began his fight against orthodoxy in a quiet way. It was as early as 1906, when Rajaji was bearly 27 years old. He wanted to get some Harijans admitted in the college in Salem. Orthodoxy protested violently. The authorities hesitated. Rajaji did not yield and had his way.

When he was the chairman of the Salem municipality, he got Harijan workers to repair the water pipes installed in the hibitat of brahmins. This brought him under heavy fire: but he was neither nonplussed nor unnerved.

He also appointed two Harijan servants in the students' hostel in the municipal college. No less a personage than Sri Vijayaraghavachariar, a Congress President, headed the orthodox opposition and said: "We will take away our boys from the hostel if the services of the untouchables are not dispensed with". Rajaji answered: "If it is your wish to take away your boys from the hostel, it may be our wish to send them away from the college, too". Orthodoxy went under.

Rajaji mingled with the Harijans freely even then on an equal footing without any inhibitions. Swami Jagagnananthar, a Harijan, was invited and feted by Rajaji. He took a leading part in marrying a brahmin lady to Dr. Subbaroyan.

Orthodoxy reacted and Rajaji was ostracised and disowned by his own community. When his dear father died, none came forward to perform the obsequies.

Thus Rajaji was doing, not as can be done smoothly now, but in the teeth of obdurate and organised opposition which can but be imagined, even before the advent of Gandhiji on the Indian scene, what Gandhiji considered the most important part of his own work some years later!

Nonetheless Rajaji is not one who moves with the stream blindly. He is a cautious reformer, a conservative revolutionary. He knows more than anybody else that a Marius is always followed by a Sulla. An extreme action does always usher in an extreme reaction. Therefore he had more than once to part company with his too anxious colleagues, colleagues who wanted quick results in the shortest time possible.

In his very first meeting in 1919 with Gandhiji, Rajaji took to him and began analysing Gandhism. In 1942, Gandhiji said: "Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for.....He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question". Yet Rajaji was never a yes-man of the Mahatma. His conscience and his own intellect were his unerring tutors: and when he found that it was his duty to oppose the Mahatma, he did not get cold feet. He opposed him tooth and nail. Bose opposed Ganhiji and he went out of the Indian theatre. Annie Besant opposed Gandhiji and she was hooted down even in Madras. Rajaji, too, opposed him; and he became the Governor-General!

Rajaji is a man of intellectual many-sidedness and varied activities. An administrator par excellence, a writer of no mean achievement with a mastery of words both in Tamil and in English, a teller of fables, a savant, a greater statesman, according to Sir Stafford Cripps, than Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Jinnah, a fine representative of his age, Rajaji is yet ageless. He is so magnificently equipped that he could be among the leaders in any era of history. A rare mixture of the serious and the light, Rajaji, though he was in the centre of the fight and actively engaged in the polemics and politics of the country, has still a refreshing sense of humour and writes stories for the young. He was the salt and leaven of the Indian National Congress, and in the international field, he is the first, steadiest, and most far-sighted opponent of nuclear totalitarianism.

In spite of all this, whatever Rajaji says meets with opposition from some quarter or other. Why is it so? It eludes understanding. It is inexplicable and curious. Perhaps, the clue to this puzzle is in the dictum of the sage of Concord: "To be great is to be misunderstood. Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh".

Rajaji in his lawyer days

(Continued from Page 10)

which led to his success. The late Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar who was one of the most intimate friends of Rajaji, used to say: "If you have deep-seated convictions on any subject, do not argue about them with Rajaji; for, he is sure to shake you out of your belief in those convictions by his arguments".

Rajaji's foresightedness in politics is now an acknowledged fact. Apart from his advocacy of social reform and Harijan uplift, his interest in Swadeshi and his admiration for Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji even then advocated the study of Hindustani by all people. The Hindi movement was not even heard of at that time. But he actually caused a Hindustani class to be opened in a building in Car Street, Salem, where at that time the Salem Co-operative Urban Bank was situated, with the Hindustani munshi of the Salem College as the tutor. Though many of us left off attending that class after a few days, he persisted in it for some time. It is significant that such an advocate of Hindi is now against its displacing English.

In those days, he also used to say that we must all accustom ourselves to a ragi diet as preparation for a possible jail life, though at that time jail-going had not become a fashion.

In this sketch I have referred only to my reminiscences of the period between 1907 and 1910, as they throw some light on the qualities exhibited by Rajaji in later years. But I shall refer to one incident of 1944, as it relates back to his convictions and practices of earlier years. I was then a war evacuee from Madras, living at Salem. There I started a Brahmana Seva Sangam for the purpose of accustoming Brahmans to act with a service motive instead of a profit motive and bringing greater understanding and harmony among the castes. When Rajaji once visited Salem, he graciously consented to address the members of the Sangam and advised them not to think in terms of caste but to help and promote communal harmony and co-operation. Turning to the more orthodox sections of the audience, the vaithikas, he stated that they should not train up their children for Government service only, but on the other hand they should train at least one child in each family in the study of the Vedas and the Scriptures. The speech was worthy of a great patriot and lover of Indian culture. Va. Ra. wrote to the papers a carping letter with several misrepresentations of Rajaji's speech, stating that when he read that speech as reported, he could not believe that it was the old Rajaji, the radical social reformer, that had made the speech. I drafted a reply to that letter and as it affected Rajaji, sent it to him for approval before publishing it in the Press. He however advised me against continuing the controversy and said that in public life misrepresentations of views, and criticisms based on such misrepresentations, were not uncommon. His patience under attack has always been one of his strongest points, a quality which always provoked his critics all the more. In fact in all my experience of him for over 50 years, I have never seen him get angry or lose his temper, self-control or commonsense. I refer to this incident to show that superficial observers could not discover that beneath the veneer of his social reforms and neglect of social conventions, there lay a deep and undying faith in the unity of life, in spiritual values and in the eternal verities and it is this that has made his life and achievement so great and himself a great Teacher of Mankind and an Apostle of Peace.

'... Over A. I. R.'

(Continued from Page 13)

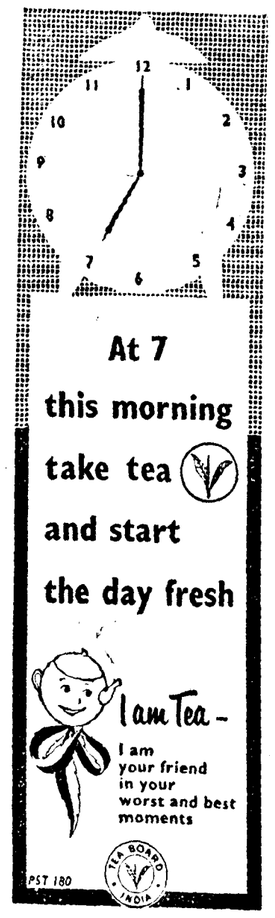
justify my conclusion, and anyway conclusive evidence on the point was available to that ex-S.D., if only he had cared to acquaint himself with the curriculum and administration of schools in this State, but all the same I must thank him for pulling me up, and renewing in me a desire to be fair, even kind, in my comment.

It is in this chastened spirit that I say that in November I heard more third-rate broadcasts of Carnatic music than in a whole year of previous listening. In fact, that quality known as *swara-suddham*, so pleasing when heard, was noticeable only in one broadcast of vocal music that I heard, and heard incidentally—in the singing of the artist who conducted the music lesson on November 29, in the school-programme. How about the much-vaunted 'panel system' of A.I.R., which is said to ensure that its singers are selected purely on the basis of merit? The singers I heard during November did not suggest any really sound system of screening.

* * *

I greatly enjoyed Sukhi's *Sodanai*, from Tiruchi on the last night of November. This play is built around the vow of a highly musical father to the effect that unless the young man his daughter fancies passes a test in Carnatic music, he cannot marry the girl. A rash vow which he, the father, regrets somewhat later, but having vowed it the only thing he can do is to make the test elementary. The young man, who has no ear for music, is helped all the way, and finally succeeds in passing the test. I was reminded of Thurber in places—remember the hefty footballer, in Thurber's *My Life and Hard Times*, who is so vitally necesssary to the success of his college on the field, and who must pass a test if he is to continue in college? I liked this play.

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DOUBLE STANDARD

The Lok Sabha has agreed, as was expected, to the extension of the life of the Preventive Detention Act by another three years. Much of the opposition to this step, mainly Communist, was vitiated by the fact that in Communist regimes the civil liberties they champion so vociferously elsewhere, are conspicuous by their absence. Wherever this double standard of morality prevails, the evangelists concerned evoke derision for the causes they espouse, even if they be good causes, and not sympathy and support, however competently in a technical way they may put forth their arguments. The second Five Year Plan, for example, has lacked neither advocacy nor publicity. Ministers have vied with each other in exhorting the public to gird up their loins or tighten up their belts in order that the Plan may go on. Yet it was found when a newspaper recently issued a supplement on West Germany, that almost every other contract went to close kindred of one of the prominent Ministers who has been even more conspicuous than the others in championing the Plan. The public cannot be blamed if they come to the conclusion that private enrichment of Ministers' favourites in furtive ways not ordinarily publicised, is as much the purpose of the Plan as the much more widely broadcasted objective of national economic betterment. Double standards on the part of advocates of worthy causes have undoubtedly ruined those causes as much as adverse circumstances standing in the way of their success.

In the case of the Preventive Detention Act, Pandit Pant the Home Minister was on unassailable ground when he pointed to the existence of turbulent and violent movements in the country as a reason for extending the Act. But he was unhappy in the illustration he cited. Madras is fit to be mentioned as the example of a State that failed to make proper use of its legal powers for preservation of order and protection of person. But in a different way Madras has other lessons for lawmakers, and we hope the authorities concerned will not be so unmindful of these lessons hereafter as they have been in the past. Though the importance of sound laws for the maintenance of peace cannot be under-estimated, it has to be realised that just policies are even more valuable than good laws. When the Dravida Kazhagam reached the stage of openly advocating murder and pillage as its political programme, the Prime Minister opened his eyes and denounced the Kazhagam activities as treason. But is it realised even now that the root cause of Kazhagam efflorescence into crime lies in the pursuit of disruptive standards of government by the Kamaraj Ministry? For years this Ministry has been discriminating against brahmins in the most outrageous fashion, denying them education and employment and deliberately ousting them from promotions and the like to which they were entitled by merit and right of service. Many talented members of this community have already left Madras and gone elsewhere in search of the opportunities denied them at home. In one sense, perhaps, the Naicker plan of outright murder is more merciful than the lingering perdition of systematic discrimination to which the brahmins have been subjected under Sri Kamaraj's so-called Congress administration.

Without administrative justice, no heterogenous society of manifold diversities can be integrated towards peace and loyalty. In the absence of this cement it will develop the spirit of revolt and civil war, which will eventually break it. Let the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, whose concern for peace is so great, realise that the substitution of administrative justice for the rampant practices of crude discrimination against helpless minorities that have been worked into the pattern of the government itself in certain States like Madras, is more essential for law and order than any preventive law, however deftly drafted.

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THE LESSONS OF THE VANGUARD

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The ego-centric illusion of man makes him judge everything, all questions of right and wrong, good and evil, even truth and untruth, from the point of view of what contributes to his sense of pleasure. That this is wrong and misleading has been pointed out by philosophers but the error persists as it is based on the inherent nature of man's mind.

Out of evil comes often much real good. Out of failure and disappointment comes often what we ourselves afterwards recognise to be strength and lasting benefit. As time marches we often see that what was deemed good turns out to be bad and *vice versa*. Not that what we see later is the final truth, for even that may change as we go further onwards on the road of time. But relatively speaking we see the error of our first appraisements, and that trials and failures help and do not hinder. The disgrace that has fallen on America in respect of the 'Vanguard' rocket is terrible. It may be said without exaggeration that not even a great defeat in war would be felt so keenly as now America feels this great Vanguard flop. The reason is not only the background of Russia's recent brilliant success, but the excessive publicity which America indulged in before the experiment.

Yet we in India do not care to learn the lessons of such errors. We indulge in publicity before anything is achieved or even planned in detail. We have in recent times got to imagine that publicity itself is achievement, and the people in our vast backward country often believe that many things have been done which have been only conceived.

Apart from the lessons we in India have to learn, these recent humiliations of America may produce great good in the world context. Strength and success blind one's eye. Failure often gives the corrective to obstinacy and arrogance. If as a result of all that has pained America, she now sheds her obstinacy and suspicion and accepts the standing offer made by her opponent in the cold war to agree to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons of all kinds, without bringing up the old plea of distrust, the world would gain a substantial victory in the battle for peace.

When one is strong, there is no inclination to drop distrust. But when one finds one's strength to be in doubt, it may be that a better inclination may replace the old attitude. There is a standing offer on the part of Russia to drop the use of nuclear weapons of all kinds and make a joint international declaration to that effect. Against this comes up distrust, demands for inspection and numberless conditions and the matter is tied up in an unravellable knot, and conferences end in nothing. It is not perceived that an open abjuration is itself a great first step and a gain; and that the rest may be tackled after obtaining that first victory.

"We are honest, but they are not!" This is what pride whispers sweetly in one's ear and so the Devil wins. The very nature of the cold war is suspicion. It cannot be put an end to unless we drop suspicion and accept statements and promises at face value. Suspicion is the argument against dropping suspicion and so we are in a terrible 'vicious' circle.

The only strategy that will serve us in the battle to end the cold war is unilateral action. "I shall not disbelieve or believe the other side. I believe in the law of human nature and I shall act myself without asking what the other fellow will do". This is unilateral action. It needs courage. It needs must be undertaken always by the stronger party. I once thought America was stronger and appealed to them. I appeal now to Russia to take the unilateral step and earn a victory more glorious than what the Sputniks have brought her.

