

SWARAJYA

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Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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TWO ANNAS

MADRAS

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

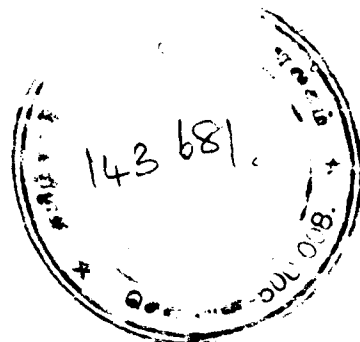
The draft election manifesto of the Congress which was released to the public this week, is very voluminous, and contains a large dose of theory and propaganda along with a small fraction of narrated practical achievement. What it has to say about what the Congress has done in its ten years of rule to justify another lease of power, can be stated in two or three paragraphs. But it runs into 19 pages. In its voluminousness, it reflects aptly the Congress vice of extravagance of effort to cover very small bits of actual concrete work, which is symbolic of the most extensively advertised of Congress projects, not excluding the much boosted Five Year Plans.

Not only is the manifesto uneconomical in its output of wordage. It is confusing, and evidently deliberately so, because it mixes copiously sound general principles to which nobody can take exception, with the recounting of the Congress record. The impression is apparently sought to be created that what, at the most, can only be rated as an unfulfilled aspiration, if at all even that, has already entered into the texture of the Congress endeavour and become an accomplished reality. And this is done, not once or twice, but several times, shutting out the possibility of inadvertence in self-glorification. Thus we are told about the Socialism that

“does not merely signify changes in the economic relations of human beings. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the Socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. It is important, therefore, that these new ways of thinking and of living should be encouraged, and old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or the hierarchy of office should be discarded. Men should be judged by their labour, their productive and creative efforts, and their services to society and humanity.” These words of the manifesto are excellently drafted and make good reading, but they represent the very reverse of reality. At least in this part of the country, all the desirable things they convey are nowhere in evidence in Congress rule. In actual practice, it is only caste and class that dominate the thinking and the living of the leaders in charge of the working of the Congress Socialist order here. Their allocation of privilege is almost invariably on the basis of caste, class, money or the hierarchy of office, just the things that are denounced as reprehensible in the manifesto, and not at all on the basis of the creative efforts or service to community of individuals. This sort of misrepresentation of things that do not exist as the normal endeavour

of the Congress party in its exercise of power, vitiates the manifesto and stamps it as untrustworthy.

Then again we are told that “every kind of progress in industry, agriculture, or any other activity requires training and education,” but “the question of the lack of trained man-power is already coming in the way of advance and is likely to prove a great hindrance in the future unless adequate steps are taken from now onwards.” The question of the lack of trained man-power is intimately connected with the profligate waste of talent that is actively connived at as a matter of deliberate policy and shows no sign of ever coming to an end, for all the egalitarian protestations of Socialist idealism in the Congress manifesto. We have here educational administrators who hound out young men of real promise and brilliance capable of enormous service to the community. To a very large extent, the poverty of personnel complained against is the outcome of a systematic policy being pursued under Congress auspices for the rejection of the first-rate in order to promote their indubitable inferiors to courses of study that eventually prove too taxing for them. Congress administration, (in Madras State at any rate), seethes with violations (not accidental, but deliberate and systematic) of almost every one of the grand principles enunciated



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in the manifesto as illustrating the beauty of conception of the great Socialist order which the voters are enjoined to uphold and advance with their suffrage and support. These are not rash charges made in a dialectical spirit. We are prepared, if so required, to prove them with actual examples, to the authorities who are so ready to mislead the public with unsustainable pretensions.

Experience of the vast gulf between the pious facade of Congress election propaganda and the significant realities of Congress rule, has made us realise that Socialism under Congress administration is really one of the great dangers confronting the country today. The communal junta running the South in the name of the Congress is incapable of any kind of Socialism, which calls for far more character and honesty of purpose on the part of its exemplars than any other system of government. It will only exploit Socialism to put more burdens upon people, inflict on them heavier taxes, rob them of economic initiative and freedom, and take on to itself more and more of the powers of economic control, not for the spread of universal welfare, but in order that it may wield more despotic sway in the pursuit of its illiberal, hate-infested communal policies. Actually it is the Kazhagamite communalists and others of that ilk (to whose wishes the Congress leaders in power are eternally at pains to adjust themselves) that have entered into the soul of the Congress, directing its governmental operations in a binami way. Unaware of these realities, the Prime Minister from his ivory tower of Socialist ambition, is actually consigning people in large areas to a sort of economic interference with their day-to-day lives from the rapacious oligarchic exploitation of Congress power, who have nothing of his humanity or good intentions.

Threats Galore

The Madras Finance Minister, Sri C. Subramaniam, warned landholders in a speech at Coimbatore, (last Sunday), against the proposal to form a party of their own, which they have been considering for

Don Quixote of 1956

Reviewing 1956, we cannot find a more notable event to record—and learn from—than the enactment by the redoubtable Knight, Sir Anthony Eden, of Britain of an outdated tournament in a changed world-stage. Romance was remembered and admired by Cervantes but was unsuitable for the new age. So also was colonial expansion an outdated romance in 1956. Like Don Quixote, however, Anthony Eden rode his Israel-Rosinante and went abroad with an inspiring token from the Lady France and tilted against the wind-mills. He came to grief and the world laughed but pitied also. O for a new Cervantes to write this narrative with all the sad and splendid humour of it. Sir Anthony Eden is a gentleman all the same, as "history will show"! Don Quixote ended the age of chivalrous romance. So Eden has seen to the end of armed adventure for feeding his people.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

some time. It would not help them, he said, it would only injure their interests. While paying homage to the common man on every conceivable occasion, this sort of threat to minorities deficient in numerical strength and voting power, is nowadays becoming increasingly fashionable in the case of some Ministers. They lose no opportunity of threatening this or that particular section to behave, otherwise see what we shall be doing to you presently. There is an element of comedy in the minatory utterances of Ministers that aggravate the already prevailing atmosphere of insecurity, while they themselves remain clothed in authority of a singularly ephemeral sort, which may desert them at any time even without notice. The transitoriness of political power is the distinguishing feature of democracy. It should at least teach the rulers for the time being the wisdom of avoiding the tone and attitude of

the hectoring despot. When Sri Subramaniam said that any attempt of the landholders to form a political party would be like "trying to prevent flood waters with the hand" he seemed to imply that the only test of validity for political organisations is quantitative impressiveness ensuring a fair prospect of success. Such an implication runs counter to the basic significance of the democratic system of government which prides itself on the speciality of denying to no man, even if he stands single and alone, any political right or privilege of citizenship enjoyed by more powerful groups or combinations of men. At any rate, it is unfortunate that a Minister in the State should take exception to any activity of a wholly legitimate sort within the limits permitted by the Constitution.

God's Mystery Through The Atom

Everyone knows that what disintegrated along with some billions of plutonium atoms was the last small vestige of physical security for the civilian. Optimists and pessimists are still concerned chiefly with the question of whether the new era is bright with the prospect of new powers and prosperity, or whether it is only a new era of destruction. But two fundamental premises have vanished into thin air. And the two premises were these: (1) that what we called our "control" over nature really was effective, and (2) that physical science had at last made the physical universe intelligible.

The first premise is no longer tenable because a force can hardly be said to be under control if it threatens to destroy all civilization and possibly all life. The second is not tenable because the physical universe has turned out to be so different from what was confidently assumed that some leading scientists are already expressing the opinion that it is radically unintelligible—that no image we can ever form of it will correspond to what actually



Sotto Voce

The Bagmen of Letters

Delhi has just emerged from the storms and stresses of an Asian Writers' Conference. It was supposed to be promoted by the Indian Writers' Convention, an *ad hoc* body summoned by three self-selected convenors. Its members promptly began quarrelling with those same convenors and with one another. The existence of an Asian consciousness, which the name of the Conference suggests, was not confirmed by anything that happened at the Conference itself. The inclusion of spirituality as a poor relation of the shining 'Asian' virtues was clearly an after-thought. Because there is, behind and above all the national differences, a very real, even aggressive, European consciousness, we Asians must not confess to a lack in this respect.

If there is an Asian consciousness, it exhibited itself in a typically European way by simulating the cold war. Mr. Humayun Kabir, who presided, hoped that the Conference would "prolong the message" of the first Asian political conference in 1947; which it proceeded to do by wrangling about the writer's freedom and his concern for the underdog. Of the non-Indian writers present the contingent from Soviet Russia seems to have been the strongest. In Asia we are never allowed to forget that Russia is an Asiatic Power. And the Russians, white and pigmented, were ably aided by the Chinese.

The Chinese spokesman artlessly testified that he had written more since the Communists came to power than he had ever done before and that he had found the inspiration in the factories to which writers were given free joy-rides. His brother from Kazakhstan was no less convinced that the Communist system is the Congress objective, unlimited

freedom to manufacture propaganda to suit the party line. Of course he called that "dealing with the real and down to earth problems of the people". No wonder that by this test even the giant Pushkin had, as he said, been found wanting. If Mr. Gabidin Musafin had proposed to Pushkin that he should submit his works to "close scrutiny by co-professionals before publication", as it seems his successors of today do, I shudder to think of what that trigger-happy individualist might have done.

The Russian Sofranov indignantly repudiated the notion that the writers of his country were regimented. "We enjoy freedom to serve our people," he declared, faithfully echoing the famous Marxist definition of freedom as the statesmanlike recognition of necessity. The writer could not afford to lodge himself in the ivory tower in the name of creative freedom. He had to judge what was good for the people and what was not. What the discreet Sofranov did not, however, say was that in literature as in every other department of life the arbiter *elegantiarum* was the Big Brother in the Kremlin.