Russia may or may not listen. But let not the West make matters worse by multiplying the danger of a fatal burst-up by distributing nuclear weapons among her cantonments in the continent of Europe. The danger is not lessened but multiplied by this distribution. The chances of a wrong and fatal step being taken are rendered far greater by this new perilous policy of arming all the allied nations with nuclear weapons. That these are 'tactical' weapons and not the big bomb makes no difference. The spark that would set the ultimate weapon going can be produced by any one of the allies that will hold these borrowed tactical weapons. No one will survive to sit in judgment as to who was the aggressor and what were the justifying circumstances. Annihilation will come sooner than any tribunal can be called to hear and decide. George Kennan has seen the danger and has warned. This plan of arming Europe with tactical weapons is no answer to the ICBM. The battle must be fought on the moral plane. No variation of nuclear plans can meet the situation.

Material Vs Moral Values

An extraordinary contradiction in the present stage of the East-West struggle, is that the Western democracies, which stress the spiritual values deriving from freedom, are leaning almost entirely on material rather than moral values. And Communism, an entirely materialistic philosophy, seems to be drawing dedicated adherents who are motivated by ideological rather than material forces. — *Lt. Gen. Guy Simonds of Canada.*

Strange Breed

A reporter is a cross between an undertaker and a second footman: he is always present at scenes of death; he meets such interesting people under such humiliating circumstances. — Douglas Stuart, in the BBC's Home Service.



Sotto Voce

War of Nerves

The talk of killing Brahmans and burning *agraharas* as part of a cold-blooded political programme started years ago. The then Brahman Chief Minister of the State chose to ignore it as the vapourings of an old man. It was, I suppose, charitably assumed that the D.K. leader must have gone soft in the head. The campaign of hate thus neglected spread like a forest fire. It has emptied most of the small *agraharas*. Rich and poor alike have, partly from fear, partly from the combined pressures of kisan trouble unscrupulously directed against them and the continual harassment of endemic lawlessness, been compelled to seek safety in numbers and the obscurity of towns.

* * *

The advent of a non-Brahman Chief Minister, who was not handicapped by caste self-consciousness or past associations, made however no difference to the ruling party's tenderness to the D.K. patriarch. In fact he has claimed the Kamaraj Ministry as an ally duly appreciative of the debt it owes him for having rid it of the incubus of a Brahman chief. The Ministry, far from repudiating this, was not above accepting the D.K.'s help in the last elections. The present Chief Minister has so successfully dissembled any embarrassment he may have felt at being thus hugged by E.V.R. that the latter cannot even now quite believe that the Kamaraj Congress could really wish to thwart him.

* * *

It was left to the Prime Minister to say, quite simply and unmistakably, that it is treason to preach murder as a political policy and that if the plea in extenuation is lunacy the proper place for lunatics is the asylum. But it remains to be seen what effect this gust of commonsense will have on the pillars of the local Congress. The trouble with Mr. Nehru is that, while his impulses are always true, they are not seconded by steadiness of purpose. His addiction to the cross-bench mind has too often made it possible for the party bosses to find warrant in his casual utterances for actions and policies totally repugnant to him.

* * *

Thus, while he storms at the "communalism" that ravaged Ramnad, he fails to see that it is not the communalism of Marava or Harijan but the communalism of the Congress that has built up village feuds into a near revolt. And nothing so heartened the furtive Congress supporters of the D.K. hate-cult as certain *ex cathedra* statements he made in one of his all too often unpremeditated speeches. He is reported to have said that the anti-Brahman feeling in South India was due to historic antagonisms provoked by assumptions of caste superiority. Here he was unthinkingly adopting as his own the glib rationalising by which bureaucratic intriguers like Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Sir Alexander Cardew sought to explain caste and communal animosities, the seeds of which they had carefully sown.

* * *

In constantly girding at caste he forgets that caste has been with us always, just as the multiplicity of languages and creeds has also been with us, while the antagonisms attributed to these differences are the much later progeny of political ambition. As C.R. has pertinently pointed out, the multiplicity of languages did not prevent our winning Swaraj and need not stand in the way of our keeping it. And, though we agreed to partitioning the country, we have not abolished the multiplicity of creeds. Nor does even Mr. Nehru suggest that Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Parsee should all adopt synthetic common religion in order to preserve our national unity. Why, then, pick on caste alone?

* * *

In God's Providence even plagues and pestilences have their allotted place. So the D.K. hate-campaign may serve a useful purpose if it could steel the Brahman to self-respect and induce dispassionate thinking on the subject of caste, not least among the trimmers of this tiny community. The Brahman has always been a microscopic minority. But when he lived the true Brahmanic life he did not think it necessary to apologise for his existence. He has had his ups and downs. But the fear of seeming different no more deterred him than it did the Jews, for instance. He demanded little of life. But from the days of the Macedonian invasion to those of the Moplah insurrection he never thought of bartering his soul for bread.

* * *

He survived, not by anybody's leave, but because of his living function as the spiritual advance guard of the race and the conserver of its culture. In its present mood of philistinism the ruling hierarchy may attach no value to that culture or to the treasures of the spirit. But, if it really believed in democracy, it ought to recognise that caste, like religion, is a matter for the individual. In any case the Brahman who values his immemorial way of life does so, not out of self-love, but because he feels it in his bones that without *achara* Hinduism will not live any more than the body will live without the skin. In this conviction he will be always upborne by the sure instinct of the mass of the people. But if he is to prove worthy of his heritage, he must be wholly unafraid.

VIGHNESWARA

There is diversity in the world. A Unity runs through the diversity. The Self is the same in all. There is no difference in spirit. All the differences are external and superficial. You find out the Unity and be happy.

The pain of diversity is overcome by the joy of the perception of Unity. Moreover, a king may disguise himself as a servant. That makes no difference in the person.

SRI RAMANA MAHARSHI

SIDELIGHTS : :

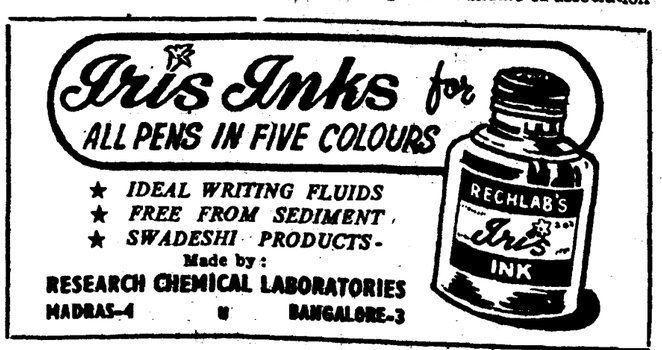
Seeing how widely dispersed merit is, I used to feel that the division of society into castes, high and low, was not fair and proper. Castelessness seemed to be just the right thing. But now I am not so sure. Strangely enough, it was Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, with his cult of burning and killing, that brought about this change, so seemingly retrograde. A casteless society is a society that is all of one caste, the test of oneness being absence of restriction about inter-marriage. Religion is one of the great barriers to inter-marriage, and though there have been occasional unions between Hindus and Muslims and Christians, it is not likely that such marriages will ever be other than exceptional. When castelessness is spoken of as a reform or objective, it is Hindu society that is indicated, and not Muslims or Christians.

One great obstacle to inter-marriage within Hindu society is the vegetarian way of life of some of its members. Vegetarians find it hard to sit at the same table with others that eat non-vegetarian food. The ancient vegetarian repugnance to the very sight of meat and flesh was of late years being overcome under the influence of travel and of the teaching of apostles of tolerance within the country itself. Only a fortnight ago, Rajaji warned vegetarians against the habit of thinking of themselves as a separate caste. Under the urge of an intellectual comprehension of the desirability of common integration, vegetarians and non-vegetarians have been adjusting themselves to each other, and in course of time they might have got over the traditional taboos that have been keeping them apart from merging together by means of marriage alliances and the like.

But who would like to attain castelessness by getting incorporated into a single caste with the habitual preachers and prospective performers of murder? It is possible to pity criminals, and in the ordination of Providence it might well be the purpose of high grade sin to carry the human spirit to the top reaches of sainthood. But ordinary men and women do not find in such things as murder the stimulus for any glorious realisation of all-forgiving benevolence. They are horrified by them and repelled. Within the past week or two, E.V.R's cohorts swooped in bulk formation on small, inoffensive groups of brahmins, cutting off their tufts and sacred threads; as soon as an alarm was raised, they fled from the scene in a sort of hit-and-run tactics. This was an exercise in cowardice. If ever they proceed to the next step in E.V.R's programme, and distinguish themselves as killers and incendiaries, society would fly from them in horror and treat them not merely as untouchables but also as unseeables and unapproachables. Far from achieving castelessness, they would have added to Hindu society a new caste held in detestation by every decent person, a caste which through sheer shame of association with it, nobody would like to go or be seen anywhere near.

Terrific energy is consumed by hate. It is a feeling which does not conduce to happiness. The ferocious excitement of hatred, with its ancillary indulgence in programmes of cruelty, is something like a cancer in the body and from its pain death alone can relieve the sufferer. E.V.R., stretched without escape on a rack of misery of his own creation, should be, if only the natural reactions of his hatred cult could for a while be set aside, a fit object for deep human pity. Brahminism, for all the tirades against it of the black shirts and their derivative kindred, embodies a philosophy of life capable of matching any iniquity with an invincible compassion.

We need, for present-day salvation, an order of the *elite* such as it originally exemplified. Members of this order should not go in for material inducements. They must be brought up in the discipline of simple living. With faith in God dissolving all depressions, they must seek nothing for themselves and live only for others. They will confront violence with non-violence, hatred with love. Brahminism was the name given to the discipline of realising the reality of Brahma the Creator by comprehending the identity of all things appearing separate and perceiving in fellow-beings both one's own self and the universal self in a realised experience of the all-pervasiveness of Providence. It is the highest goal of the human endeavour through the ages, and even now, seekers for knowledge from the advanced West, satiated by the enjoyments of wealth and science and temporal power, are returning to it in quest of something better of peace and happiness which not all these could give them. An order of men of this mettle will illumine society like a little electric light removing darkness all around. They will fear none, all will seek their wisdom, and their beneficence will enable society to pass with safety through the savageries of our present ignorance-enthroned, ballot-box democracy.



NEMESIS NEARING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

George F. Kennan commands among all the eminent ambassadors of America who served in Moscow the highest respect. He is now a professor of history at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. Though not in the diplomatic service, he is still regarded as an eminent authority on foreign affairs. Last week he gave a Reith Lecture for the B.B.C. and Reuter has cabled the points the ex-ambassador made. He warned the nations that distributing tactical nuclear weapons to the NATO countries would make the position worse and lead to grave danger. It would, according to him, make it impossible for Russia ever to withdraw her forces from central and eastern Europe. He has expressed the view that placing such weapons in the hands of the NATO governments would make it certain for every minor difficulty in Europe to develop into a major one. The ex-ambassador urges that the countries of western Europe should have only paramilitary forces on the Swiss pattern to guard against any internal coup, exactly as Mr. Priestley said in his recent article. "Western Europe of 1957," Mr. Kennan said, "reminds me of the man who has grown accustomed to swimming with water-wings and cannot realise that he is capable of swimming without them."

George Kennan is definitely of the view that the suicidal nature of nuclear weapons renders them unsuitable as a sanction of diplomacy or as a basis of alliance, because, he says, these are not weapons of a kind "with which one readily springs to the defence of one's friends."

"I cannot over-emphasize," says ex-ambassador Kennan, "the fatefulness of this plan to equip the western European nations with nuclear weapons. I do not see how it could fail to produce a serious increase in the existing military tension in Europe. It would be bound to raise a grave problem for the Russians in respect of their own military dispositions and their relations with the other Warsaw Pact countries. It would inevitably bring about a further complication of the German and satellite countries".

The great deterrent was dangerous enough where it was. The distribution of nuclear weapons over numerous allies will increase the danger ten-fold, for any one of these allies can take a political decision to spark off a world explosion. Instead of graduating the nuclear terror, which is probably the intention of the plan, it will only serve to bring nearer the temptation to use the anticipatory ultimate weapon. What should be done is to reduce Russian fears; but America proposes to increase those fears and when the proposed distribution of nuclear weapons has taken place, fear instead of deterring would tend to accelerate the ICBM moving across the world.

The attachment to nuclear discovery has been so reinforced by fear and habit that the very capacity to think seems to have been seriously affected. This alone explains how such an obviously wrong and perilous step has been conceived by the U.S. as to scatter nuclear weapons all over the world to be handled by her several allies and dependants. It is no real answer to the ICBM of Russia. It amounts to a fatal abdication of responsibility and a confession of frustrated confusion of mind. George Kennan, one of America's most esteemed statesmen now working in a highly intellectual centre, has sounded a clear note of warning which none but the ill-fated can ignore.

Choices

How hard are the choices of politics is illustrated by two matters now before the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles.

The United States is an ally and friend of France, and a friend of the West's new friend, Tunisia. Mr. Bourgiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia, wants arms. He has rejected quiet offers from the Soviet Union, and proposals from Czechoslovakia; he wants arms from the free nations.

France, however, is reluctant to ship arms to Tunisia, or to see other countries do so, for fear that Algeria will benefit. But Tunisia is a sovereign nation; it wants what it is entitled to have.

Shall Mr. Dulles say no to Tunisia, and risk Soviet intervention, though pleasing France? Or shall Mr. Dulles say yes to Tunisia, strengthening an African nation, but damaging, so France declares, the NATO structure?

Similarly, in Jordan.

This tiny Middle East nation asks loans, now, for development. It wishes the United States and the World Bank to supply the dollars undoubtedly needed to construct roads, irrigate dry fields and work potash and phosphate mines.

But, says Jordanian Economics Minister Kholosi Khairi, the World Bank interest rate of 5% is too high. Jordan must have money at the rate of interest Syria pays the Soviet, which is 2%.

What shall the United States Secretary of State do in this case? Adhere to 5% and risk an eventual, though at this stage unlikely, Soviet offer? Cut the price to 2% and invite anguished cries from World Bank customers elsewhere?

If wisdom prevails, Mr. Dulles will act as any Secretary of State or Prime Minister would act, and choose the lesser risk. Jordan's request is not yet answered, but Tunisia has arms from the United States, and talks now are going on with France to work out a compromise.

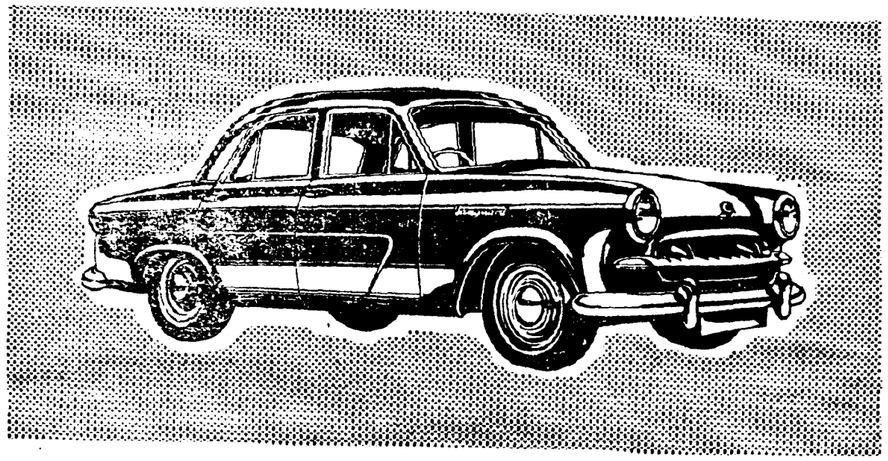
Thus the game of choices continues, and the daily play, in Washington as in New Delhi, calls for acumen, historical perspective, justice (one hopes), and though the times are solemn, a funnybone, in good working order.

JOHN E. FRAZER

Human unhappiness originates in lies. One must learn to flatter no one, not even one's people.

—EHRENBURG

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A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

YOUNG ART IN MADRAS

On Saturday, November 30, several hundred assorted school-children indulged in a competition, the like of which Madras has not known before, the Shankar's Weekly 'On the Spot' competition in painting and drawing held at the Presidency High School, Egmore. Do boys and girls 'indulge in' a competition? Oh yes, they do — when it is an eating contest, for instance, or something so zestfully organized and conducted as this painting tournament was.

Much of the informal gaiety of the occasion came from the person of its sponsor, K. Shankar Pillai, who was pacing the school compound and verandahs, visibly delighted to see so many children painting. At Delhi and elsewhere, Shankar told me, this 'On the Spot' competition had drawn thousands, but considering it was the first time in Madras, this was not too bad.

The Shankar's Weekly competition of children's art is, by now, an annual, international feature to which thousands of children all over the world look forward. I understood that at the exhibition of children's art being opened later in the day at the Madras Museum, about a 1000 paintings chosen from the 40,000 entries sent in by the children of 61 countries for the 1956 competition, would be on display, and that along with them some of the masterpieces of that morning's session would also be shown.

What impressed me was the gusto of the youthful artists I saw at work that Saturday morning — and, of course, the youthful zest of Shankar in his mission. Shankar's enthusiasm for children's art is quite infectious. Probably no man has his long knowledge of the creative urge of the young, which, being authentic as art, is as subject to faking and false inspiration, genuine verve and a sure feeling for colour or rhythm, as the less impetuous art of grown-ups. Moreover, nobody who has seen Shankar's work can doubt his genius for draughtsmanship — as an envious lesser cartoonist told me once, when Shankar draws some personage, the drawing is even more like the man than the man himself. But with all this justification for holding forth on child art, as the authority on it, Shankar did no such thing. What he kept on saying was that he hadn't had the time to do things properly, and arrange for some sweets for each contestant. Three hours, he told me, three hours they work on their painting — he wished he had thought of providing each young artist with an orange at least.



Not that the competitors needed an orange to sustain them. It was a real pleasure to watch hundreds of boys and girls, big, middling and small, painting away for all they were worth, with such fierce concentration, such frank enjoyment of the occasion. In Shankar's ideal contest, I suppose, each entrant would get a prize, but suppressed by his well-wishers and the compulsion of circumstances, he was only able to offer 58 prizes—the number grew to 58 from 54 by the time the contest ended.

After the contest, I had a good look at the paintings, when they were being judged. The entries were arranged according to age-groups from six years and below up to sixteen, and prizes were awarded in each age-group. I have it from Shankar that in the North the standard of painting is higher in children's art, and that the feeling for art warmer than here; no doubt that is so, but I cannot believe that the verve of individual young artists is any the less masterful here. I was struck by the feeling for form and colour, and the graphic power, of children between the age of ten and fourteen — below ten, the expression was somewhat inchoate, and in older age-groups it had deteriorated into neatness and detail. Once before, at an earlier exhibition of children's art, I had noticed this same trend. There is much truth in Wordsworth's theory of the progressive decline of the perceptions and the capacity for wonder, that comes with maturity.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: December in Delhi, in terms of weeks, had a truly grand opening: it was indeed unusual in a city or capital where even minor figures in politics try, or manoeuvre, to pass for major portents. Whatever others' taste or experience might be, *Junius* could wish for nothing more exhilarating than a reasonable chunk of time so completely devoid of political fuss or even political fustian. For, it was not the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference that was really the main excitement, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell notwithstanding. For once, politicians seemed to matter less. Those who stood behind the footlights were far too remote from the marketplaces of politics. First came the scholars or men of letters from London, Moscow and Hongkong; next the pilgrims from Pondicherry with relics of Sri Aurobindo; and then the cultural delegates from Rumania, "many a youth and many a maid, dancing in the chequer'd shade". Professors Geoffrey Bullough and V. de Sola Pinto at the Delhi University, Mr. Edmund Blunden at the British Council and Mr. Alexander Chakovsky at the Sahitya Akademi, spoke on different aspects of Literature; Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh (to whom was given the privilege of enshrining the relics of Sri Aurobindo at the Aurobindo Ashram on the Delhi-Qutab road) dwelt in memorable words on Sri Aurobindo's immortal spirit; the British Council, taking advantage of the Conference of Parliamentarians from the Commonwealth, opened an exhibition of pictures depicting the evolution of the landmarks of the British Parliament; and the *Rumanian folk* gave us glimpses of their life, in an atmosphere of mirth, delight and youthful jollity. It was all an animated picture, abundant in content and rich in variety.

* * *

It was an intellectual treat to have heard learned discourses on the ever-lasting Shakespeare, the visionary and lyrical qualities of another William — Blake, and on the mystical illumination of yet another William — Wordsworth. From this world of Williams, Mr. Blunden took his listeners on to 'the open road' of poetry, and spiced his comment on the new romantics at the turn of the century, with nimble wit. In making restraint eloquent, Mr. Edmund Blunden has few equals; he still revels in 'undertones': that way lies his genius. Of a very different type is the much younger Mr. Chakovsky from Moscow; a member of the Union of Writers of USSR and Editor of "Foreign Literature", he is by temperament, if not also by training, an adept in 'over-tones'. He was glad to have come on a visit to this 'wonderful country' of ours which for long years had remained in his mind, an exotic wonderland, full of rajas and yogis, or of elephants and crocodiles, and found it to be so different from what it was described to be by those "Western authors"! He told us that the Russian revolution was not one for replacement of one government by another but of one social system by another while Russian literature was one of what he called Socialist realism. Writers in Russia are, it seems, only interested in giving a true portrayal of life, with all its contradictions and not forbidden to write as they please. Mr. Chakovsky who invited questions and answered them frankly, could not however tell how Russian books could be sometimes sold so cheap outside Russia, without charity beginning at home! That, however, is a different matter; authorship is one thing, book-pricing another while Russian salesmanship abroad is a problem in itself.

* * *

There cannot be too much praise for the exhibition arranged by the British Council with the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government. To it we owed an impressive idea of the pageant of Britons met at St. Stephen's Chapel in 1547. Some very interesting facts came back to one's mind — how no Sovereign, since the days of Queen Anne, refused assent to a measure passed by both the Houses; how, when the crown passed to the House of Hanover and the First George absented himself from meetings of the Cabinet out of ignorance of English, the Cabinet came to be presided over by a Minister, since known to history as Prime Minister; how the term "Prime Minister" was used at first disrespectfully as indeed other terms were, like 'Whig' from the Scottish whiggamor and 'Tory' from the Irish freebooter. One saw fine pictures in the Exhibition — of Parliamentary gladiators like Disraeli and Gladstone who became, in turn, the idol of the nation, through their capacity to touch and capture, the one the imagination, the other the conscience, of their countrymen — and of literary giants like Charles Dickens who reported for the *Daily News* and Dr. Johnson who wrote in a garret some of the Elder Pitt's famous speeches. And there was a revealing illustration of Guido Fawkes with the torch, whose attempt in 1605 to blow up the Parliament House, drew from the world-famous cartoonist of our own day, David Low, the ironic comment that Fawkes was the only sensible man that ever entered Parliament! Perhaps nobody ever denies that Parliament is in the last resort 'a talking shop' but there is also the lasting consolation that, in the ultimate analysis, it is, in the words of Laski, 'the only alternative to the concentration camp'. Of the Delhi exhibition which provoked some of these reflections, *Junius* must permit himself to make one particular but pertinent observation. Among the visitors to the Exhibition, our M.P's were by no means the more conspicuous!

* * *

And then a tit-bit:

Sri M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, as President of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, exhorted Parliamentarians to 'give content to

SARVODAYA AND POWER POLITICS

By TENNETI VISWANATHAM

The idea of Sarvodaya was given by Gandhiji almost in a self-contained form only just before his tragic death. But in framing his social and economic policies, in their implementation and in their reorientation Gandhiji was always influenced by these ideals. 'Like several great leaders throughout the ages, he was handicapped by having quite a number of followers who were influential but who did not believe in the practice of the ideals for which they adored him.

It is the same all over the world. There are countries great in their own way, which, for example, talk of world peace but do not give up an inch of the foreign territories under their occupation.

In fact, while the scheme of creation is based on "Sarvodaya" the obstructions to its enjoyment are the result of "Swardhodaya", the ambitions of men and countries to dominate over others either politically or economically.

But this desire for domination is utterly in conflict with the basic love of freedom of individuals, individual groups and the individual nations who might have developed their own language, their own culture, their own economic and social organisations conditioned by geographical factors. It is this kind of conflict that has led imperceptibly to the glorification of conquests. When nations discovered this was wrong, they propounded the trusteeship theory. When this too was found out, their strategy took the form of helping the backward nations.

Within a country the false ideology of conquest has its counterpart in majority-rule, rule by the majority without regard to the individual. The individual simply does not exist in a particular conception of democracy.

This is not to say that the democratic theory of government is wrong in its entirety. It is wrong only where it ignores the individual altogether. That was what Gandhiji said, as long back as 1926:

"A votary of *ahimsa* cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realise the ideal. He will therefore be willing to die, so that the others may live. The greatest good of all inevitably includes the good of the greatest number, and therefore he and the utilitarian will converge in many points in their career, but there does come a time when they must part company and even work in opposite directions. The utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice himself."—*Young India*, 9th Dec. 1926.

Today, in India, we see a kind of helplessness on the part of Gandhiji's followers who have believed in the theory of Sarvodaya, but have not yet found the proper word and slogan to expose the lure of the present set-up, which is only a fair but a pale reflection of a world-wide disease.

It is the tragedy of Sarvodaya in India that in conflict with its devotees are now in power those who at one time were their senior colleagues and senior disciples of Gandhiji. We have plans that do not satisfy the needs and aspirations of those who are most in need in the country. We find imbalance. We see that often wrong gets the upper hand over right. We also see that we are helpless witnesses; so helpless that the Sarvodaya workers and top men are obliged to praise the very thing which they feel in their mind is not in the interest of the people.

The worst enemy of an ideal is the person who professes the ideal without courage of conviction. Courage of conviction can come only if the worker ceases connection with power. The Sarvodaya organisation has already a healthy convention that its members should cease to participate in elections. Likewise Ministers and heads of political parties should, for some time to come, cease to bestow their affection on the Sarvodaya gatherings where they are apt unconsciously to reorient Sarvodaya to suit their power politics.

As politics are built up on the party structure, and as parties depend upon wide support a politician desires to use all available institutions for party purposes. The co-operative organisations, for example, have been rendered handmaids of politics.

The Sarvodaya movement has to present an acceptable thesis in answer to the threat of military aggression. Threat of military aggression can be removed only by the removal of the causes of military aggression. These causes lie in the desire for economic exploitation which requires political and finally military support. Hence the steps for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society are:

(1) Every country has to withdraw from foreign territories occupied by it under one pretext or another, and should not plead long possession in defence.

(2) Every country has to develop an internal economy mainly based on its own resources and withdraw the element of exploitation from their trading, commercial and industrial activities.

(3) Every country has to attain progressive decentralisation both in politics and economics, which alone will ensure full employment both of brains and hands, eliminate waste, greed and corruption. Waste, greed and corruption are the offshoots of centralised economy, which itself is based upon exploitation wherever it is possible. Whether it is one's own country or another it does not matter to the exploiter. It is this desire for exploitation that builds up a military machine. The military machine with its economically neither defends mankind nor gives them plenty excepting plenty of wars.

(4) The Sarvodaya movement must have a net-work of world-wide organisation in order to influence the mind of politicians and all the interests that are behind politicians.

(5) So far as our country is concerned, we must aim at becoming a 'permanently neutral country' within the meaning of international law.

Our tributes are due to the Sarvodaya organisation which is now working in this direction. Its work has been so good.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: Nine persons from Soviet Union have come to Bombay to attend the premiere of 'Pardesi', the first Indo-Soviet co-venture. They include Federov, the head of the Cinema Department; Frolov, the chief of Mosfilm Studios; V. M. Pronin, the co-director; M. Smirnova, the co-author: Oleg Strizhenov, the principal star; Nikolaev, the director of Cinematography; the two art directors who had worked with Acharekar and their interpreter to whom the first Indian delegation had given the Indian name 'Didi'.

They arrived on Friday morning, just in time for the premiere. They were introduced to Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, who inaugurated the premiere show and welcomed such co-ventures for art and peace. Federov gave a suitable reply. The delegates were garlanded by the Indian artistes.