The Viet Nameese delegate postured on lines familiarised by "Progressive" fellow-travellers everywhere. They remind one of nothing so much as of flies stuck on gummed paper who unfortunately and impotently wave their antennae. He stoutly declared that "liberty to write implied not the liberty to write against the people nor the attempt to put history back." One Indian writer, P. C. Gupta, enthusiastically agreed, saying that "society had to curb anti-social trends in art and literature." Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, one of the prime movers behind the Conference, diploma-

tically contented himself with expressing satisfaction that in recent times man was being increasingly freed from the trammels imposed by society.

This obsession with politics was not less evident in those who like C.R. deferentially exalt literature as a fine art. He was ironical about the unconscious inhibitions of the Indian Press as shown by its "spontaneous loyalty" to the existing regime: he forgot that when he forged his Press Bill he was not prepared to take that loyalty for granted. The Delhi Conference had in fact very little to do with active writers who are content to be nothing but writers. Such men are not even mildly interested in this kind of jam-booree. And, to do our Government justice, they do not distract them from their work by offering to send them on gilded deputations or dangling Akadami awards before them. These are reserved for the bagmen of literature.

Your true writer, who by definition is a poet, is a hermaphrodite in the complexity of his organisation, and an amphibian who is, however, never completely happy in either of his two worlds. If he were, he would not secrete wisdom, as the oyster does pearl, under the irritation of the unassimilable grain of sand. He is largely what his heredity has made him, with the something added—the *Brahma Puccham Pratishttha*—which makes all the difference between the ambling pedestrian and authentic Pegasus. If the fates are kind the umbilical cord that connects him with the tradition of his race will not be cut till he is fully grown. When in his inner self is securely established the wordless accord of the Two Birds of the Upanishad, of the creative psyche and the serene Witness, you will hear in his most casual utterance the music of the spheres.

VIGNESWARA

What is good speaking?

It should be such as would hold fast the convinced and it should be pleasing even to the unconvinced.

—Kural.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Rajaji's Tamil rendering of *Maha Bharatam*, under the title *Vyasas Virundu* (Vyasa's Feast) was released to the public at the Rasika Ranjani Sabha Hall on Sunday before one of the biggest gatherings of its kind ever witnessed in Madras. Once before, ten years ago, this book was published in an expensive edition. Now, under conditions of mass production, it is issued in a popular form costing only one rupee, one-tenth the original price. Before the meeting ended on Sunday, 1800 copies were sold.

The credit for this endeavour to popularise *Vyasas Virundu* goes to Sri Ramnath Goenka. Complimenting Sri Goenka on it, Sri Sivagnana Gramani observed at the meeting that this was the first enterprise of Sri Goenka in which he deliberately let himself in for loss, whereas all his previous transactions had brought him gain. Rajaji, when it came to his turn to speak, corrected this impression. He said that other ventures of Goenka might have brought him loss, but not this one. He had consented to the printing and publication of the book by him only after making sure that it would pay its way, with due allowances for such things as cost of labour and paper, distribution charges, etc. Another man without the huge equipmental facilities at Goenka's disposal could not have brought out the book in such an inexpensive edition, but not so Goenka, said Rajaji. He had turned down proposals of intending publishers who would have landed themselves in loss, and selected just the one who could not lose; it gave him no joy to put other people to any sort of loss.

All these estimates of prospective financial possibilities were probably a little beside the mark, as they did not reckon correctly with the host of the occasion. Ramnath Goenka is a daring person of extraordinary complexity of character, or so he seems to critics judging him by the un-

related details of external behaviour. He has a horse sense about money which enables him ever to keep to the profitable side of things, but it operates only in the form of extremely sensitive care of little pence in over-all major calculations. Once the margin of safety at this level is assured, he is able to rise to any height that the occasion demands, and we find him throwing away largesse, sometimes amounting to lakhs, with seemingly reckless prodigality. A philosophy of indifference to the preservation of the proceeds of acquisition, while sustaining with proper cultivation of the sources of supply, the current of acquisition itself in an undiminished flow, is the secret of his lavishness, adventurousness, his influence with people and ability to get things done.

The application of the resources of the *Indian Express* organisation to the mass production of books at cheap prices will not be welcomed by the smaller publishers with meagre printing and sales facilities who might justly apprehend that the bread will be taken out of their mouths by this new leviathan of the book publishing business. They can survive only by combination and co-operative effort enabling them to obtain for common use at reasonable price printing equipment of the most up-to-date and modern type. There are however some aspects of the book *Vyasas Virundu* that lift it out of the ordinary orbit of commercial profit and loss accounts. The supremacy of mass organisation under democracy has in recent years tragically eclipsed the rule of conscience in the administration of the country. Wrongs are perpetrated on the support or tolerance that the wrong-doer is able to get from organised masses of people, organised not with reference to the particular matter on hand, but irrelevantly through emotional excitement dedicated to campaigns of hatred. Side by side with welfare projects for theoretical consumption, there has

grown up an enormous vogue in practice for hatred cults and habits of discrimination as between man and man. In the midst of the man-made iniquities of our free India, Rajaji is seeking to turn the attention both of the powerful and the persecuted in the land to the conception of the living presence of God in all things for reformation and consolation, refuge and fortitude. *Vyasas Virundu* is a sort of antidote, a mass inoculation of a religious anti-body, to check the infectious spread of the ungodly, vulgar ways of the prevailing regimes that have made a mess of our affairs in an astoundingly short period.

The Maharaja of Mysore who presided over the meeting at the Rasika Ranjani Sabha Hall, delivered an address remarkable for its sense of proportion and balanced comprehension of the things of real significance in the world, against its background of all-engrossing trivialities. Later the same day, he read an address at Dasa Prakash hotel on the role of intuition in the life of a saint. While his erudition, scholarship, power of application to study and mastery of phrasing, were all very impressive, these did not seem to touch the real core of the Maharaja's speech. One felt, listening to him, that nothing less than aspiration for the sainthood he spoke about, was his own relentless pre-occupation. He gave an impression of great urgency in this quest for Truth, all other pursuits being to him apparently of not much importance.

A Minister of the Central Cabinet visited the Music Academy while Balasaraswathi was giving a demonstration of Bharata Natyam. He was received with due honour and led to the front seat, but after about half an hour or so he left, accompanied by a retinue. I heard neighbours murmuring that this was not quite becoming of the great man. No doubt he was a very busy one pressed for time and he had his heavy schedule of engagements to fulfil and all that. But artistes are sensitive to attention or lack of it in public, and

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C. R. TALKS TO WRITERS ON WRITING

"SHOW WHERE THINGS GO WRONG"

Excerpts from Rajaji's speech at the Asian Writers' Conference, New Delhi, last week:

Although I have written now and then, it was not with the object of writing that I wrote. I wrote with other purposes in view. Therefore, technically speaking, I am not a writer. In these days of specialization, a writer is one who writes and who does not do anything else (laughter). A politician is one who is entirely devoted to politics and is a stranger to all the other affairs of the people (laughter and cheers). Similarly, I am afraid there is a tendency for writers to become whole-time writers and to get gradually unfamiliar with other things in life and to be thinking that their only object in life is writing.

I started saying I am not a writer of that type, but I would with all diffidence submit to you the truth, that is that you should not be only writers. If you become only writers you become something like a grammarian. Put yourself in the body of a grammarian. On the whole a grammarian is an utterly useless person. He deals only with the formation of words and sentences and not with the subject-matter. If writers only deal in and are concerned with the form of what they produce and not with the substance with which they are dealing, it would be unfortunate. I would, therefore, submit to you with all diffidence that while you specialize as writers you should not lose your hold on matters with which you fill your writing.

Of course the outside of an orange, the peel, is a very valuable thing. Similarly literature is very valuable but it is only the skin of the substance inside. You have to deal with life such as it is, as it should be or as it was and clothe it in writing. If a writer, therefore, locks himself in his room and does not allow his children to disturb him, rarely allows his wife to disturb him, does not go to the bazar or to places of work because that is not his job, what happens to him? He becomes a strange

person. What can a strange person do by way of writing? Gradually he goes dry. Then he begins to steal from other people's writing (loud laughter). He tries to get hold of old writings with which people are not familiar and begins to translate them and present them as something new. Or he tries to exercise his imagination and write about things that do not have any corresponding reality in the world (prolonged cheers). Each one of us thinks that all the wrong things that are done in the world are done by other people and that we ourselves are free from those errors. Because he is able to appreciate the errors he thinks he is free from the errors. The two things are very different. As you all know it is easy to find fault but it is very difficult to avoid the faults oneself. We all commit mistakes but we see easily other people's mistakes and not our own. That is the origin of all the quarrels in the world.

So far as the Asian writers conference is concerned, we have met as such because it is easy for Asians to meet, not because you want to lead a war against non-Asians. I do hope that writers at least are free from that kind of ambition.

We all condemn narrow-mindedness. We condemn narrow-minded provincials. We condemn narrow-minded villagers. We condemn narrow-minded nationalists. It is another type of narrow-mindedness if a continent isolates itself (cheers). It will take some time for us to see that there is no necessity for writers to become narrow-minded (cheers). All others in the world may afford to play the game of narrow-mindedness and to enjoy the transitory pleasures of narrow-mindedness, but writers are intended by God for a different purpose. Writers are intended to lift their fellow-beings from narrow-mindedness. It is not easy for politicians to do it because politicians have to tie

themselves to those whom they have to lift up and carry them forward gently. Even statesmen have to carry people forward gently. If you will not misunderstand me, I will say that everyone, whether he is a leader or a politician or statesman or Chou En-lai or Eisenhower or Eden—let me include him also in the list—is trying to lift his people very gently. They cannot do that in a rough way. If they did so, they would lose their position. That is why I said they are tied up to their people with a chord.