On Saturday the Soviet technicians and artistes met the press at an informal meeting at the Taj. Federov, speaking first, explained how great is the interest of the Soviet people in Indian art and culture. He said that Indian authors like Tagore were popular and that even an Indian play was staged in Moscow. But more than play or book, the co-production 'Pardesi' will contribute to the greater understanding of Indian culture. Times have changed since Afanasi visited India; while Afanasi took two years to come, they had taken hardly two days and so today there were better possibilities to develop cultural contact and friendship. He said that the Russian version will be released soon and that he expected some members of the Indian unit to attend the premiere in Moscow.

V. M. Pronin, the director, said that the picture provided them with an opportunity to study Indian art and culture and know the Indian people. As a result of this experience, they had become great protagonists of Indian culture. He said that this picture was a unique experiment and he and his colleagues learnt a lot from this experience. He paid tribute to Indian artistes.

Oleg Strizhenov said that there was not much difference between Indian and Russian schools of acting and inspite of the barrier of language, he could understand and work in harmony with Indian artistes. He complimented both Padmini and Nargis. He also expressed the hope that as Abbas had given the title 'The Beginning' instead of 'The End' at the end of the picture, this was just a beginning of the contact and it would grow.

Smirnova said that the story was based mostly on facts. Even the fictitious incidents invented in the film had a basis in the observations made by Afanasi. Thus, for instance, he had written that he spent four months in an Indian village and that the peasants were poor but hospitable. Abbas later pointed out that Afanasi had written that the peasants broke the caste barrier and dined with him, they did not hide their women from him and that they even allowed him to enter their temples.

Federov then revealed that they were making a number of big pictures. Some of them, like 'And Quiet Flows the Dawn' and Tolstoy's 'Three Sisters', were ready and released; others like Dostovsky's 'Idiot' and John Reed's 'Ten Days That Shook the World' were in the making. Two films on Sputnik were made, one a feature film with artistes, which contained even things so far not achieved and a documentary on the two Sputniks so far launched. They had also just completed their first *Cinerama* film entitled 'Our Country is a big one' and it would be released in January.

Cinematographer Nikolaev, who was a colonel in the last war and had won many decorations, also expressed his pleasure at working in this venture.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK:

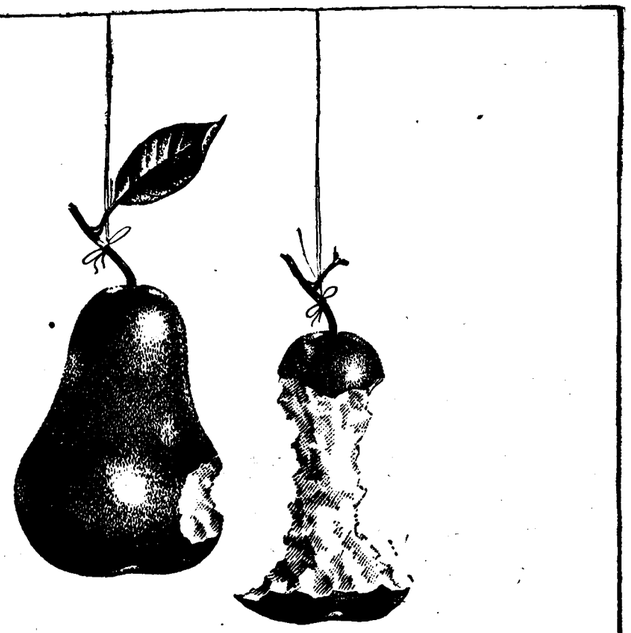
It would be futile to judge 'Pardesi' from usual standard of entertainment films, produced as it is with the idea of presenting the culture of two different nations as recorded historically by a Russian traveller five centuries ago.

In a way, it is a documentary record of the Russian's journey to India and the things he saw here and the people he met. And though it lacks the usual melodramatic cliches and conflicts, it would be wrong to presume that it is just a travelogue. It is much more than that. The people Afanasi meets are live, full of nobility and human appeal. The Indian people have never been shown in such a dignified and noble manner; the Indian scenery has never been so colorfully presented before in Indian or foreign pictures.

The story is simple. It follows Afanasi's diary. It begins with his mother insisting that he should settle down and get married. But the urge to travel is so keen that he decides to leave home and go to India. The moment he lands in India, we see the sun-worshippers singing a hymn. His encounter with Sakharam, the ballad singer and philosopher, his meeting with Champa's parents who later give him refuge are well delineated. The romance between him and Champa is delicately presented and his decisions to leave the peasant's home after the realization —in a beautifully worked dream sequence—that it is wrong for him to imagine marrying Champa, puts an end to the romantic story. Later he meets another girl, Laxmi, the court-dancer with whose help he meets Mahmud Gavan. And after securing an audience with the Chief Minister of Bidar who agrees to have trade with Russia, he goes back seeing Champa on the way in a rather desolate condition. When he is a pauper and cannot secure his passage back, it is Sakharam who helps him to get the money. And as Afanasi bids good-bye to India, the picture ends.

In the concluding portions, the threads of the narrative become loose, and the efforts of Sakharam to raise the money and help Afanasi to go back are not fully exploited dramatically. But for a little slow tempo in the beginning and rather matter of fact ending, without any note of crescendo or climax, the picture is both absorbing and artistically appealing.

Apart from authenticity, the stress on the noble and human values is most welcome. Devoid of loud melodrama and villainy —in fact, there is no villain in the story—it presents a simple, charming and artistically elevating narrative, enriched with outstanding color photography, tastefully decorated sets, first-rate performances by Oleg, Nargis, Balraj Sahni, Padmini, Prithviraj, Jairaj, David, Achala and Manmohan and other Soviet artistes. All the lyrics are beautifully written and aptly tuned; the most effective is a *bhajan* song sung by Balraj when Afanasi is stopped by the priests from entering the temple. The sad solo song



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and the lullaby song are also captivating while the background score is superb.

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK :

Ramachandra is the first Indian photographer who has the distinction of working for an international picture. True, he has had the advantage of working with two well-known Soviet cameramen (Andrikaniz, who photographed 'Othello' and Nikolaev, who photographed 'Fall of Berlin'). But just because of the association of the two foreign cameramen, it is likely that he may not be given the credit he deserves. Ramachandra worked with the foreigners on an equal footing. In fact, during the shooting in India, while Andrikaniz handled the normal screen camera, it was Ramachandra who operated the wide-screen sovscope camera. Later, while one unit was working outdoors, Ramachandra shot some of the sequences independently in Mosfilm Studio, and won due recognition for his artistic work. As a result, it is hoped he will get as much credit as his Soviet colleagues for the outstanding color photography of 'Pardesi' in which, as a critic wrote 'Each frame is like an old masterpiece in breath-takingly beautiful pastal shades'.

Ramachandra began his career fifteen years ago as an assistant in Shree Sound Studio and learnt the art from Rajnikant Pandya, the ace photographer. He came in contact with Abbas and it was Abbas who in 1951 gave him his first independent chance to photograph 'Anhonee'. Since then, he has done excellent work in 'Rahi', 'Munna', 'Miss India' and other films. It is however his work in 'Pardesi' that wins him high position among the best Indian cinematographers.

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A CASE FOR PARDON

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

The Supreme Court has now delivered its final opinion in the case against Sri S. A. Venkataraman, and that brings to a close, a most unhappy episode in the history of civil administration in India. The issues raised in these proceedings are, however, of paramount juristic importance, and merit a careful appraisal.

Sri Venkataraman was proceeded against initially under Act 37 of 1850. That enactment provides a special procedure which partakes of the nature of a criminal trial. Arraigned before it, the delinquent in effect faces a criminal charge. This is borne out not only by the terminology employed, such as "accused", "prosecution", "charge", but also by the provisions devised for taking evidence on oath, for punishing perjured testimony and for a counter charge or action for "malicious prosecution". An enquiry under the Act is however to be distinguished from a departmental or a disciplinary-tribunal-enquiry, since these latter have none of these features.

Therefore when Sri Venkataraman went through the proceedings conducted by Sir Trevor Harries, and was dismissed as a result, he could well be regarded as having been "prosecuted" and "punished" under Art. 20 (2) of the Constitution. Conversely, if he had been dismissed summarily or as the sequel to a departmental enquiry, he could be regarded as having been only "punished", but not "prosecuted".

Art. 20(2) is based on the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution. Both interdict what is technically known as "double jeopardy". It is a principle of all laws that a person should not be punished, or prosecuted or harassed twice for the same offence. Section 26 General Clauses Act prohibits the first and Section 403(1) Criminal Procedure Code, the second ; and Art. 20(2), it is conceived, avoids the third. The doctrine is that no one should be harassed by successive prosecutions for a single wrongful act or activity. That is to say, as an American jurist has recently observed, once punished, the accused should consider the matter closed and plan his life afresh, without the threat of subsequent prosecution and imprisonment for the same offence.

Art. 20(2) is a fundamental law, and a fundamental law is wider than the general laws or the laws of procedure. At any rate, it has to be interpreted liberally ; or as the American Court put it (302 M. S. 319), "no narrow or illiberal construction should be placed on its words, if it violates the personal rights of the individual".

The words "prosecuted and punished" in Art. 20(2) should therefore be given a wider connotation, so as to bring it into line with Art. 20(1), Art. 20(3) and Art. 22, which confer greater immunities than what the ordinary law, *viz.* the Criminal Procedure Code, provides for. Secondly, "punished" is of a higher degree than "convicted" used in Art. 20(1), and may not be restricted to penalties imposed by the criminal court alone. "Prosecuted" may be apt to describe the enquiry under Act 37 of 1850. Furthermore, if the immunity could be availed of only after being "prosecuted and punished" in the first trial, then 403(1) Cr. P.C. would be invalid under Art. 13 of the Constitution, inasmuch as it prohibits a second trial after acquittal in the first. And it may well be that what is prohibited by Section 403(1) Cr. P. C., may be permissible under Art. 20(2). That militates against the principle of the harmonious construction of the statutes.

It seems therefore reasonable to assume that Sri Venkataraman was prosecuted and punished in the Harries enquiry and as a result of it ; and that consequently he could not be proceeded against under Section 161 and Section 165 I.P.C. or Section 5(1) Act XI of 1947. This is not to cast any doubt on the pronouncement of their

Lordships of the Supreme Court, and such ambiguity as has arisen is wholly attributable to the loose language employed in Art. 20(2) of the Constitution.

There were however certain features in these proceedings which were somewhat unusual. Reviewing them at this stage, it is impossible to avoid the feeling that the Government had been a little too hard on this officer and had dealt with him in a manner different from that employed in regard to other offenders or to other or more serious forms of misdemeanour. The refusal to bail him out pending appeal — in regard to which the Supreme Court had to intervene — and the enhancement of sentence by the appellate court were the peculiarities in this prosecution. Far more serious were a few other happenings.

The Harries enquiry was thrown open to the press and was taken advantage of by every columnist and feature-writer; and the whole case was talked about and commented upon throughout the country. This was unfortunate in view of the subsequent decision to prosecute him in the criminal courts. But it is due to the learned judges who had dealt with the case at all stages, to say that they had taken enormous pains to appraise the facts independently and uninfluenced by the findings of Sir Trevor Harries. The Union Public Services Commission were seized of the case only after the enquiry and not, as it should have been, before it. Finally, the order of dismissal followed closely on the heels of Sir Trevor's report, although usually it is held in abeyance till after the final adjudication in the criminal courts.

The President is the pardoning authority under the Constitution. His powers are of extensive import ; and he acts in that regard, completely independently of the legislature, the executive and the courts. (See Introduction to American Constitution by Ogg & Ray p. 419). There is no set formula, but his interference is called for, whenever grave doubts exist or important issues of public policy are involved. It is submitted that in the case of Sri S. A. Venkataraman, these circumstances exist in some measure, although it is not suggested that he had any but the fairest trial in all the courts or that their Lordships of the Supreme Court have bestowed any but the most anxious consideration on every issue which arose in the case. At any rate, it would not be misplaced leniency to remit the sentence on this unfortunate public servant, who had given of his best to the country in the past by his phenomenal ability, drive and energy. And it is up to our revered President Rajen Babu to interfere and temper justice with mercy.

Vegetarianism : A Poser

I am a vegetarian and consider meat-eating is in no way civilised. I avoid taking even an omlette. Yet, I am not blind to realities ; as such I feel it is like crying for the moon to plan to root out meat-eating, especially now when 99 per cent of the world's population has taken to eating flesh.

Why is it the vegetarian creed cannot succeed ? It must be noted that the choice of food depends upon the geographical location of the country concerned, its weather, the kind of food available, necessity and the like. It is exactly with this in mind that the learned vegetarian "Vighnewara" in his Sotto Voce (SWARAJYA Nov. 30) correctly said : "It would be unreasonable to expect Eskimos and Laplanders to become vegetarians....." Thus, in the materialist West, where most part of the year will be in the grip of biting cold, it is essential for the people to drink liquor to warm up their body not only for normal good health and efficiency in work, but also for the continued growth of population, which they badly need. And meat *must* go with liquor ; for, nothing but meat can sustain the heat and hunger that follow the drink. If, on the contrary, vegetarian food is taken with liquor, that will not stand ; the entire digestive system will be spoiled. I had this experience once.

Peter Hayworth is wrong when he says that in the West more and more non-vegetarians are turning to vegetarianism. As for India, there is good scope for the champions of vegetarianism to pursue their mission. Here they can win half a 'battle' if they can convince the numerous Congressmen that roam about the country professing non-violence, of the need to desist from eating meat. Congressmen are not qualified to call themselves followers of Mahatma Gandhi if they do not put into practice the ideals of non-violence, of hurting none, not even an animal or an insect.

So, I suggest that vegetarian protagonists first bring round into their fold such Congress leaders, their 'yes' men and their followers. RAMA RAO GIDUGU

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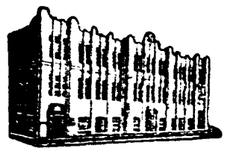
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DECEPTIVE STATISTICS OF RICE PRODUCTION

Sir,—Statistics are useful, but there is nothing like statistics sometimes to deceive people. The Madras Government has given figures showing a 'slow rise' in the production of rice and millet in this State. It would be more reassuring in the present context of a rice crisis if the Government could take the people into confidence by explaining how these figures of production were arrived at. If it be, as some of us apprehend, merely a calculation of area under cultivation as reported by the village officers and an assumed quantum of production per unit area taken for granted or sampled out somewhere, then these figures are mere arithmetical conceptions having no relation to the real state of our food production or the rice market. Far more of a certainty is the waning interest in production which we see every day as a sad result of the agrarian 'reform' launched by slogan-mongers. These multiplication sums in arithmetic cannot solve our real rice difficulty.

X. Y. Z.

ROAD TO DICTATORSHIP

Sir,—In India, the prospect at present is gloomy. The substance of democracy has been thrown to the winds. The form remains. In Madras State, an organised anti-brahmin campaign has been allowed to function freely when it has openly declared its objective, the genocide of the brahmin community! Next to communal hatred, comes corruption. Mention may be made of how two prominent South American writers, who passed through India recently, were appalled at the festering corruption they met in the country! We are found out as preachers of sermons abroad!

The mischief behind all this anarchy is due to the brutal majority of the ruling party in the legislatures with little or no opposition. We are fast losing the substance of democracy and chasing the shadows. Do not all these augur that we are on the road to dictatorship?

N. V. L. NARASIMHAM
Hyderabad.

NATIONAL DISGRACE

Sir,—What is happening in Tamil Nad is a disgrace to the nation as a whole. It is not a sudden and unexpected development overnight but the evolution of a long process since the last elections.

The newspapers report that some unruly elements harassed the brahmins bathing in the river by cutting off their sacred threads and tufts. What ignominy! What a humiliating situation to which a community is subjected in Free India! Where is the safety and security for citizens in the so-called Welfare State? All talk of Panch Shila and world peace are

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meaningless if the situation as it is developing today within the country itself is allowed to gain strength. Sri E.V.R. refuses to give an undertaking in the court that he will not deliver objectionable speeches till the end of the trial, but explains that he has a plan for action stage by stage and when the stage comes, he will instruct his men as to "whom to stab, when and where". What temerity on the part of this octogenarian to express a threat of this kind in the most inhuman way! With this threat in the offing and primitive and barbaric activities of his men, Sri E.V.R. has been arrested and released in striking contrast to the treatment accorded to the Forward Bloc leader.

R. S. V. RAO

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS

Sir,—Whenever an accident happens the procedure mechanically followed is the same. The Prime Minister devotes an hour to deliver a speech in the Lok Sabha; crocodile tears are shed by the authorities at the grim tragedy; the Railway Minister decides the members to form the committee; the committe count the corpses; condolences to the bereaved families are despatched, and at last after a recommendation compensation of a few coins is thrown at those who helplessly cry over the death of their kith and kin.

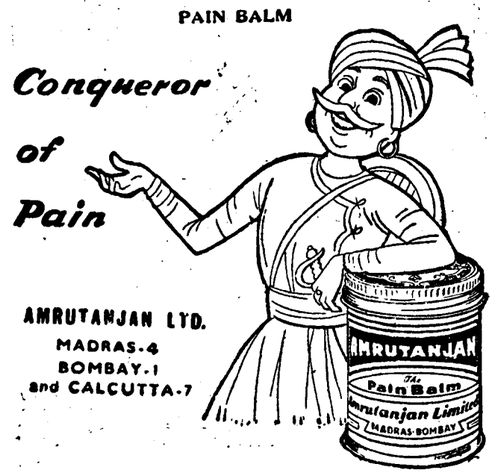
Should we not be ashamed of all this? Should a traveller who gets into the train have his heart in his grip dreading each jolt of the train? There has not been a single train accident in the Soviet Union where the recent developments in tube railways too have progressed well. Is it recklessness, lack of experience or inadvertence on the part of the railway personnel that is the cause of these accidents? Is it not a sheer obligation of intelligence to stop enquiring into the wrecks already made? No enquiry brings new reasons — the same stale balderdash in a different way will be expressed.

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Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

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GOVERNMENT GAMBLING IN THE SHARE MARKET

When Government take over a concern or concerns previously run by private bodies and substitute their administration for the checks, controls and directions of the old managing bodies, their vigilance and sense of responsibility should be greater, not less. Government should not treat the funds that come into their temporary legal possession in the business concerns taken over by Government in accordance with their nationalisation policy, as if they were taxation money to be disposed of as the munificent Finance Minister pleases. They should be treated with the same scrupulous care as trust money should be treated according to law and all sound practice. Now we have revelations that have been hotly discussed on the floor of the Lok Sabha in Delhi that point to such funds having been gambled with in the share market. By no stretch of charitable imagination could trust money be allowed to be dealt with in this manner. Buying shares from a fresh company or out of a fresh issue of an industrial concern might be construed as helping the private sector of industry, but not buying from stock-brokers. Government entering indirectly into the stock market can only serve to help or save speculators. It could do nothing for industry, not by an iota. Whereas nationalisation should make some additional safeguards for people's moneys, it has been disclosed in the case of the Life Insurance Corporation that nationalisation and the Finance Minister's direct control have resulted in the investment of moneys collected on life-policies in worthless shares such as would never have been allowed in the old days when life insurance companies operated as private concerns. All statutory and conventional safeguards appear to have been discarded. The only question remaining to be solved seems to be as to who is responsible—the Minister in charge or the administrative officers under his control. In this matter Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri has set a worthy example. But from what has transpired we are led to believe the case may be clearer than that, taking into account the very personal manner in which the Finance Minister has been managing his department.

Function of the Judiciary

The proper function of the judiciary in a democracy based on a written Constitution has been, for sometime now, a thorny point of political ethics. One would normally have said that the function of the judiciary is a straight and simple one, namely, to interpret the laws of the land in the correct legal manner, in accordance with the accepted principles of interpretation of statutes, and no more. Sometime ago, in introducing the amendment to the Constitution in regard to expropriation of land, as part of State policy, the Ministers indulged in a mild tirade against the judges who were not acting in accordance with the time spirit, which dictated a moral bias towards the *have-nots*, thereby necessitating legislative changes. Attention has also been invited by more responsible men to the Marshall Doctrine propounded in U.S.A. that judicial pronouncements should accord with the objectives of beneficial policies, as far as possible. The question has again been raised in the recent inauguration of the Law Society.

It is not clear whether the different aspects of the issue have been grasped by the protagonists of what may be called the Socialistic pattern of the judiciary. Firstly, there is the Constitution. The judges have to interpret it. Secondly, there are other laws. In interpreting these laws, it has to be seen if they are in accordance with the rights and privileges embodied in the Constitution. On the legislative side, the right exists for amending the Constitution as well as for enacting laws which are in harmony with State policy.

It is the proper function of the legislature to give whatever bias is considered to be necessary in the laws of the country. This is the right forum for translating the

political and economic ideals of the party in power into reality. To ask the judges to act with any sort of bias is to introduce a dangerous element of executive 'devotionalism' into an institution which is, in a written Constitution, the only safeguard against legislative and administrative excesses. Much more so when the legislature consists of a vast majority behind the party in power, and a weak opposition.

The argument advanced above assumes that the sanctity of the Constitution will be generally respected and that it will not be amended except on the gravest of issues, on which there is a defined and formidable national feeling. In other words, the Constitution should be respected as being above party, and as being the expression of the maximum accord of national sentiment on vital matters that should not be subject to the vagaries of varying policies, however beneficial they may appear to be for the moment. Unless this amount of sanctity is assured to it, it will, in actual practice, be treated as a piece of party legislation, which the party itself feels called upon to change at every step, and which the opposition is only waiting to alter when the chance comes. In such a state of unhealthy flux and fluidity, the primary focus of attention should be on the Constitution itself.

But, assuming that the Constitution is also made the subject of frequent changes, reducing it to the level of an inconvenient obstacle to progressive policies, then, the judiciary have an even greater responsibility towards the citizen, in safeguarding such rights as may be still left, and also in acting as a brake for the unbridled loyalties of ardent executives. The area of judicial and administrative harmony can never coincide, under such conditions. Whatever may be the circumstances in which the Marshall Doctrine was enunciated, it is most unsuited to the conditions of a country which is already reducing the Constitution to the status of an ordinary law, is rushing through a great deal of other hasty legislation, and is enacting

A PERILOUS PLAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Let us not attempt to reconcile contradictions but firmly embrace a rational alternative". This was Alexander Hamilton's doctrine when he campaigned for the union of the thirteen States of America into one nation and laid the foundation for the present power of the United States.

There were contradictions then and there are contradictions now in the wishes of men. Too often do those responsible for the governance of human affairs in democracies have contrary wishes and aims and play for safety and popularity among men holding contrary views by adding up one thing to another and ignoring the hard but fundamental doctrine of policy enunciated by Hamilton as above. They attempt to bundle together contradictory aims and imagine that this would be what is recommended by saints, philosophers and statesmen as the middle path. Contradictory things tied up together do not make a middle path but remain an untenable bundle.

Hamilton's fundamental proposition about policies must be remembered by all statesmen in all matters. We must take the risk of adopting and firmly embracing a rational alternative and not seek the worthless and illusory safety obtained by a seeming reconciliation of contradictions.

America has been true to her traditional ethic in resisting the idea of an anticipatory attack to liquidate her great opponent. The American people desire world peace. They would resent any suggestion that they were indifferent to that cause. But at the same time they desire national security. Now, security can issue either from international agreement or from overwhelming power. The latter has now become impossible for several causes that have contributed to produce parity between the two opposing Powers. The former, *viz.* international agreement can only be based on mutual trust. But America cannot see her way to put trust in the good faith of the Soviet Power. Meanwhile time passes and her traditional defensive attitude allows the Soviet Power to grow into an almost invincible enemy. An anticipatory attack is the only available dynamite that the H-bomb can furnish, but it would be totally un-American to make use of it in that way. An attack would be permissible only by way of retaliation after Soviet Russia has taken some belligerent first step.

And so a scheme has been devised after great deliberation, and it is sought to be put in action through NATO, to organize nuclear equipment for the allied nations in Europe in order that "tactical" nuclear weapons may have a chance to go into action in what may be called small wars and the Soviet Power may be forced to take the first belligerent nuclear action. The aim is to place Russia in a dilemma and to content herself with local wars with second grade nuclear weapons. If Russia resorted to the H-bomb she would thereby solve the moral problem for American conscience. All this is nicely planned and backed by high grade experts in the science of foreign relations.

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legislation to reduce the difficulties of amending the Constitution by narrowing the majorities required therefor.

This warning is necessary for all, including the highest court of the land, for it is easy to slip into a state of unconscious acquiescence and then find ethical and juristic justification for what is, in fact, a derogation of the stern and limited functions involved in interpreting existing laws. It would be wrong to shift legal leanings to suit the policy of the party in power. Those who advocate that judges should act in consonance with the time spirit forget that parties in power change.



Sotto Voce

The Spider and Fly Partnership

You go on travelling with the rising sun before you, say the geographers, come back to where you started. But in Mr. Nehru's world of thought you may travel anywhere and anywise and yet be sure of seeing all the wonders of this kaleidoscopic universe. His address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers was even more of an *olla podriada* than usual. But it was true to the law of his being, which is, to go by contraries. The philosophers in *The Crock of Gold*, though they disliked their wives' cooking very much, were careful not to say so, "for the women would certainly have insisted on their rights to cook had they imagined their husbands disliked the results". Mr. Michelmore was evidently no philosopher.

* * *

For the President of the Associated Chambers, when he spoke of India having to compete with Australia, Canada or any other of a dozen countries all of which needed foreign capital, ignited a spark in a powder magazine. 'Competition' conjured up in the Prime Minister's mind the ghastly picture of cut-throats, though he prides himself on his untrammelled thinking and freedom from clichés. He airily waved aside the difficulty about foreign exchange, saying, "We shall get over it". Agriculture was the Kamadhenu who in time would provide not only all the foreign exchange needed but also all the resources that industrial development required. In any case it would not do to allow the private sector too much liberty, "for the essential approach of private enterprise is a competitive cut-throat approach".

* * *

But, of course, Mr. Nehru is nothing if not generous. He credits private enterprise with initiative, the creative spirit and creative instinct. Far from wishing to extinguish these he is anxious to infuse them into public enterprises and to run them more and more as business concerns. The public sector is, thus, to make the best of both worlds. There will be no cut-throat competition, in fact no competition at all. The consumer may groan that if his throat is not being cut it is being squeezed to suffocation by the "creative instinct" of the Government monopolies. But the Government are so busy practising the human approach to labour that they have no sympathy to waste on him.

* * *

It is this human approach that has led to the discovery of the principle of partnership as the key to success in the new post-revolutionary era. The P. M. invited the attention of the Associated Chambers to certain modest experiments that had been initiated in both the public and private sectors. This progressive association of workers in the management, he declared, aimed at abolishing those wasteful luxuries, strikes and lockouts. Has not Mr. Nehru heard that that is just the reason why labour in Britain has been exceedingly suspicious of the invitation to take a hand in the management, and why today it is rather disillusioned about nationalisation of industries? The British worker prefers to stick to his proper job and his right to ask for more and strike if he doesn't get it.

* * *

Mr. Morarji Desai has been discovering in Kerala that there are partnerships and partnerships. The Kerala Government propose to set up a negotiating body that will settle industrial disputes. On this there will be representatives of the Government as well as of both labour and managements. Mr. Desai points out that such a body would be able to work only if the State remained absolutely impartial. But, he complains, the State in Kerala was known to favour labour, its officers obediently took the cue, and the proposed negotiating body might also do the same thing, in which case it must prove a total flop. The Governments outside Communist Kerala have been not less notoriously pro-labour. And yet Mr. Nehru hopefully preaches labour-management partnership!