But writers have independence. They can write even very unpleasant things. They can write things on a wiser-than-common level and there is nothing to snap. They can go on writing. They may not be understood now. But some day what they write will be read and understood. You have a greater amount of independence than even the statesmen and politicians. You have to lift them from narrow-mindedness.

Let not the Asian Writers' Conference become an anti-non-Asiatic conference. I am only repeating an old fable. We are part of one body—the world. We perform complementary functions. The stomach performs one function, the heart another. Let not the heart begin to digest food and the stomach pump blood.

Our classics are superior to the Western classics. The older literature of our countries are superior to the older literature of Western countries. But our present-day literature—will you be offended?—is inferior to the present-day literature of the West (cheers). I am glad you do not feel offended. There is no question of pride in this matter. We should express our own lives, and our present-day thought in present literature. We should aim at producing as good literature as comes out of Western people.

Writers (who do translation work) might err in two ways. They might transform the original too much. People should know where the writing came from. They should know that it was not our own and that it came from elsewhere. The translated material should not be smooth, sweet and

what to write and what not to write. There is none to control my writings. While we may feel happy over this state of affairs in our country we ought not to get arrogant about them. We ought to understand the difficulties of other people.

At the same time, are we so free? When I read the daily newspapers and the periodicals I get very doubtful about our freedom. I see there is quite a lot of external control. Though there is no control by fine or ostracism or imprisonment there is a control which is observable. I refer to this in order that my Indian friends might not get away with the opinion that they are superior to other writers in the world. There is a spontaneous loyalty to the powers that be in every country. If I may make it quite clear there is a spontaneous loyalty which affects your writing. It is no less effective than imposition by force. Therefore, we are more or less suffering from the same difficulties all over the world.

Let us realize the commonness of our difficulties and help one another. Let us ever remember that the mission of a writer, the particular avocation of a writer, is to write freely. Otherwise, you will not be able to help other people. There is nothing gained by swimming along the current. You ought to try and show where the things go wrong and write as you feel. That is the writer's job.

There is another problem. Are we to be writing only for particular purposes or are we to write as sculptors make their sculptures or painters make their paintings without any objective? Writing is also a fine art. We should write that which makes fine literature for the world. We should write without any idea of propaganda. There is a delicate kind of propaganda which is always associated with literature and which is not bad. Most of the things that I have written are direct propaganda, I do not want you to become direct propagandists. Then you would not be writers, you would be servants of politicians. You would be getting some things done in the world but not producing literature.

DECLINE OF EDUCATION IN ANDHRA

By SIVA SRI

NICHOLAS Murray Butler, sometime President of the University of Colombia is reported to have said: "There are five tests of the evidence of education—correctness and precision in the use of the mother tongue; refined and gentle manners, the result of fixed habits of thought and action; sound standards of appreciation of beauty and of worth and a character based on those standards; power and habit of reflection; efficiency or the power to do". Judging by these five tests, there seems to be very little education in Andhra. Andhra is apparently in a state of intellectual sterility. It is yet to produce another teacher of science of Dr. S. Bhagavantam's brilliance. It cannot boast of having another capable teacher of history and politics of Prof. M. Venkatarangiah's calibre. Nor has Andhra brought forth another historian of Dr. N. Venkatarmaniah's worth. And no Andhra educationist is in danger of achieving the reputation that the late Dr. C. R. Reddy and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan have achieved. Andhra does not have capable leaders and administrators.

Strangely enough, the unusually imaginative Andhra public has remained oblivious to these facts. The reason for this alarming state of affairs is not that Andhra is devoid of talent, but the fall in educational standards. There is an evident decline in the level of attainment among the students. Very few students evince a thirst for knowledge or an earnest desire to study a subject thoroughly. Even those who have taken their degrees find themselves unable to cope with the problems of life owing to their deficiencies in knowledge and character. The decline of educational standards is more pronounced in Andhra than in other parts of the country. There is hardly any secondary school in Andhra that can be compared with the Hindu High School, Triplicane or the Ramakrishna

Mission High School, Thyagarayanagar, or the Christian College High School, Chetput in Madras. The colleges in Andhra are no better. With the possible exception of the Andhra Loyola College, Vijayawada, no college has a disciplined atmosphere conducive to serious instruction and sustained study. This sorry state of affairs has been engendered by a number of factors.

The educational policy pursued in this part of the country has been directed mainly to the spread of education quantitatively, without any care for educational standards. Many schools and colleges have been allowed to come up like mushrooms. Most of these remain ill equipped in point of buildings, laboratories, play-grounds, libraries and properly qualified staff, even after years of existence. They inculcate little or no aptitude for studies and sense of discipline among students, with the result that they are more cess-pools of ignorance and factional politics of all kinds than centres of enlightenment, as they ought to be. To make matters worse, the State Government has introduced the Communal G. O. in the field of education. Teachers and educational officers have been appointed in pursuance of the G. O. on grounds other than merit and efficiency. Students have been selected for courses of study without the exercise of any consideration regarding their suitability or aptitude for them.

In a way, the teachers, most of them, are hardly to blame for the fall in standards. Their only fault is that they are thoroughly unsuited to their jobs. They are, very often, persons physically and mentally disabled for other walks of life. They are provided with comfortable berths in the educational field out of communal or personal considerations. They display neither ability nor interest in their work. Their periodical conferences devote most of their time to the passing of resolutions ask-

ing for increase of salaries. These teachers pay, in the words of A.L. Lowell, "too much attention to making education attractive by smoothing the path" instead of "inducing strenuous voluntary effort" on the part of the students. In simpler words, they write "guides" and "notes" to render the process of education easy for students. Then, those who preside over educational destinies are either full-fledged politicians or half-baked educationists. Very often, they prescribe text-books not available in sufficient quantities in time. They are prompted in doing so by considerations of personal profit or favouritism. They tinker with courses of study and syllabuses for fanciful and sentimental reasons. While the teachers are engaged in feathering their own nests by attenuating the process of education, the various educational authorities in Andhra seem to be bent upon bloating it. Both teachers and educational authorities are, however, only too willing to be liberal in the valuation of examination papers and in the "moderation" of results, perhaps to cover up their deficiencies.

The Andhra students are the unwitting instruments of their own undoing. Most of them have a constitutional aversion to sustained intellectual effort. They will resort to anything to get through the examinations with the minimum of self-study. They will receive tuitions, read "guides" and "notes", stoop to malpractices during and after the examinations, and even beat the invigilators conducting the examinations, if that serves their purpose. Their intellectual tastes do not extend beyond the reading of detective and sex magazines. They are rarely "guilty" of going through any books of literature in all their scholastic life, excepting those prescribed for their study. More often than not, they do not condescend to study even the prescribed texts. They manage to get the gist of the texts in a form readily vomitable at the time of the examinations. As for their extra-curricular accomplishments, they consist of booing their teachers and making cat-calls. To do them justice one must admit

that they show as much contempt for sports as they have for their studies. Andhra students have not so far distinguished themselves in any inter-University or inter-State sports.

The Andhra public does its own bit towards lowering the standards of education. The typical Andhra parent is willing to spend any amount of money on his boy's education. But he has rarely the time and inclination to ascertain whether his boy is minding his studies or not. He will, however, evince a sudden interest in his boy's studies a little before or after the examination. Then he will spare neither time nor money in bringing about the desired "promotion". Then, there is a section of the Andhra public always naively believing that the University or the S.S.L.C. Board is at fault, if a substantial percentage of students fail to get through the examination conducted by it. The hospitable columns of certain newspapers are open to it. Statements and letters to the editor come tumbling in not long after the examinations. They invariably complain of the abtuseness of the question papers and demand, in the supposed interest of the students, liberal valuation of answer papers or "moderation" of results or both. The educational authorities, living as they do in a democratic country, deign to comply with the public demand.

The natural up-shot of all this has been a great deterioration in educational standards. The standards can be raised only by concerted action on the part of the educational authorities, the tea-

chers and the public. It is not too late, even now, for the State Government to convene an educational conference, where these matters can be discussed and suitable remedies suggested.

It does not take a horticulturist to perceive that, if a tree is bearing bad fruit, the more vigorously it yields, the greater will be the harvest of mischief.

—Lord Hewart in *The New Despotism*.

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homogeneous. There should be a little crudity left behind to show that it came from outside.

Every country should produce its own original literature. Shakespeare was one of the finest things in the world. His works could be translated and his dramas like *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* interpreted. But it would be better for all countries to produce their own dramatic literature.

So far as this conference goes, I would like to submit some points. The cold war is one of the diseases that afflict the world. It has a tendency to infect other organizations. Writers are not immune from that infection. The cold war has a tendency to creep into this conference. You should not allow it (cheers). I know it is difficult to keep it out because writers have their politics. They have their own views. But we do some things in some places which we do not do in other places. I eat in my kitchen but I do not eat in the bathroom. Similarly, ladies and gentlemen, all of you have your politics and you ought to have them. I do not want you to discard them. I do not want to lecture to you, but I would say that you should try to remember that you are writers and not politicians. I have given the analogy of the bathroom and the kitchen. The writers' conference is your kitchen. The bathroom is your politics (loud laughter). If friends will not misunderstand me, everyone who knows the elements of physiology will concede that the bathroom is as important as the kitchen. The kitchen is not more important than the bathroom nor the other way about. Therefore, I do not deprecate your having politics. By all means have politics but in the writers' conference we have met as writers and not as politicians.