* * *

Mr. Desai is scandalised at the proposal of the Industrial Relations Board in Kerala to fix a minimum wage of Rs. 1-75 for an unskilled adult worker and compulsory bonus. The result of giving effect to such hare-brained proposals might well be that the industry concerned would have to close down. "Imagine asking people to pay bonus irrespective of whether there is profit or loss!" he says. There in no need to strain the imagination at all. In sober fact the unskilled adult worker on the land in Tanjore, the 'pannayal' has been given a statutory wage in kind which is the equivalent to day of Rs. 1.50; not to speak of sundry perquisites which raise it substantially. As for the agricultural tenant, he has soared far above the mere equalities of partnership, so much so that Mr. Nehru, when he turns to agriculture, does not speak of owner and worker as partners but asks the new 'farmers', the creations of his socialistic pattern to walk into his agricultural 'co-ops.' to discover "the sense of partnership". But they are distinctly unenthusiastic, and, no wonder; for, as in the spider's parlour, the spider is the only permanent partner, so the State will be in the "co-ops" when the "co-ops" become collectives.

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SIDELIGHTS : :

Under its denominational appellation, the Young Men's Christian Association, Madras, covers an enormous amount of humanitarian effort devoted to the good of boys of all communities. The Y.M.C.A. Boys' Town, which it runs, is an institution of which any body of philanthropists can be proud. It is a home and a school combined for orphans and lost children with none to look after them. There are plenty such everywhere in the city. Clad in rags, they roam about in all weathers in stark destitution, often picking garbage for something to eat, with no cheer or comfort to enliven their existence, and gravitating into disease and crime under the stress of want. Five or six of these homeless waifs from the most indigent strata of society, were taken by a band of Good Samaritans to Boys' Town some years ago. Their number has now swelled to nearly a hundred.

Kindness and discipline have washed the old dirt and slovenliness out of these boys. It is true they lack the greatest of God's gifts to children, a mother's affection. But as near a substitute for it as masculine care can achieve, has been provided for them. Also, to make their lives bright and enjoyable, many ladies of the neighbourhood with maternal enthusiasms, — American, British and Indian, — have been making frequent visits to Boys' Town with presents and eatables, holiday plans and entertainment programmes. Self-help is the watchword of this institution. The inmates look after all the daily routine arrangements. Even the business of bringing in new entrants is attended to by the senior boys acting as a panchayat. At eighteen they have to leave, but by that time they are not only well educated, they are also taught a trade like carpentry, welding or tailoring, and thanks to the good offices of sympathisers in influential positions, there has been little difficulty experienced in finding suitable employment for the outgoing boys.

The personal histories of some of the wards of Boys' Town read like romantic tales. Several of them, on beginning to earn, never rested in their search until they discovered a long-lost father or mother whom they often found eventually in the last stages of disintegration. These they proudly rehabilitated in new and comfortable homes as a sacred filial duty. Society cannot be too grateful to the architects of this process of renovation of the down-trodden, in particular, the moving spirits behind the great work that has been going on at Boys' Town like Sri A. V. Thomas, Williams, Joseph, Chandran and the secretaries of the Y.M.C.A.

* * *

Indigence of the Indian variety is unknown in America. Kind-hearted American ladies go far out across the seas to spread their benedictions on little waifs in devastated areas in other continents whom they adopt as a childless woman adopts a son. The American woman's instinct for hospitality is magnificent, something unimaginably sublime, and of breath-taking perseverence, affection and generosity. Two years ago, in a small Minnesota town, Worthington, I came across a great lady of an amazingly spacious [illegible]-heartedness whose

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THE OPIATE SLOGAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A belief in God and His governance stood in the way of all class wars. The Communists, therefore, who believed in the class war basis as the inevitable weapon of revolution looked upon Religion as an impediment and made it their earliest target of attack.

The Marxist slogan of Religion being an 'opiate' has been taken out of the context by others and without analysis it has come wrongly to be believed that a belief in God stands in the way of human exertion and progress. One has only to read history to see what a great mistake this is. Nations who had the strongest faith in God and were deeply attached to their religion whatever wrong things they may have done in their ignorance were certainly not guilty of laziness or inertia. The history of the Mohamedans or of the Sikhs or the Crusades and many other historical facts prove that Religion was no opiate. Take even personal histories, what is there to compare with Gandhiji's or Sivaji's or Tilak's activity? Did their great faith in God act as an opiate? Indeed did it not make them marvels of dynamic energy?

When you have a creed that demands civil strife, you find Religion in your way, and you therefore dislike Religion and call what gives consolation in the midst of grief and distress an opiate. It is true that Religion discourages civil strife and if your operations depend on the development of strife you must treat it as an impediment. Religion is the sanction for morality and right conduct, and for mutual trust. Social co-operation is based on all these. Societies hold together because of Religion whether people display it or keep it in their hearts. When Religion goes down, mutual trust goes down, the conduct of men deteriorates and the nation suffers. Religion is not an opiate but a true pillar of energy. Where the leader of a revolution is made into a God and economic or political dogma made into a religion, it serves to keep men together, but where there has not been a revolution based on class war, the wearing away of religion brings about the wearing away of integrity and of social co-operation and finally of nationhood. Man cannot dispense with God any more than he can do away with food and drink or fresh air. He who preaches God out of men's minds in India preaches social disintegration.

ASSES AND CARROTS

By K. SANKARAN

Not much is in evidence of the cool canopy of leaves as of a fan-tracery of a vast cathedral that roofed the Luz Church road and laid a brooding aura of silence and intellectual detachment on its erstwhile aristocracy. The parrots and mynas that screamed through the trellis of this greenery have largely fled. Only the crows are still as vociferous as ever whether in the Luz Church road or in the wide car streets of Mylapore. Life as it tinkled its way with the temple bells and circumambulated the sun through the year in step with the various festivals and processions of the gods is now only a memory. But the temple music and the temple routine goes on, albeit changed and modernised with brilliant electric signs, fashionably accoutred deities and mechanised worship. The old time Tamil song resonates through the temple walls from a devout worshipper:

What'r the future hold for me,
Nev'r more shall I forget.....
Thee hereafter,
Thou, Iswara, the shining one
Whose lovers Thee in love worship,
That bides in Thillai as Nat'raja.....Thee hereafter.

As the song goes on through its alliterative verses, the strident stresses of the language but adding to the depth of feeling and sincerity of its content, Seema, well past middle age, recalls nostalgically the scenes of his life with a singer of this song in his youth with an aching void in the pit of his stomach. Memory sieves selectively emphasising the gossamer patches of loves, triumphs and ecstatic moments and softening the crudities, shames and defeats. Neither the shiny area on the top of his head, the protuberance in the middle region of his anatomy nor the half-a-dozen grand children that grade up from baby foods, marbles and tops to paper kites and bats through a later-day well and conventionally sanctified matrimonial, alliance are by themselves incompatible with an early roystering rake-hell career or with a cocky dashing figure, sinewy calf muscles and a debonair tilt of a prominent nose that drew side glances from combustible femininity at an early age. He wonders where and how poor Santha is as the strains of the air pierce through to the roots of compassion and tenderness that still lay hidden somewhere in him. For so long had he comfortably conformed to the commonplace bye-ways of making money that it seemed strange that he should still be moved by a recollection of that early ardent past. His interests had confined themselves to such matter of fact levels that marginal evanescent elements as music, flowers and minutiae of feelings and sentiments had come to be outside the reach of his notice. Their vibrations were too high pitched.

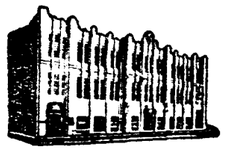
Environment determines the lives of most people, their thoughts roll on rigid rails, but when the wheels get displaced by chance or exotic circumstance there is always the devil to pay.

The God that Santha once sang to with much feeling was all too earthy, nay, much too eager. She was a belle with an unconventional parentage and doubtful background and he, Seema was that highly susceptible and magnetic youth that only a rigidly conventional and superior upbringing can produce. She, a sophisticated person with a melting voice, beguiling looks and tantalising silences and he, a personable young man with repressed ambitions that passed for enthusiams and a restless urge to be the first in whatever he took up under a quietness of demeanour that belied a subterranean Vesuvius of passion. She had admirers and he was but one of them and therein was the rub and the goad. While the others, older and better versed in the language of men to woman, purred their admiration, he was tongue-tied and gloomy with stifled feelings; and when they talked to him kindly, he rebelled the more, his manhood not only thwarted but belittled. When on such occasions as this she sang to him with her flawless fluency of tone and feeling, his hand would almost unconsciously steal to hers in a tentative wistful appeal. It was enough to be with her—to walk in silence by her side and to talk of the most insignificant things. She tried to put some sense into the fool—told him that he would tire of her very soon, that it would be a disaster for such as she to give her heart to a packetted ware like him, labelled, 'Glass with care'. Was boy ever



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stingy on the most blood curdling of oaths of fealty and of love when pressing his suit with a maiden? Did sense which so busily chops logic ever play fair and tread in equal step with the heart? Her words of wisdom were no more than feints, for she had already lost her outer defences. Against the bull-headed plunge born of the fury in his blood no wall was granite enough to withstand for long. That fever was compounded of many things. Elemental harmones apart, there was vanity with its urge to baste the rivals, an exciting fascination for a particular smile on a particular face which displayed a slightly over-riding canine tooth, a trick of pushing back frontal hair when perplexed and a habit of eloquent silence that banked up torrents of speech. May be these are foundations enough for preference to be lasting if cemented by children, even without the buttresses of conforming traditions and the approval of kin. Therein she failed.

To have a person in the flesh is by no means the finale of owning as long as there are affinities and avocations, such as Santha's profession as musician and its inevitable masculine admiration, still left. The quest of the hunter is not at rest until the victim is bankrupt of defences and lies mangled as an amorphous mass of feelings and passions. That is the climax that gives a man his jaunty swagger of lordship. The inevitable reaction to climaxes necessarily follow thereafter. Meanwhile life is an iridescent mist to both of them—a rainbow—a vale of resplendent blossoms—an effulgence of soft moon-beams.

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He was content to revolve with her as the centre of his universe.

Consciousness is too coarse to register the initial beginnings of a change within. It is only when it has persisted and gathered momentum that one realises with a shock what had come to pass as against what had been. The slippery path down a waning passion is all too similar. First, the little spontaneous ardours go. There are no more surprise touches of affection. Later only passive acceptance of endearments remains. Then only courtesies of habit rather than need. Soon it degenerates into the boredom of unwanted love. Vasantha ... fallen in love with his face and his youthful ardour and had not catalogued his qualities with an appraising eye to those that would 'wear well'. Always a go-getter with not much thought for the means employed for the getting, he was no dedicated idealist or one with any predilection for contrite self-questioning. When the bread of every day had lost its savour, he gravitated to other places and people and his relaxations naturally took the form of adventures with other women who could play up with equally bold roving eyes.

Vasantha realised with bitterness that her predictions were becoming too true and made such efforts as lay with her to stem the movement of the slipping bearings. When smile and allure failed fret and whimper but added to the pace of the down movement. Her horizon of blue and gold had lasted barely three years. It is funny how the very things that had once entranced the lover such as her quirk of speech and the trills of her music became distasteful when the passion had gone. Much as she had loved him, she still had some sense left and her voice to live by. She looked at herself squarely in the glass and told her image mercilessly 'YOU FOOL'. She pushed her frontal hair back firmly and with only a few silent tears, viewed steadily at the long blank vista of years that lay ahead—and fled.

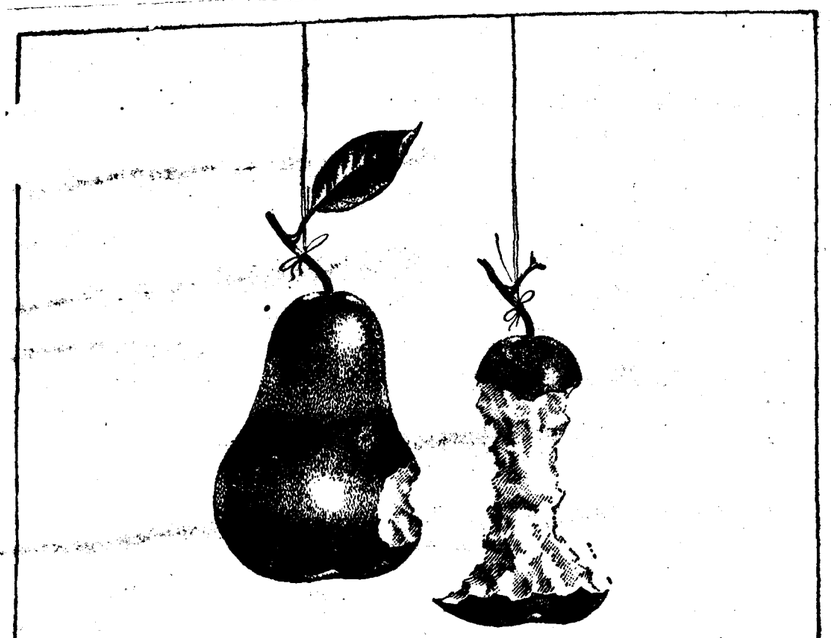
Seema did not take effort to find or follow her, not being a sufferer even in vanity, much less in appe-

ite or sleep. He went his way, allivanted, lied, boasted, showed off and cheated; but through all that, he had the cunning self-control that could match wiles with keeper cleverness, crookedness with matching devilry and steadily climbed up the social and financial ladder and merged into the galaxy of the world's countless Babbits. His senses needed an equable settled home and the urge of parenthood made him seek a partner in a hall-marked conventional fold.

And there he was with grown sons and daughters, all leading their own lives unrelated to his, their thoughts and ways alien to those of his generation, a chasm between them and him. That old world song in the setting of the temple:

What'r the future hold for me,
Nev'r more shall I forget.....
Thee hereafter

makes him look back with a longing ache on that past early love of his and to wonder whether his assiduous chase after pleasure and position was not after all the silly trotting of an ass behind a carrot hung in front of his nose.



Appearances...and a pair of pears

PEARS, like appearances, are deceptive. You can't tell their quality by gazing at them. Moral: If you're buying pears, taste them first.

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WORLD AS POWER

BOOK REVIEW

There exists in India an intellectual fashion which is compounded of a knowledge of local metaphysics and foreign science, and a synthesis that sees in the former the conclusions of the latter. While it is futile to flatter ourselves in this way, it nevertheless seems to be correct that the certainties of modern physics are disintegrating into doubt, and that modern scientists are seriously analysing matter in terms that are more akin to the language and the ratiocination of metaphysics than to an analysis of perceived and objectively classifiable reality. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that scientists are seeing beyond the categories of their subjects into the nature of a common reality which is certainly supra-phenomenal. And this reality resolves itself into energy. It is interesting to see how this energy-reality was conceived of by Indian metaphysicians.

Sir John Woodroffe has studied the subject under five heads: Power as reality, as life, as mind, as matter, and as casuality and continuity. He draws upon the immense reservoir of the Indian philosophical systems for his analysis, and more particularly on the Shakta Tantras.

The Hindu is a believer in Reality. "The realist believes that in sense-perception we have assurance of the presence of reality, distinct from the modifications of the perceiving mind, and existing independently of perception. This is the Hindu position. In Epistemology or Theory of Knowledge the idealist asserts, after the manner of the Buddhist, that the reality of the world is its perceptibility. This the Hindu denies". We know ourselves as conscious beings, and therefore the property of consciousness must inhere in some reality which is independent of the body. In fact consciousness belongs to what feels itself to be the possessor of the body, and makes use of the body. Mind and senses are instruments of consciousness. So we have consciousness, mind, and matter. Both mind and matter change. The universe is mind and matter in constant movement. Throughout all this movement the Self remains as the one unchanged consciousness.

The *Maya-vaaa* of Sankara was not a contradiction of this postulation of an empirical reality; but it stems from a different order of reality. The ultimate experience is not a world experience. From the transcendental aspect, which may be called God's point of view, all else which does not persist is not real. All that Sankara said was that the reality of one state was corrected by another, dream by waking, illusion by normality, till one reaches an uncorrected state which endures as such in the past, present and future.

Thus the core of Hindu Vedanta may be said to accept empirical reality, the independent existence of objects outside the experiencer, but if reality is defined as that which changelessly endures, then relative to it, all else is unreal. This is not arrived at by a process of speculative reasoning, but by actual experience or *Anubhava*. It is the seer who says "All this is Brahman" (*Sarvam khalvidam Brahma*). Here the "This" is the universe, and Brahman is its cause as Power (*Mahashakti*).

If all "This" is Brahman, then, it must all be sentient. Neither organisation, nor motion, nor consciousness is the peculiarity of living substance only. They exist in all substance, mechanical and determined in the living, and free and undetermined in the apparently inert (*Achara*). There is an increase of sentiency as one goes up in the scale, but no more. They are one as to the Energy-substance (*Shakti*) which permeates them. The qualities of things are modes of Power (*Shakti*).

The World as Power: By Sir John Woodroffe, Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 15.

This power, or cosmic impulse, is not a blind physical force, but a spiritual stress (*spanda*). This is the Shakta doctrine. "The Universe is a dynamism — an expression (and therefore finite) of *Shakti*, and an infinite reservoir of *Shakti*. It is auto-dynamic. The ultimate reality has two aspects, one static (*chit*) and the other kinetic or *Shakti*, which is both *chitshakti* that is efficient cause as Supreme Will, and *Maya Shakti* or instrumental and material cause (*Upaadana*). "And all, whether mind or matter they are in essence one, for they are at root varying transformations of the one Power. Both the senses (*Indriya*) and their chief *Manas* on the one side, and the subtle matter, which by the addition of mass (*Tamo guna*) becomes gross matter, derive from the same principle of apperception or *Ahamkara* which issues from *Buddhi*, as the latter does from the Finitising Principle or root of all things, which considered as a force is *Prakriti*, and as a Personal Power an aspect of the Mother of the Universe — her infinite womb. Mind is thus immensity veiled in one way. Matter is also the same immensity veiled in another way".

This is the main thesis of the book under review. It represents some of the best aspects of Indian thought and expression. But one may join issue on the question of reconciling the immanence of *Shakti* in all substance, be it mind or matter, with the belief in a transcendental reality which alone is. The logical monism of Shankara is not accepted by the *Shaktas*. The great Bhaskara Raya in his commentary on the *Lalithasahasranama*, on the 735th name "*Mithyajagadadhistana*" (Basis of the illusory Universe) says that as the Universe is the manifestation of Brahman, it must necessarily be as real as Brahman. It is the sense of plurality which is the illusion. Indeed, he says that this being so, the Vedantic theory of illusion is absurd. This is nearer the Visishtadvaita doctrine of the whole universe of mind and matter not only seeming to be, but indeed being the body of the Lord (see Ramanuja's commentary on the Gita, 13, 2.), with this difference that the Shakta believes in the ultimate involution into the one *Atma* into which all mind and matter are merged. The Shaktas always come up against the Mayavada, and attempt a reconciliation that does not fit in with their basic doctrine.

The three-dimensional mind of man also fails to grasp the principle of universal immanence. There is no doubt that this is realised only by *Sadhana*. Hence Professor Hiriyanna has defined Hinduism as an experiment which ripens into an experience. In this view all systems of Indian philosophy have an intensely practical significance to the life of man, and epistemology becomes an adjunct to the procedure of salvation. Else is all knowledge not merely barren, but incorrect.

India owes a debt of gratitude to Sir John Woodroffe for showing them their own thoughts in a new light. He has given to the Tantras their proper place in a scheme of knowledge and of devotion. They had been clogged with unsavoury ritual and needed cleaning with a fresh mind.

S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

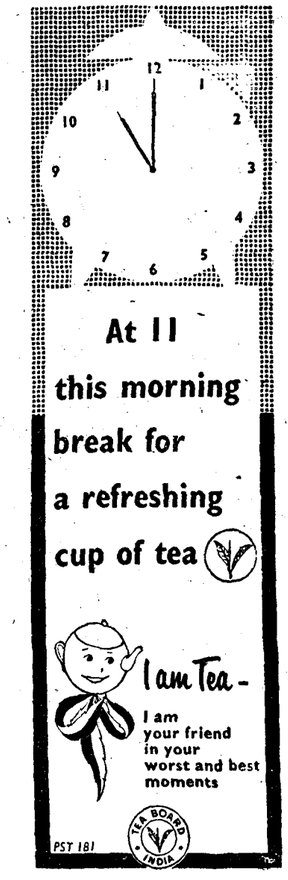
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SAINTLY PONTIFF OF KAMAKOTI

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

Madras city is now sanctified by the visit of His Holiness Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi, the Pontiff of the Kamakoti Mutt. The tumultuous welcome accorded to him is an indication of the hold which this most arresting personality of our time exercises over the people.

His Holiness is not a mere ecclesiastical dignitary, chosen to spread a particular gospel or dogma. He stands for Hinduism as its best, himself being the very embodiment of its catholicity and toleration.

For upwards of two scores of years, he has been a veritable colossus, dwarfing all by his sublimity and austerity, a ministering angel to every man, woman and child and bird and beast.

Unapproachable he is by his self-abnegation and abstemiousness. No modern luxury or comfort surrounds him. He has not as yet had a car drive, but walks his way through heat and dust. He does not wear glasses; and even when seriously ill, could not be induced to take in a pill or potion. He resorts to no protection against winter or inclement weather. He has been the most accessible of our spiritual heads, knowing and solving the tiniest domestic problems of his innumerable callers, day and night.

In these nearly fifty years, every ounce of his energy and every *penny* of his possessions, have been expended for the well-being of the people. With negligible resources — his is the poorest religious institution in India — he has been able to charge the country with spiritual fervour to an extent unattempted before or since and in exactly the same way as Mahatma Gandhi had effected in the political field. His is a little kingdom where the scholar, the man-of-letters, the artist, the musician and the sculptor, the needy and the indigent, have never been left in the lurch. Resuscitation of sacred literature and of temples has been done as a matter of *routine*. No good cause in any sphere has failed to evoke his support or monetary aid, meagre as are his resources. He has been a most prolific giver and his bounty knows no frontiers. Savants in other fields and *persons owing allegiance* to the other schools of philosophy, have been recognised by him long before their own members ever thought of them. He was among the earliest to spot out K. S. Venkataramani.

The Acharya's learning is limitless and prodigious. He is *quite* at home in all the modern arts, sciences and in the fine arts and hobbies. Experts have not unoften been swept off their feet by a clinching question or two from him. His incredibly powerful memory aids him to remember faces and facts with astonishing accuracy, and his visitors are often overpowered by his intimate knowledge of their affairs and even predilections.

He is an engaging conversationalist and wit and wisdom run through every word of his. He is no miracle worker; yet a few minutes of pleasant talk from him have taken people out of a whole life-time of hatred and unbelief.

Modern movements for the uplift of mankind have always had his support, even though the means adopted might not be to his liking. He is a conservative wedded to progress.

That he should wear himself out in the service of humanity is perhaps inevitable. Only those who have seen him years ago, in the full bloom of health and vigour, know what it is to work both morn and noon and night as he has done for the uplift of his fellowmen with no rest or relaxation or any of the amenities due to his office or age.

His Holiness is now heading towards being a *Jeevan Muktha*. History will record him as the most illustrious of his line since the great apostle Adi Sankara.

Language Convention

Mr. S. Chellaswamy, Convenor, Union Language Convention, writes:

There will be a Convention at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore on the 22nd instant at 9-30 in the morning to discuss the Union Language Issue. Sir Mirza Ismail will inaugurate the Convention and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will preside. A Reception Committee has been formed with Dr. M. Ruthnaswami as Chairman. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is expected to move the principal resolution and there will be other distinguished speakers.



South India Office: 5-149, BROADWAY, MADRAS-1.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is, in all conscience, bad enough that more and more people should be disappointed with the Congress. It is worse that even Congressmen should be increasingly dissatisfied with the state of affairs inside their own organisation. That Congressmen should beware of other Congressmen is a very bad sign. Yet to-day it is a stark fact, an ugly reality. Formerly one Congressman felt drawn, and was bound to, another by a common devotion to the same set of ideals and a common homage to the leadership at the top. They were all Gandhites, *ipso facto*. Today, the only thing common between one Congressman and another is an equal desire to exploit party connection for personal ends or certain political advantages. Today, the Congress organisation at the central or pradesh or local level presents a scene of dreary sameness, a plethora of doubtful men who, having fulfilled some technical requirements, managed to wear the Congress label and thus capture it for their own selfish designs. They have, indeed, mustered in such strong numbers as to be able to suppress the very voice of authenticity and make it even impossible for the genuine elements to have a hearing at higher levels. The latter are nowhere in the picture and do not find it worthwhile to run up to Delhi in quest of justice. For, they have known, to their cost, that they have either no access to the High Command or are summarily disposed of, as men with no backing of the provincial bosses who can alone deliver the goods. The result is disastrous. Those who spiritually belong to the Congress are just *non est*. Hence the poignant but ironic appeal to the Congress President, from certain quarters, to make a list, for his own benefit and that of the organisation, of old, tried, genuine Congressmen in the country!

* * *

He is a wise leader who knows his men. There can be no more dangerous an entourage than a doubtful following. Congress leadership is now totally lacking in the capacity to distinguish true men from false; it is perhaps even more woefully lacking in the capacity to get rid of the bogus elements in its bosom and save itself from putrefaction. Shri Dhebar does not seem to have realised the danger of betrayal on all sides. Has he, one wonders, his hand on the party's pulse? The longer he stays, the more easily he convinces the people that he has not risen equal to his opportunities. Breathes there a Congressman who fears the Congress President? He would be a bold man who could answer in the affirmative. The High Command once struck a terror into the hearts of Congressmen and knew what it was to amputate diseased limbs. It has now degenerated into a junta for protecting the interests of all those who can contribute to party funds or to electoral success, whatever be their deficiencies and drawbacks otherwise. Gandhiji's name on one's lips is no substitute for his image in one's bosom. Let it not be said that from the other side "he looked upon his people, and a tear was in his eye". There is no redemption in the absence of a purge inside the Congress—and Shri Dhebar is emphatically not the man for it. There is but one who alone can do the surgical operation as an expert, one who gives no quarter and stands no nonsense. By one of those curious omissions in history, he—he is no other than Sri C. Rajagopalachari—is the one big man in the Congress today who has so far missed the Congress Crown. It is an omission that needs to be repaired from every point of view. He has a mind which is still one of the finest working instruments in Indian politics. He can give the party a shake-up which it badly needs and a shock treatment (which Mr. Nehru talks of, whenever provoked). Under his gaze, nobody can make false pretences or doubtful advances. But will this come to happen? No. A majority of present-day Congressmen will combine frantically in resisting him out of sheer fear of the man, for nobody will be more unacceptable than a strong man who does not hesitate to liquidate meretricious 'pockets' or pillory the perfidious. They will rather give one more year to Shri Dhebar who has not disturbed their repose nor descended on them heavily in any way.

* * *

About seven weeks ago, commenting on the developments in Pakistan, I happened to say this in these very columns:

> And now it is for Mr. Hasan Suhrawardy who talked bravely in his day to have made room for the sixth man in succession, Chundrigar. Who next? And for how long?

Much earlier than apprehended, Mr. Chundrigar has, in his turn, made room for the seventh *in succession*, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who has been, so to say, on the waiting list. India knows him as an old-stager. He was one of the three Punjabi Muslims whom the formidable Fazl-i-Husain picked up with a view to establishing his own political dynasty in the province. Fazl-i-Husain helped Firoz Khan to become a Minister and yet in 1935 was obliged to wish (*vide* his *Diary*) that 'Firoz were possessed of even half the qualifications which distinguish Chhotu Ram from others'. There was, in another context, a very revealing entry in Fazl-i-Husain's *Diary*, as quoted in his son's biography — again relating to Mr. Firoz Khan Noon.

> "I give it up — it is impossible to understand him."