Writers of India should not imagine that as members of the writers' conference they become a trade union to help them to fight their employers, their Government and so on. That would be a deterioration of the objectives of the writers' conference. This is my humble submission to Indian writers as well as to other delegates. The object of a trade union is to get better terms from those

whom we serve as writers. That is a good object but do it separately. It is quite a different problem. You may have your problems with your employers, Governments and so on but do not use the name of the writers' conference for that purpose. We exchange our ideas and not our quarrels. If you have a quarrel with the Government and with other sections in society, if you have quarrels with your publishers and printers, have them by all means, but the writers' conference is not an organisation for solving or translating those quarrels. If in China you have some quarrel do not lend it to us here. If we have some quarrel let us not lend it to the Chinese. All these quarrels should not play any part in the writers' conference because it would gradually tend to make the conference a field for the cold war.

We should learn to write as well as other people do. We should learn to express ourselves in different ways by meeting one another here. By meeting other people we should learn other people's mode of expression. It is a very good thing.

What good is it to write if we are not free to write what we feel? Unless we are free to write what we like there is no object in writing (prolonged cheers). This does not mean we should write obscene matters. This does not mean that we should write what will harm our own people. But there is a very large field of liberty even if you exclude pernicious or injurious matters.

Too much regimentation is not good. Regimentation is good where the thing supplied is scarce

and the demand is great. We should regiment the supply of rice or wheat if we have a small supply and too much of demand. This is not the case with our ideas. We ought not to imagine that writers should be asked to dole out ideas in a regimented way. Regimentation may be necessary in certain periods of national history but as we advance and progress, regimentation should become less and less.

There is an innate desire in all human beings to be free. If I am a writer I should like to write freely without outside control. There are, however, other people in the world who control the affairs of mankind and they do control the traders, the soldiers and the politicians. They control the writers also. There is no use in looking down upon people who are subjected to that kind of regimentation because it is outside their control. It is not of their own making. We should sympathize with them and mix with them. We ought to give them courage, but let us not get too proud that we in India are independent. No one is told in India

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OVER A. I. R. . . .

By M. KRISHNAN

In December I feel grateful to A.I.R., Madras. Thanks to its relays from music festivals in the city, I can hear some of the best exponents of Carnatic music in inexpensive comfort, and feel sure that I have missed nothing beyond the sights of the performance by not being there, at the performance, for there too the music is relayed over the mike. I have derived deep satisfaction from these relays and rebroadcasts, and at times authentic joy. This December, however, I could get no real satisfaction out of them. Night after night, as I listened to Madurai Mani Iyer and to Chembai and Maharajapuram and others, my thoughts kept going back to other performances twenty and twenty-five years ago. And I felt quite perturbed.

What bothered me was the thought: am I getting middle-aged? Not in body, I am that already bodily, but in mind. Have I reached that stage of arrest of the perceptions and mental retreat to more impressionable years that I remembered in men over forty when I was young, men who valued all contemporary talent by the standards of 1909, men who talked tirelessly of the past and lived in 1909 in 1933? I had hoped that with the inevitable weight of years I would also acquire a certain maturity and be surer of myself. If, instead, I could only find it in me, while listening to something so vital and spontaneous as music, to recede to the remote past, surely that was something even worse than mental middle-age, for by such tokens does incipient senility manifest itself.

Then I discovered an objective continuity with that far past, outside my mind. The singers I thought of as I listened to these relays were none other than those I was hearing, I was mentally receding from Maharajapuram and Mani Iyer today only to themselves twenty years ago—and the contrast was not agreeable. Was it Hokusai who felt, at seventy, that his line was just acquiring power and a deeply satisfying

competence? In other arts it is still possible for one to gain mastery with increasing years, in the graphic arts and in literature you can see the technical maturity that comes to creative artists with age. Alas! it is not so with vocal music. If that vidwan who said, at a recent session of some academy, that the voice was relatively unimportant in Carnatic music really wished to know how false his contention was, he should have listened to the relays I listened to.

Perhaps next year A.I.R., Madras, will plan more relays from the concerts of younger and less renowned singers, on the fairly sound theory that the second best in its prime is to be preferred to the best in its decline.

I must mention one outstanding exception to the sad falling off in performance of the old masters that was displayed in these relays. Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, on December 28, was magnificent. As usual he had a fuller programme than others, and the way he sang his earlier pieces held one in bondage to the moment. After awhile his voice began to tire, but a superb display of virtuosity by Palghat Mani Iyer on the Mridangam gave him the needed respite, and he came back to his main piece in Kalyani, a giant refreshed. Those who listened to his elaboration of Kalyani that night will not forget it in a hurry.

The difficulty in doing this review is that while one can write appreciatively of a programme, even assigning reasons for the appreciation, or write critically and point out just why one didn't like a programme, it is rarely possible to make constructive suggestions. Of course there is no reason why any reviewer should make constructive suggestions; that, properly speaking, would be the job of an efficiency expert especially if his advice was followed at once by a heavy bill. However, thanks to listening to many early morning broadcasts in December

(in particular Sri V. Rama Iyer's broadcast of vocal music from A.I.R., Madras, on the morning of December 18), I am able to offer the southern stations of A.I.R. a constructive suggestion.

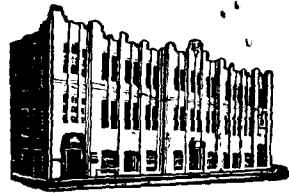
In South India, generally speaking, people (i.e., the people rich enough to own radios) have a cup of coffee early in the morning and then nothing till 9 a.m. or 10 a.m. (depending on whether they go to office or are unemployed), when they eat their morning rice. The highborn, the officers and the nobility, practise a variation inspired by Western culture—they have breakfast at about nine in the morning and lunch some time about 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The point is that pleb or patrician, the listener does not, as a rule, have any solid food before 9 a.m.

My constructive suggestion pertains to musical broadcasts prior to this hour.

Let us also remember the milk situation in cities like Madras. The situation is bad and rapidly getting worse. The cup of coffee that the South Indian has had, before listening to the morning music, is often thin and contains little nourishment. In fact we may take it, for all practical purposes, that he is listening to the music on an empty stomach.

A state of affairs that calls for tact and even consideration, as I am sure you will agree. Something soothing and bland is indicated, soft music that hath charms to soothe the savage breast. Personally, my preference would be for a cultured feminine voice rendering the lighter piece of classical music, with no attempt to disrupt melody by an admixture of ambition. Perhaps instrumental music of the more refined and polite variety would also be suitable. But it should be plain to all that on an empty stomach few men can feel equal to listening to the rigours of eruptive virtuosity, especially when it has the bit between its teeth. Ambitious programmes featuring staccato renderings of prefabricated sequences of 'swaras' and unmelodious vocal gymnastics, I submit, may be broadcast from the afternoon onwards.

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PURSUIT OF A VISION

BOOK REVIEW

WHENEVER I read a new book by Russell, I am reminded of Browning's "Grow old along with me, The best is yet to be". The fact that perhaps his major theses are already familiar to us, does not detract from the freshness of his new exposition; or the sparkle of his prose. The same crusade is here as ever before against moral cant and intellectual rubbish. And the searchlight is now directed against the fall of man since the second world war. But it is not the weak wail or the despairing cynicism of the merely aged. He says in the essay "Reflections on my eightieth birthday", "I may have conceived theoretical truth wrongly, but I was not wrong in thinking that there is such a thing, and that it deserves our allegiance. I may have thought the road to a world of free and happy human beings shorter than it is proving to be, but I was not wrong in thinking that such a world is possible, and that it is worthwhile to live with a view to bringing it nearer. I have lived in the pursuit of a vision, both personal and social. Personal: to care for what is noble, for what is beautiful, for what is gentle; to allow moments of insight to give wisdom at more mundane times. Social: to see in imagination the society that is to be created, where individuals grow freely, and where hate and greed and envy die because there is nothing to nourish them. These things I believe, and the world, for all its horrors, has left me unshaken". It is in the background of this robust optimism that Russell's criticism of the past and the present has to be evaluated.

The range of the learning displayed in this volume is staggering. There are glimpses of great personalities, written not by a humble admirer, but by one with claim to equal greatness; pictures of a bygone Cambridge; an almost advaicic disquisition on mind and

Portraits from Memory and Other Essays. By Bertrand Russell. George Allen and Unwin, London. 16 sh net.

matter (but not quite); an unmathematically fervent plea for history as a warm and feelingly written account, and not as a catalogue of events; and snippets of endearing autobiography.

The long essay on John Stuart Mill has a topical interest. I quote a passage and leave it to the reader to form his own conclusions: "From the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth, 'Liberty' was the watchword of the radicals and the revolutionaries; but in our day, the word has been usurped by the reactionaries, and those who think themselves most progressive are inclined to despise it. It is labelled as part of 'Rotten bourgeois idealism', and is regarded as a middle class fad, important only to those who already enjoy the elegant leisure of the well-to-do."

Or the following about 'The meaning of democracy': "It used to mean government by a majority, with a somewhat undefined modicum of personal freedom; it then came to mean the aims of the political party that represented the interests of the poor, on the ground that the poor everywhere are the majority. At the next stage it represented the aims of the leaders of that party. It has now come, throughout Eastern Europe and a large part of Asia, to mean despotic government by those who were in some former time champions of the poor, but who now confine such championship exclusively to inflicting ruin upon the rich, except when the rich are 'democratic' in the new sense". No comment is called for.

Russell's recipe for happiness has many ingredients. One is that words should be used to state facts and not evoke emotions. The habit will stand a man in good stead if he wishes to keep his head amid the welter of excited propaganda. Another is the enlargement of the intellectual imagination and the consequent diminution of the ego: "History and geology take us away from the now, astronomy takes us away

from the here. The man whose mind has been filled with these studies gets a feeling that there is something accidental, and almost trivial, about the fact that his ego occupies a very particular portion of the space-time stream. His intellect becomes more and more detached from these physical needs. It acquires in this way a generality, scope and power which is impossible to one whose thoughts are bounded by his animal wants." Russell also advocates the development in the individual, not merely of impersonal thought, but also what he calls impersonal feeling. There is no derogation in this of personal love or affection, but only an addition to it of a universal order, like a father who through love of his children is led to love all children, or one, who from knowledge of his own need of food, is led to a general sympathy with the hungry. The ultimate wisdom eschews all hate, including even the abstract hatred of evil; for, hatred of evil is itself a bondage to evil.

One follows and admires the precepts, but at the end one is left with the feeling that the great man is matching his humanity against his experience, and in the abundance of both, prescribes as he proceeds. There is an element of escapism in endeavouring to suppress the evils of the ego by reading astronomy and history, or by turning into abstract propositions the surge of hate and love of which the mind of man is made. The remedy is perhaps suitable for Senior Wranglers and Fellows of the Royal Society, but what of the mass of mankind who require a simple philosophy that makes of their life-journey a meaningful compromise with the forces of contrary circumstance? Russell will perhaps call faith a lapse into unthinkingness, if one may coin such a word, or even object to it as the stupid surrender of the endowments granted to us. But this much is clear, that if mankind is to be saved, it needs a simpler and more concrete approach to the problem of pain and suffering.

Russell is not worried, but certainly impressed, by the shifting foundations and uncertainties of physics and psychology, and in the field of economics and politics,

the disappearance of the comfortable security of a past age. Both physics and psychology assure one that what there is independently of one's seeing, is something very unlike a visual experience, namely, a mad dance of billions of electrons undergoing billions of quantum transitions. One's relation to the object is indirect, and is known only by inference. And who is the inferer? Unto himself man is a series of events, each of which might be called a thought, and the mind is only the sum total of these thoughts. The single entity, as apart from these, is quite otiose. But before one reaches the stage of thought there are sensation and perception; the former applying to that part of the mental occurrence which is not due to past individual experience, and the latter to sensation together with adjuncts that the past history of the individual has rendered inevitable. It is difficult to disentangle the two. And perception itself is not of the ultimate reality of physics, which is that matter is a series of occurrences bound together by certain laws. It comes to this, that man unto himself is a series, matter is another series, and man knows nothing of the events that make matter except their spacetime structure. As soon as one realises that physical objects differ in important ways from what one directly experiences, one realises also that from the point of view of physical causation, the immediately experienced objects of sense are in one's brain and not in the outer world. This leads to the conclusion that an event is both mental and physical, having two independent characteristics, one of psychology, and one of physics.

This is not the place to examine the logical correctness of this theory. There is a continuity in the ego which is a matter of experience, and which belief in past and future lives will reinforce. In turn it takes one to the problem of what is the essential ego that persists. Nor is the conflict between inference and perception a sound one. The latter was rejected out of hand by the Advaitins. Suffice it to say here that Russell's conclusions seem to be those of one who

argues one's self into the only safe sanctuary that logic allows. But the very inference of the unreality of perception is an acknowledgment of the existence of a thinking 'I', and Descartes will no doubt stand vindicated in the long run.

But enough of shadow chasing. Here is a book that embodies the thoughts of a sane mind in a mad world. It is a book to have and to hold, the kind of book that one reads again and again, and admires even where one does not fully agree.

VISWAMITRA

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INJUSTICE TO KASARAGOD

Sir,—The Kannada speaking people of Kasaragod in South Canara have abandoned all hope of justice being done to them. When the S.R. Bill was being discussed in Parliament, the only Kannada member who made his voice heard was Sri B. Shiva Rao. It is reported that Sri Shiva Rao is urging the Home Minister to appoint a Boundary Commission for Kasaragod also. But a lone voice may not be very effective. The leaders of Karnataka should join hands with Sri Shiva Rao and make all possible efforts to make Mr. Pant see the right way.

Kukkila. NARAYANA BHAT.

SPEED RECORD IN SHORTHAND

Sir,—It was published recently that 20-year old Miss Audrey Bell equalled the world record in shorthand speed, viz. 250 words per minute for five consecutive minutes during the annual prize-giving of the Pitman Business College. That speed may be the record in the Pitman system. In this connection, I wish to point out that Mr. Arnold Bradley (who formerly had attained a speed of 180 words per minute after 18 months' study of the Pitman system), after 6 months' study of the Sloan-Duployan system of shorthand, in the presence of a committee of the Working Men's Institute at Walsall attained a speed of 309 words per minute for 5 minutes. Thus the speed of 250 words per minute is not a record for practitioners of the S.D. system.

Prof. L. R. K. MURTI,
President,
Trichy Shorthand Writers' Association.

DISAPPOINTING

Sir,—Your editorial 'Real Genesis of Disasters' (SWARAJYA, December 1, 1956) was disappointing. Though there is an *a priori* plausibility in your line of argument, the impression gained is that an attempt is made to develop the argument to fit in with one's preconceived views. I feel

you need not have worked the "banishment of merit" theory to such an extent. What is to be condemned is negligence and not backwardness as such. It is not as if the meritorious are never negligent and the backward are always inefficient. The point would have been effectively driven home if specific evidence, if available, is given to substantiate the argument. This quoting authentic chapter and verse for any criticism made, so characteristic of your editorials, is singularly absent in this case. Talking glibly of "banishment of talent" for each till we are confronted with in every day life would soon become reduced to a mere obsession. I wish you would avoid such vague and ivory-towerish approaches and argue in down-to-earth terms, instead of trying to stretch the root cause of every issue or event to the Procrustean bed of "merit at a discount".

New Delhi.

DANTURTY

NATIONAL RADIO PROGRAMMES

Sir,—Sri M. Krishnan's criticism sometime ago in SWARAJYA on the clash in programmes of utmost interest with particular reference to Saturday night programmes (between 9-30 and 10-30) does not seem to have had the desired effect. For instance, there were two very good national programmes simultaneously last month—one, a violin concert by Sri Dwaram Venkataswami Naidu, and the other, a novel feature, "Prize Durai Charitram" by the able Prof. Srinivasan. The inmates of our house were at a loss to which place to tune, for we could have one of the programmes or none. Such instances have become frequent. In congratulating Sri Krishnan on his straightforward criticism, I wish to say he should once again call the attention of the authorities concerned to this matter. My efforts through letters have proved futile.

M. Y. RAMASWAMY, B.Sc.
Chingleput.

SERVICE THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS

Sir,—It is doubtful if the blame for publishing ghastly photographs, with whatever authorities are on the spot, is to be attributed to the publicity-mindedness of the officers or Ministers. Whatever the reason, such photographs do evoke sympathy in the hearts of the readers. The charge that relief measures take secondary place over the exhibitionism of the authorities is most uncharitable. The whole of South India should be grateful to the authorities, common citizens and legislators for the great and immediate relief rendered during the recent train disaster at Ariyalur. It must be noted that this willing and spontaneous service was rendered amidst ghastly and unbearable scenes. Quilon.

N. G. GURJALE.

TEACHING OUT OF CLASS HOURS

Sir,—It is high time that the Department of Education took some positive steps to improve the standard of education at the secondary school stage, as it is deteriorating slowly but surely.

Now-a-days, what with so many extra-curricular activities, classroom work is completely neglected. Citizenship activities and functions of various types mar the progress of classroom work—so much so, the teachers find it hardly possible for them to do their classroom work in time. There is scarcely a high school in this State which fails to work on Saturdays under the garb, 'special class'. There would be no need for such classes—(which are attended by students under compulsion, fear and much against their will) — if teachers do full justice to their work during the week days. Students who invariably undergo this ordeal are those who appear for the S.S.L.C. examination. In some institutions even night classes are conducted. Well, what are the teachers supposed to do during these 'special' and 'night' classes? They do not teach lessons and impart knowledge to the students. They just drill the boys with the questions expected to be asked in the exami-

nations and their answers. I do not think this is the correct type of work that a teacher should do. Teachers should not scare their students with the idea of examinations all the time. Every institution must utilise the teachers by making them teach the lessons thoroughly during the week days. This could be done only if the Department attaches more importance to classroom work and less importance to other activities which are frequent and too many now-a-days.

R. SRINIVASAN, B.A., B.T.
Cuddalore, N.T.

A. I. R. MUSIC BROADCASTS

Sir,—Your correspondent in your issue of 24th November, apparently taking his cue from Viswamitra's article, has very unjustly criticised the A.I.R. For a change one can enjoy light music, but I doubt very much if any one can honestly say that he can stand cinema music for hours together. One has to admit that culture is not only inborn but can be cultivated and acquired. Who can deny that the great devotional kritis of Sri Tyagaraja, and the bhajan songs of Bhakta Meerabai, rendered by such masters as Mani, Ariyakudi, M.S.S., and so on, take us altogether into a higher plane and make us forget our surroundings. I, for one, can definitely say that the programme of the A.I.R. should be further intensified and help in the cultivation of a healthy taste in the listening public. We are fed up with Radio Ceylon's commercial broadcasts from every coffee hotel and pawnshop; how I wish that the Government steps in to put an end to this nuisance. Kakinada.

A. RAMA RAO.

A STRANGE THESIS

Sir,—It was reported in a Madras newspaper that the Director of Public Instruction said at a meeting that the fall in teaching standards is due not to the low pay the teachers received. When they got less pay a decade or two ago, the teaching was much better.