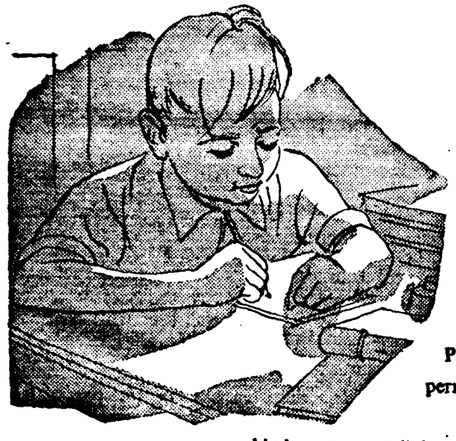
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He has since proved, in a mysterious sense, that where he is concerned, nothing is impossible. We have but to recall how he excelled himelf over the Kashmir issue. Any way, though nobody knows for how long, it is now Noon's day in Pakistan which is, of course, not to say that it is Pakistan's noon-day!

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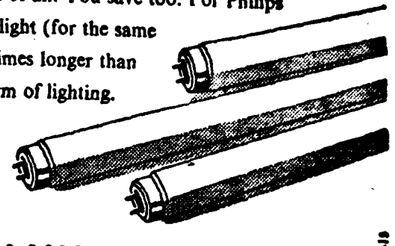
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PHILIPS

FLUORESCENT LAMPS and FITTINGS

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay : At last, 'Jaldeep', the second picture produced by the Children's Film Society has been released. It is being shown at morning shows at Metro. Inaugurating the picture Shri Y. B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, made a strong plea for production of children's films and also promised all help from the Government. The Government's help would be in the form of exemption of entertainment tax on children's films, a subscription of Rs. 10,000 per year to the Children's Film Society and a consideration of the proposal for establishing a children's cinema house in Bombay.

Earlier Prime Minister Nehru had opened in Madras a children's theatre where children's films will be screened twice or thrice a week. And already there is a children's theatre in Delhi. So, when the Bombay theatre is established, at least in three big cities there will be children's theatres where children's films can be reguarly shown. Moreover, as recommended by Shri Y. B. Chavan, the commercial cinema houses can also hold morning shows for children's films.

These developments are most welcome, but before undertaking any actual production of films for children, the State Governments and the Society should have first organised a chain of theatres all over the country for exhibition of children's films. The Society could have also watched the reaction of children to various films made abroad and released here to decide its own policy in making films for children. For, as Shri Chavan said, "a children's film is a film that interests children" and there is need to find out whether the so-called children's films do interest the children or bore them stiff.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK :

These are the days of adaptation from old films or re-makes. Sadiq's latest offering 'Mai Baap' is adapted from his old story which he wrote for Kardar's 'Thokar', which starred Khurshid, Kumar, Charlie and Wahidan (Nimmi's Mother). These roles are now played by Shyama, Balraj Sahni, Johnny Walkar and Minoo Mumtaz respectively.

The story of 'Mai Baap' revolves round a blind man Chandan, played by Balraj Sahni. He makes baskets, which are sold by Basanti, a girl who loves him. Basanti's father, better known as Kaka, is planning her marriage with Chandan. A lottery agent comes to sell tickets. Nobody buys a ticket from him except Chandan. Chandan buys it just to please the visitor and throws away the ticket—the ticket which brings him a prize of Rs. 4,50,000.

Parkar, the lottery agent, comes with this happy news and takes Chandan to the city to get the prize money. Chandan is accompanied by Kaka. But as Kaka is an impediment, Parkar gets him out of his way and both Parkar and his accomplice Leela exploit Chandan fully, taking advantage of his blindness to the maximum and utilising every device to fool him.

Kaka loses hope, but Basanti decides to go to the city and find things for herself. Thanks to the help of an eye specialist whom Basanti meets, Chandan recovers his sight and sees Parkar and Leela (whom he had adored as true friends) in their real colours. The manner in which both Parkar and Leela get their punishment provides the most interesting part of the picture. In fact, the picture ends with Parkar, who has become blind, begging for alms.

On the whole, the second half of the picture is more interesting than the first. That apart, inspite of all the cliches and crudities, the story has essential dramatic and human appeal which has unfortunately not been fully exploited. Compared to 'Thokar', the picture appears a very tame and lukeworm affair. Johnny Walkar, for instance, is not half as good as Charlie. In fact, both Johnny and O. P. Nayyar and even Balraj Sahni seem to be out of form in this film — the only sincere portrayals have been contributed by Nazir Hussain and Shyama. Minoo Mumtaz in one of her first major roles of a vamp fails to create any impression. Even the direction by Sadiq lacks the usual gusto and spirit.

As a result 'Mai Baap' has emerged to be just a routine affair with no distinguishing feature.

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK :

Sivaji Ganesan, the top star of Tamil films who has so far appeared in only one Hindi picture, 'Manohar', was in Bombay last week. He had come with his troupe to appear on the stage in Tamil plays staged in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Tamil Sangham. The plays were a thumping success.

Apart from appearing on the stage, Sivaji Ganesan had a very busy schedule in Bombay. For one of his producers followed him to Bombay and arranged the shooting of 'Raj Bhakti' in a local studio. He was so busy that when a journalist asked him to give his impressions of Bombay he said : "Bombay ? I don't know Bombay. I only know the hotel, my room, the studio and the stage."

This is not Sivaji Ganesan's first visit to Bombay. He had come earlier to finalize the cast of the Hindi version of his film 'Amar Deepam' in which Dev Anand and Vyjayantimala are co-starred for the first time.

Sivaji Ganesan began his career when he appeared as Krishna in 'Krishna Leela'. But he became famous in the stage-play, 'Parashakti', the screen version of which created a lot of controversy and even censor trouble. The play was said to be anti-brahmin and anti-God in keeping with the propaganda of the Dravida Kazhagam. Since then Sivaji Ganesan has been much in demand. In 'Amar Deepam' he scored a success as a producer and with its Hindi version Sivaji Ganesan will become known as a showman and producer to entire India.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RACE CLUB AFFAIRS

Sir,—Apropos of your recent editorial about the affairs of the Madras Race Club, may I bring the following points to your notice :

There are owners of horses who are members of the managing committee. This places them in a position of invidious advantage as against the ordinary punter, and in any event, creates a feeling of mistrust about the bona-fides of handicapping and other incidentals of racing.

Many years ago when the late Sri Satyamurthy objected to racing, Lord Willingdon replied that there was no compulsion involved, and the members of his party were at liberty to practice moral restraint. But the present Government has passed a law against it. Why have they kept the law in abeyance ? It is idle to say that it will lead to a loss of revenue to the extent of Rs. 15 lacs. The Government has lost several crores by prohibition. They say it is tainted money. Is not the income from the race club also tainted ?

Recently the Government stopped cotton betting. They said it was gambling. Then why allow horse racing ?

The argument that racing will lead to better breeding of horses is, to quote an American phrase, just plain hooey. How many horses have been taken from the Madras Race Club by the research laboratories or by the military ? We are not fighting the Boer war. Who wants horses ?

A CITIZEN.

MISTAKE OF FACT

Sir,—Vighneswara's *Sotto Voce* in the issue of SWARAJYA of the 14th December, contains the statement : "The talk of killing Brahmans and burning agraharas as part of a cold-blooded political programme started years ago. The then Brahman Chief Minister of the State chose to ignore it as the vapourings of an old man".

Permit me to correct this. I understand Rajaji's Cabinet decided to prosecute Sri E. V. R. Naicker but the Ministry changed at that juncture and the prosecution was dropped by the present Ministry. To ascertain the facts I sent up an interpellation, but so far it has not been answered.

(DR.) A. SRINIVASAN, M.L.C.

PERSONALITY CULT

Sir,—Day in and day out we hear Pandit Nehru making pronouncements like Moses from on high Mount Sinai, that "Casteism must go". He appears to be living in a dream world. Phenomena in nature submit only to much higher forces in their very nature and not to the commands of a mere man. Great Buddha tried to get rid of caste. He appeared to succeed for a short period during his life-time and a little after. But other forces brought it back. Does Pandit Nehru imagine that what Buddha and other great men failed to do, he could perform ?

Things which have been in existence for a number of years cannot disappear in the twinkling of an eye. They will definitely take time to disappear. No man with any power of observation can deny that the rigours of caste formalities are all definitely going, going surely but slowly. Our Sankaracharias and Ahobila Mutt Jeers, who had never moved beyond their original moorings, are now moving rapidly and are taking such great interest in the well-being of their disciples that they have become a living force among them. The repetition of the monotonous ode, "Casteism must go", has but roused more the contrariness in a good few of the people than a genuine desire to comply with such a demand.

It has been pointed out by Dr. Monica Felton in SWARAJYA that the editing of many dailies leaves much to be desired. If all their efforts and attention were simply diverted in doing puja to the Ministers and the Government, so that their favour and patronage may not be withheld from them, where is the time for them to reform themselves ? Nice and subtle methods of expressing one's disapproval are the ways of the elect — no doubt about it. But they do not seem to make any impression on the personnel of the Government.

There is no denying that Nehru stands head and shoulders above the sadistic fanatics round about him. But constant flattery, unlike mercy and charity, not only does no good either to the flatterers or to the flattered but seems to discourage definitely those about him from ever emulating to reach his heights. What a pass this country has come to ?

I appeal through your columns to take the vows of silence periodically so that he can sit down, mobilise and collect his thoughts and fashion neat little plans with crisp instructions for their execution. Rushing hither and thither, and to the aid of other Ministers, as if they cannot look after themselves, looks all fishy.

LT. COL. DR. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI

JOURNALISTIC ETHICS

Sir,—On November 26 both the news agencies PTI and UPI creeded a news item. The Andhra Assembly found a Madras daily guilty of breach of privilege but accepted the paper's apology and decided to take no further action. That was the purport of the message. It is common for newspapers to black out the names of individuals if no public purpose is served by publishing them. For instance, if a woman or girl is criminally assaulted no useful purpose is served by giving the name of the victim. In such cases the newspapers are perfectly justified in withholding the name. On the other hand if a newspaper is found guilty of some offence it is a matter of public importance. I should like to know by what journalistic ethics both the news agencies suppressed the name of the paper in this respect. Both the agency messages are the same word for word. That shows the agencies simply put on their respective teleprinters the hand-out given by some higher ups who have a hold on the agency. This is how our agencies cover news for the newspaper reading public in India.

A WORKING JOURNALIST IN NORTH INDIA

ABLE ASSESSMENT

Sir,—Saka's analysis of the Dravida Kazhagam's anti-brahmin campaign (SWARAJYA, 23 November, 1957) is one of the best I have ever read in his over ten years of writing under the *Sidelights* column.

He neither shys at pointing out certain hometruths concerning the brahmins nor shirks decrying the barbarous frenzy of the Kazhagamites. Saka's depth of comprehension and skill in bringing to the fore facts generally ignored particularly by the average man here in the north by going to the heart of the matter, lends his appraisal a new perspective and a majestic convincingness. His superb sizing up of the situation has rendered a great service towards the recognition of the elementary dignity of the brahmins in their unenviable plight now, by pointing out to the erring Kazhagamites the futility of their atrocious activities. It is gratifying that the authorities are taking, at least now, some measures to check this orgy of cultivated enmity.

Saka's able assessment of the situation can still serve as a timely warning to the offenders as well as custodians of law and order, if only they choose to read aright this journalistic equivalent of the writing on the wall.

New Delhi. DANTURTY

A Perilous Plan

(*Continued from page 2*)

But the calculations of men often end in results other than expected, too dreadful to contemplate. This plan of surrounding Russia and Russia-controlled areas with nuclear weapons which can operate at relatively short range may, instead of trapping the enemy into smaller wars, force him at a moment decided upon by Nemesis to take the big decision which certainly is not what America wants. The folly of a single military officer or his political boss, or even an accident or mistake of fact may lead to total catastrophe.

The new plan is playing—not with fire—but with Doom. It is not the middle way nor the right solution for a moral dilemma. The only way is to ask oneself the plain question, do we object to the existence of Russia ? If not, can we object to her choosing to live as a Communist State ? If neither of these can be objected to, it follows that we must depend on agreement and accept co-existence on this planet whatever be its dangers. It follows therefore that Bulganin's offer must be accepted and tried out before adopting any perilous military strategy to divert Russia from the big to the medium nuclears and keep her at that. Medium nuclear weapons are not mild by any means. Their potential is greater than that of the Hiroshima bomb.

One thing is certain : this scheme of saturating Europe and laying siege to Russia with tactical weapons spells near disaster to one or more of the European nations. This cannot be a price to be paid for the over-all safety of the West. The hope of Peace is in the commonsense of the European nations who in their own interests must reject this offer of nuclear aid.

The intelligence of the world must be concentrated on how to expunge this new knowledge and this nuclear war technique. It is not beyond human power to make the using of these weapons as detestable as poisoning the drinking water of rival nations or any other such shameful and cowardly devices.

If only America and Britain of their own unilateral choice publicly renounce the use of nuclear weapons, the whole situation would change at once. Christ in whom Russia pretends not to believe would bring the infidel to her knees and produce a miracle in the twentieth century. It would have been grand if this had been done before Russia demonstrated her ICBM superiority. It would now be the gesture of a weaker party and have lesser potency. If indeed Russia could summon up the courage to do it now, to what height of glory would she be raised, paling the glory of all her sputniks !

Sidelights

(*Continued from Page 4*)

conception of her duty to fellow human beings was little short of cosmic. I was her guest and she lavished on me attentions and services such as I have never known. What was even more remarkable was the commitment of her devotion in a comprehensive spirit of dedication to distant persons whom she had not even seen. In this way she had been arranging for the interchange of young students between her native Worthington and a tiny German village she had *adopted*. Some years earlier, Mrs. Tedo Cashel had passed through a domestic crisis filled with much anxiety and anguish of spirit, and the revolution it then wrought in her made her a convert to a new gospel of fraternal human fellowship transcending national and racial boundaries. And this was one result of it. Whoever visits her home retains for ever recollections of an exalting experience of casteless affinity, and in a very real sense it is a great shrine and centre of international goodwill and friendship.

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