Is not the D.P.I. aware of the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee to one-eighth and even one-tenth of its pre-war capacity, and cannot he make the sim-

ple calculation that a teacher paid Rs 20 a decade or two ago was as well (or ill) off as a present-day college lecturer getting eight times that amount?

There will always be a few men who are prepared to endure hardship, provided they get respect from their students and society for the work that they do. But the rapid change in our attitude towards traditional values and the present lopsided emphasis we put upon material comforts and advantages make it impossible for anyone with self-respect to be happy as a teacher. He is semi-starved and looked upon with scant respect, if not with contempt, by all classes of society. Why should the standard of teaching go down? Who would be a teacher, if he can possibly get another job?

If the Government accept the alleged thesis of its D.P.I., then the shortest and surest way to raise standards of teaching in our country would be to reduce the salaries of its teachers. Since teachers taught better when they were getting less, and since they teach worse when they are getting more, the D.P.I. should have gone on to his own logical conclusion. And since the D.P.I. does not do any teaching himself, he need not be afraid that, to increase his efficiency, his four-figure salary will be touched.

A TEACHER.

(Continued from Page 2)

is. Should we manage somehow to escape self-destruction, then it may possibly turn out that the abandonment of these two premises will affect the future of civilization quite as much as any new power the atom can be made to release.

It may seem a pity that blessings should come as thoroughly disguised as they sometimes do. But who knows? They say that God works in mysterious ways. Possibly they are sometimes even as mysterious as in this instance they seem to be.—Joseph Wood Krutch in *American Scholar*.

(Continued from Page 4)

colleagues in government of the Prime Minister would do well to

act in the spirit of his magnificent tribute to M.S. when he said "What am I before her who is the very Queen of Song" or words to that effect. M.S., too, gave her first music concert this year after a long interval, at the Academy. Rarely had I ever seen her so full to overflowing of joy, ecstasy, happiness and exaltation. It gave to her naturally beautiful cast of countenance an ethereal sweetness, serenity and refinement, along with vigour and power, and not only were people thrilled by the rich timbre and melody of her voice and its infinite nuances and cadences, they enjoyed, too, the second-to-second harmony between the music and the physical presence from which it came, as though it were a divine concatenation of invisible sound and physical form to please both the ear and the eye. A Western connoisseur who has savoured music in many countries remarked afterwards that nowhere in the world had he come across such a voice.

SAKA.

Law of Good and Bad Deeds

Prosperity comes by the decree of the law of previous good and bad deeds. The best efforts in this life may not produce good results where it is not so decreed, and the least may yield prosperity when it is so ordained. —Kural.

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and fair price shops to check inflation, and above all, (4) the lack of any plan to meet external debt with exports, inescapably landing the national economy in bankruptcy and disequilibrium in the matter of balance of payments. Also, indifferent attention has been paid to the problem of the technical personnel necessary for the planned industrial advancement. It is generally accepted that the place which a country can occupy in the world depends on the technical advances which it is able to achieve in administration and industry, which in turn rests upon education and the production of scientists and technologists. In a recent lecture, Dr. B. K. Blount, Deputy Secretary of the U.K. Department of Scientific and Industrial Research expressed the view that genius turns up at random, irrespective of race or nationality, and to support the work of the few scientific geniuses a large and rapidly expanding supply of other scientists of lower grades is needed. Our Five-Year Plan has not developed enough patriotic spirit and corruption-proof standards for the discovery and encouragement of genius and talent for enlistment in national service. Too often ambitious schemes are spoiled by selfish and communal-minded administrators abusing their power with impunity to convert national institutions into a fertile field for the harvesting of vested interests, with systematic pampering of second and third-rate favourites in first-rate positions of immense power, potency and significance. To this anomaly we owe the phenomenon to which pointed reference is made by Mr. Bareau. "There are", he notes, "valuable pieces of equipment, like a famous crane in the Calcutta docks, which are wasting their sweetness on the desert air because some essential component is missing."

Nobody can quarrel with the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan. They are undoubtedly commendable. But much of its promise is illusory. Its financial provisions are unreal. Its administrative arrangements are not devised to secure the maximum value for every rupee spent. It is committed to enormous wastage

Test Explosions

We are told that Mr. Macmillan's Government refuses to listen to the Japanese protests. Critic in the London *Diary of New Statesman and Nation* writes: "To millions of Asians the atom bomb is the bomb which white men dropped on yellow men and which they would never have dropped on other white men. Every time there is an H-bomb test in the Pacific, the Asians believe that their theory of racial discrimination is confirmed".

Bombs may be exploded at high level in order to minimise the local fall-out. But high level bursts 'aggregate the radio-active materials in the upper atmosphere so that they return to the earth's surface at the rate of 10 to 20 per cent a year. The strontium found in the bones of Britain's atom-age babies and in the bones of Welsh sheep browsing 12,000 miles from the testing grounds' show that the mischief is dangerous even from the British point of view. It seems as if the Destiny of the Kaliyuga is implacably working out its programme.

And now we have the Eisenhower 'doctrine' of planting 'atomic fire-brigades' in the Middle-East and at other available outskirts of the Communist world! There can be no speedier way of setting the world on fire.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

as it is unrelated to any progressive educational policy for conserving and utilising the nation's most precious asset, its talent; and still in several States the selfish avarice and ambitions of vested interests and power groups continue to usurp the place assigned in theoretical democracy for comprehensive national welfare.

But this Plan has enabled the ruling party to acquire unprecedented economic powers in the name of Socialism and the Welfare State. The Welfare State's primary condition of full employment is nowhere visible on the horizon of Congress fulfilment, but the slogans of Socialism have enabled the ruling party to arm itself with powers that render the emergence of an effective opposition in the legislatures practically impossible. In assessing the Second Five-Year Plan of the Congress it is well to bear in mind that its rush and pace and assumption of revolutionary tempo are full of dangerous possibilities for the future. As Crosland in his book on the future of Socialism has observed: "The essential argument for evolutionary change is that it allows one to be experimental, since the problems involved in change then unfold themselves at a speed which gives ample time for dealing with them. A sudden act of disruption permits no such breathing space—the old has gone before the new has grown to take its place; and the result is a dangerous vacuum. One should never monkey about with society too much; if we do, we may find that history has some unpleasant surprises up its sleeve for us."

Canvassing for Votes

Lord Macaulay's views on canvassing should now serve as guidance to the voters:

"The practice of canvassing is quite reasonable under a system in which men are sent to Parliament to serve themselves. It is the height of absurdity under a system under which men are sent to serve the public. . . . I hope to see the day when an Englishman will think it as great an affront to be courted and fawned upon in his capacity of elector as in his capacity of jurymen. . . . My opinion is that electors ought at first to choose cautiously; then to confide liberally; and when the term for which they have selected their member has expired, to review his conduct equitably, and to pronounce on the whole taken together."

ANDAVILLI SATYANARAYANA

February 23, 1957

SWARAJYA



Sotto Voce

A Cargo of Whimsies

Nine wise men have just returned from a quest for the Great White Whale in the far Atlantic. They have garnered a fine mixed crop of rumours about the incredible exploits of Moby Dick, otherwise known as General Education. And now the Great Ahab himself, the Vice-Chancellor of Venkateswara University, has left with a formidable team of twenty-three comrades for the classic ground of Western Culture. They are bent on bringing home the great mystery, dead or alive. Meanwhile his erstwhile mentor and admired model, the much-travelled Odysseus of Madras University, has been unconcernedly putting the coping-stone on the work of a life-time. His three-year degree course will come into force from July next.

It would be uncharitable to suggest that he is relying on the Whale to confound Ahab. It is more likely that he has his private doubts about its objective existence. Perhaps he thinks it is the mystical Mrs. Harris that the Sarah Gamp who loans us both wheat and the American way of life has found so comforting an emotional alibi. In any case his three-year degree course will not wait for trans-Atlantic fallals. It is unshakably staunch to the Madras tradition of make-believe strenuousness and UNESCO culture.

It rests on the base of a pre-University course in which the hobbledehoy S.S.L.C. passing rich on 40 per cent in English and Tamil, 35 per cent in Sanskrit and Science, and 25 per cent in Maths and the miscellaneous lumber called Social Studies, is expected to carry off with the utmost sangfroid trophies won from two languages, two Science subjects and two Humanities subjects. It will all be done within the winking

of an eye, a matter of 25 or 30 working weeks. This high-pressure acculturation for the austerities of the degree course is expected, in particular, to transform the freshman into a highly competent literate in English. And this despite the fact that at school he had seen no book in English except his text-book or, more likely, a crib where no one looks for good English.

Madras's Vice-Chancellor is not only an authority on University Education. He is *ex-officio* our all-India expert on Secondary Education, having as President of the Secondary Education Commission, produced a report which admirers claim,—it is a point of honour with them—to be no less a classic in its field than the Radhakrishnan Report in its. A few voices here and there have been raised in protest against the further watering down of standards which the Secondary Education Report might bring about by its recipe for balancing width and depth. But these are men who are totally without credit in those charmed academic circles of which alone the Syndics of the Madras University deign to take notice.

I am told that the Syndics have such implicit confidence in the Vice-Chancellor as the jealous upholder of Madras's supremacy that they have enthusiastically relinquished into his hands the responsibility for appointing paper-setters for the Pre-University course. The proper sieving of the pre-University crowd is thus assured. And we may be sure that the new three-year degree course will have first-class material to work upon. As a result of the two investigations on General Education Maulana Azad and his *fidus achates* Saiyidain may discover that a top-dressing of "Culture" is necessary for a

finished graduate. In that case you may depend upon Madras's athletic undergraduates shouldering the extra burden without so much as the flickering of an eyelid.

To say this is not to underrate the rich and strange merchandise that the Bhagavantam delegation has garnered from the whimsies emporia of America and Britain. In its report the team elaborately distinguishes between "liberal education" and "general education". The former might have suited slave-owning Greece and haughty Rome. It might even linger still in the English public schools, the last haven of the idle rich. But it smacks too much of class and privilege to be good for democratic India. So the team proposes that large doses of the Social Sciences, the Natural Sciences and the Humanities be injected into the undergraduate. That should help to transform the chrysalis into the butterfly.

This Vienna treatment for inducing the bloom of culture on the cheeks of the honest hodman manufactured in the 'Basic' factories, is to devote special attention to "Communication". Lest the reader should imagine that this refers to elementary courses in radio, let me explain. The Report uses the word compendiously to describe the imparting to the child of the art of reading with understanding, thinking with clarity and writing with effect. I see that you think that there must be some mistake here. For, when you and I were young, this began pretty early—in the Primary School, in fact, with the three R's. But you must remember that Basic *cum* Multi-purpose *cum* Science snippets (miscalled specialisation) had not then been invented to plug the air-holes that aerated the mind.

VIGNESWARA

When men have not lived so as to earn the esteem of good men, why do they not see and grieve over their own fault but blame the world that refuses to esteem them? — KURAL

SIDELIGHTS ::

"No quarter to communalism" runs a headline in *The Hindu* over the report of a speech at Gorakhpur by Pandit G. B. Pant seeking support for the Congress in the coming elections. Pandit Pant was specially referring to Hindu-Muslim communalism, as most of the North Indian leaders do, but there are other types of communalism too. It was the glory of the Congress that it was the first great political party in the country to realise that the nation could not be united compartmentally, and that the communal sense and all the exclusive sectarian animosities that go with it should be dissolved if people are to be integrated in their political life into a healthy national consciousness. There was no communal representation in the tremendous volume of sacrifice that Mahatma Gandhi evoked from all sections of people in the course of the national struggle for freedom.

One of the unanticipated consequences of the achievement of political power by the Congress was the abandonment of the non-

communal attitude of earlier times. The sacred pursuit of all-round national progress was perverted in many areas by the leaders who became rulers into narrower objectives. The Ministers began to utilise national resources for sectional benefit, remaining themselves at the centre of exploitation, and consolidating their positions with the political strength derived from votes canvassed and organised communally.

Speaking at Kancheepuram last week Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker said that it was wrong and mischievous to say that he supported the Congress. In 1924, he recalled, he left the Congress Party on the communal representation issue at the Kancheepuram Political Conference. But now, he was "glad to come back to the same place after 32 years, in order to support Mr. Kamaraj because the reasons for his resignation in 1924 had been remedied by Mr. Kamaraj". No more accurate description of the fulfilled purpose that stands today to the credit of the present Chief Minister of

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Madras State has ever been put forth so unambiguously and competently. Sri Naicker is a blunt man with no inhibitions, and so we find him not only admitting but even claiming his part in bringing about sometime ago a change in Congress leadership as desired by him with threats of "putting a knife into every Brahmin and burning every agraharam". Being a straightforward protagonist of the hate campaign, he out of the fullness of a grateful heart pours out fervent plaudits in appreciation of the advancement of the objectives of the Dravida Kazhagam which out of his knowledge he forthrightly attributes to the Chief Minister as the signal distinction of his regime. So moved is he by Sri Kamaraj's intrinsic identity of purpose with his own movement that he has appealed to Tamilians to name their first-born boys as Kamaraj to show their gratitude for his services to the cause.

In his recent election speeches, Sri Kamaraj has repudiated the Dravida Kazhagam and its leader, but evidence of systematic complicity in the Kazhagam designs on the part of the Chief Minister cannot any longer be obscured by pious propaganda. Even now we find him figuring on platforms with 'Congress' candidates who only a little earlier had their election meetings enthusiastically supported by Sri Naicker. It is for the Congress High Command, even at this eleventh hour, to take note as to who is the more dangerous, an open enemy or a pretending friend.

There is no doubt that the Congress administration in Madras today is more worthy of being described as Dravida Kazhagam administration. Many of the Congress candidates in the elections are in reality Dravida Kazhagam operators in disguise. It is for this simple reason that many Congress-minded voters of established loyalty extending over two decades and more, find it repugnant to their conscience, out of that very loyalty, to vote for the Congress in the State under the present leadership.

SAKA

February 23, 1957

SWARAJYA

SOVIET PROPOSALS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE cold war that has come and settled down as a blight upon the peoples of the world cannot be got rid of by calling upon and inducing more and more nations to give up neutrality and join the cold war on one side or the other, but on the contrary only by nations beginning one by one to leave it and going neutral. The happiest day for the world would be when the sensible people of Great Britain get tired of it and go neutral realising that the wasteful anxiety of this nuclear-added cold war is no substitute for Empire. It should not be difficult for the British people to realise the material and moral advantages of being out of it.

Meanwhile, the proposal made by the Russian Foreign Minister of non-intervention by Big Powers and closing down all bases and military pacts is a big and effective step in this direction, if — although it is a big if — if America does not at once turn it down as a deceitful trap. To give the name

of propaganda to every important proposal and rudely refuse to trust Russia until it renounces Communism is not statesmanship but just cold war although it may be called Deterrence. To say that Shepilov's announcement is only counter-propaganda against the Eisenhower doctrine is cheap and easy. The fact is that it is an alternative and a sound concrete inexpensive alternative to the Eisenhower policy of filling the Vacuum, getting it crowded and provoking an atomic conflict. It is an eminently reasonable and practicable plan for the solution of the problem of the West that is given the illusory name of the Middle-East problem. Not merely that, it will in a sense release the Powers from the debasing policy of unending bribery and counter-bribery, debasing both giver and receiver. It would be a release and a turn to health for the Middle East nations as well as for the power-sick nations of the West.

'This Queen of Song'

By V. P. RAMAN

SPEAKING two years ago at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Music Academy's new premises, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru observed "What am I, a mere Prime Minister, before this Queen of Song!" He was referring to Srimathi Subbulakshmi, who was giving the benefit performance of the evening in aid of the Academy's building fund. To the large audience that had assembled there, paying fantastic sums of money, this remark was no figure of speech nor were they minded to discover any mixing of metaphors. Yet thereby hangs a tale. The musicians assembled there felt so grieved at that statement that some of them became irreconcilably piqued, and seem to have resolved never again to darken the doors of the Academy. This true story is typical of Srimathi Subbulakshmi's musical career. She has delighted the hearts of the multitude, pleasing

alike the uninitiated low-brow gaping open-mouthed at the melody that flows from her throat like a silver cascade, and the knowledgeable high-brow who tries to reduce to known norms the multiform excellences of her art. But she has always remained non-grata with her contemporaries—to be more precise her colleagues, for in a sense she is peerless—whose reaction to her music has only been an envious reaction to her popularity.

Jealousies arising by reason of following the same profession are not unknown and historical accounts of the durbars of our kings are replete with instances of jealousies among artists and poets simultaneously aspiring to the exclusive patronage of royalty. But in those times the rivals had an agreed solution to overcome difficult situations: Competing artists would submit to a contest and each would try to over-reach

the other by his performance and the durbar was left to decide for itself, who was more worthy of patronage. That was a frank and fair method which left in the defeated candidate no option but to recognise the superior worth of the winner and remain in court submitting to the decree against him, or to leave the court and seek his fortune elsewhere, by dint of his ability. Unfortunately today, we have no such yardstick to determine the worth of our artists and have got to put up with a situation in which bitterness, jealousy and factionalism continually seek to confuse even a discerning mind.

Srimathi Subbulakshmi has been the uncrowned—or should I say the 'crowned', after what the Prime Minister observed—Queen of Carnatic Music for well over two decades. So much has been written and said of her music during these years (and the comments have been uniformly eulogistic) that one is not left much scope to say anything new. A recent tribute paid to her by Dr. Menon (the Station Director of the All-India Radio, Madras), after her performance so succinctly and felicitously expresses my own reactions that I am further restricted in my comments now. My only complaint against Dr. Menon's tribute is this: Apart from being a connoisseur of both Western and Oriental music, Dr. Menon is also a competent authority on English literature. That being so, he should not have composed his tribute in prose. There are some things which can be described adequately only in poetry and there are others which can be expressed only in prose. It would be as purposeless to versify the week-end quotations on the stock exchange as it would be insufficient to render in prose an appreciation of Srimathi Subbulakshmi's music. Even her defects to those who imagine they have discovered any, are poetic and her artistic licence fully protects her against it. While I claim not to be prosaic, I confess to not being a poet and hence my regret is that Dr. Menon did not say in poetry the ideas which so completely reflect mine.



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TWO ANNAS

DANGERS IN THE PLAN

THE Second Five-Year Plan has become the staple of the Congress leaders' political logic for a further tenure of power. The Prime Minister stated recently that the Congress alone and no other party could execute the Plan. Propaganda under official auspices in favour of the Plan has been so prodigious that no voice of dissent has been raised and the whole country has been hypnotised over it. Votes are cast in each constituency in the light of the share which that constituency is promised in the Plan. Voters are not likely to examine the economics of the Plan as a whole. They would not like to lose their share of the Plan as it stands. In this way the Plan gets a kind of universal acceptance. Now on the eve of the elections, no political party dares to go to the poll with an attitude of scepticism or opposition for the Plan. Accepting the arguments and the approach of the Congress Government, Sri C. Rajagopalachari argued the other day that, whoever may be returned, the Plan would go on, and fear of disturbance of the Plan need not therefore enter into voters' calculations at the time of voting.

While we recognise that the Plan has secured a very firm foothold in the country we are not so convinced about its practicability, or even the desirability of some of its component parts, as Congress propagandists would have us believe. This is also the opinion of some of the competent experts of the foreign financial Press who

have had occasion to visit the country, to study the Plan at first hand. One of them, very friendly to India, Mr. Paul Bureau, writing in the National Bank of India Review under the title 'Strains and Stresses of India's Second Plan' pronounces the verdict that some of the projects under the Plan will have to be postponed, and the Plan itself will, by sheer force of circumstances, be lengthened beyond the advertised five-year period.

As originally formulated, the Plan was to cost Rs. 4,800 crores as against Rs. 2,356 crores actually disbursed under the First Five-Year Plan. No less than Rs. 1,200 crores out of the estimated outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores was to be met by deficit financing, that is, the printing of additional currency notes. Anticipated foreign aid was placed at Rs. 800 crores. It was also arranged that India's sterling balances which stood at Rs. 700 crores in April last at the beginning of the Plan period should be drawn upon to the extent of Rs. 200 crores. Since this initial formulation of the Plan, its total expenditure figure had to be raised to Rs. 5,300 crores, not on account of any new additions to the original projects, but as a result of the rise in prices both in India and abroad that had taken place in the interregnum. On the other hand, the Rs. 200 crores which were to be depleted from the sterling balances over a period of five years, have already been drawn upon and spent within the first eight months of the Plan. The

prospects of foreign aid are at the moment entirely incalculable. The turn that the Kashmir issue has taken has opened up new possibilities of financial strain that are bound to affect adversely the resources available for the Plan.

Thus the Plan is based on finance of which nearly half is yet to be found, and the methods by which it can be found are not likely to enable the country to avoid an inflationary crisis. The disquieting factors in the situation are: (1) indiscriminate ordering of capital goods without wise spacing so that a good deal of the physical capital now being erected will remain less than fully utilised for a long time to come; (2) the creation of a boom through heavy capital expenditure which, while swelling purchasing power, provides no adequate supplies of consumer goods immediately to absorb it, with the result that inflation becomes inevitable; (3) the inadequacy of official control methods

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AN APPRECIATION

Dr. RM. ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR

By V. S. KRISHNASWAMI

The only criticism which I have heard—and that only from other musicians—about Srimathi Subbulakshmi's art is that it is too sweet and very feminine. I am afraid I cannot find an answer to these musical masochists who insist on some unpleasant, jarring, discordant cacophony to lace the performance. What is wrong if an artist's music is sweet throughout and there is no tinge of sourness or bitterness or any other flavour in it. We have artists who more than compensate for this by exercising sole rights of monopoly over the unsweet in music. I am yet to hear a single false note from Srimathi Subbulakshmi. If by the defect of sustained sweetness, her critics mean an absolute lack of error in pitch, I wonder if it is really a defect in her and whether the criticism is not born of constant consciousness of the critic's own fallibility in that very respect.

As for the criticism that her music is feminine, I would like to know how it could be otherwise. There is a silly idea among some of the senior male vocalists—almost amounting to a superstition, sedulously fostered by repetition from generation to generation—that a lady musician is always second grade. This notion is as baseless as it is firmly held. Fortunately this bluff has slowly yielded to the pressure of popular opinion and is not now expressed as vociferously as before, though it is still felt and whispered sotto voce within sympathetic coteries. Speaking frankly there are far more honest and really competent artists among the fair sex today than among the male of the species. The lady artists of today are not a whit less equipped than their male counterparts and what is more they have a far greater anxiety to learn and perfect their art. The future seems to lie undoubtedly in their hands. Contrariwise, gossiping roisterers with little equipment and less sincerity have swelled the ranks of the male vocalists where, barring a few exceptions at the top, and a few at the bottom, we have such a ban of artistic charlatans that one shudders to think of the coming

(Continued on Page 14)

AMONG those whom the President delighted to honour on Republic Day was Dr. RM. Alagappa Chettiar on whom the title of Padma Bhushan was conferred.

It is usual on such occasions for a citation to be made in each case touching on the services rendered by the recipient but such references, having to be under official auspices, tend to be stereotyped and have perforce to be limited in their scope. One "personal" story can throw a much more revealing light on a man than scores of official notes or prepared Press statements. I am in the fortunate position of having been at his side on more occasions than one of "crisis". When he overcame them—his head is still bloody but unbowed—he did so not in the manner of a man summoning up his last reserves for a final thrust but blandly, almost casually, pushed them aside. Of few men can it be said that they were unmoved alike by triumph or disaster; Alagappa Chettiar was a man after Rudyard Kipling's own heart, he treated both these imposters alike.

One day in September 1946 I was with Alagappa Chettiar in Bombay. That was a day when share values were tumbling down and fortunes were changing hands almost every minute. Alagappa Chettiar was holding a very large block of Tata Deferred shares. Any other man would have been beside himself with excitement. Alagappa Chettiar himself was on edge to liquidate his holdings. But he had a lunch engagement with Dr. John Matthai, the then Finance Minister. He did not break it.

On another occasion in 1947, Dr. Chettiar called at my house on his way to a meeting in Adyar. He stayed only a few minutes but it was apparent to those who knew him well that he was worried. When he was leaving he did mention, quite casually, that he was hard pressed at the moment.

He went to the meeting at which was present Vice-Chancellor Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, who remarked, in the course of the proceedings, that if some one would endow a fund of Rs. 1 lakh they could start a school in Madras Presidency. "I will give you Rs. 1 lakh. Start the school in Karaikudi". In a matter of weeks work on the school had started in Karaikudi.

In a sense, the starting of the school at Karaikudi was a turning point in Alagappa Chettiar's life. Till then his courage, his great powers of mental concentration and an almost daemonic energy had led him from one successful financial venture to the other. What he prized, however, was not the monetary profit; to him the successful achievement was reward enough. For, he gave money away with lavish abandon and, as was only to be expected, in not all cases were the recipients worthy of his generosity. He celebrated his daughter's marriage. "Celebrated" was not the mere conventional word; by the time the marriage festivities were over, well over Rs. 20 lakhs of money had been disbursed.

He has made half-a-dozen fortunes, on any one of which he could have retired to a life of ease. For his leisure he could have had occupation in plenty for he is one of the most widely read men of his day. The range of his knowledge is wide and deep and in all but the transitory and frivolous aspects of human knowledge and endeavour he is well informed. He is that rarest of individuals, a brilliant conversationalist who conferred on the hearer as much pleasure as he himself derived from the talk. His versatility and mental adaptability enabled him, if necessary, to convert a "funeral oration over the dead into a panegyric on the living".

He would not stand aside. Racked by an illness which gives

(Continued on Page 15)

EASTERN AND WESTERN PSYCHE

By JOOST A. M. MEERLOO, M.D.

(Joost A. M. Meerloo is an Associate in Psychiatry at Columbia University and a Lecturer in Social Psychology at the New School of Social Research. He studied the Orient and his practice has brought him in contact with many Orientals. He is an honorary member of the Tokyo Institute of Psychoanalysis. Dr. Meerloo is the author of several books such as 'Total War and the Human Mind,' 'Conversation and Communication' and 'The Rape of the Mind'.)

THE great clash of human opposites in our world has become increasingly apparent within the last half century. Recently some of their facets have come into even sharper perspective. What the implications of this spiritual and material clash are is worth describing only when they can be made clear to each one of us. It would be futile to speak of the differences between the Eastern and Western psyche without realizing that those opposites are not exclusive, that their very roots are found within each human being. At present we find ourselves, through political and psychological implications, bluntly confronted with these same contrasts that were once remote and hardly important.

The solution and integration of some of these differences will have world-wide consequences. Small signs of these difficulties are as apparent all about us as the planes droning over-head hourly. These evidences haunt us like shadows day and night right within our own homes, when we discuss the problems of the rumbling Middle East and the Asian battle cry against colonialism. We are forced to strive ceaselessly for harmonious integration.

What are some of the major problems? In our world, several internal and external wars are being fought; hot wars and cold wars, ideological wars and delusional wars vie with each other for our favoured support. The contrasts center only partly around the battle between freedom and totalitarianism. Some related contrasts are the war between capitalism and socialism, technology battling with natural adjustment, moralism struggling with pragmatism, chauvinistic superior-

ity feelings struggling for ascendancy over national and racial inferiority feelings — and through it all we see a cold intellectualism grappling with spontaneous creativity. Even the farmer and his city cousin are in conflict: they are the symbols of agrarianism opposing man's hovering urbanization.

Though many actual contrasting ideologies can be mentioned, none is limited to one special group or nation or geographical area. The contrasts are seen to cross various geographical frontiers, but it is the speed of development of our technological era that is one of our greatest concerns. It has done tremendous damage to the development of vital and unconscious forces in man, while its destructive potential far exceeds the integrative forces of the human spirit.

Oriental psyche as opposed to occidental psyche constitutes an ever clearer distinguishable theme. This contrast between the two psyches can be used to illustrate man's internal struggle insofar as it embodies the principal mental

antinomies in man as related to his actual world.

II

The oriental psychologist, if he were asked to reflect on differences between the Eastern and the Western psyche, would smile about the attempts of an occidental essayist to write down in ambiguous words what cannot easily be expressed. My Japanese friend would say: "Why don't you Western men seek more happiness in our oriental principle of tranquil

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February 23, 1957

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

VISIT SOUTH INDIA

AND SEE

- BADAMI** Famous for Jain excavations and cave temples of the 6th century A.D.
- BIJAPUR** For the Gol Gumbaz, a perfect whispering gallery and the second largest dome in the world.
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- COURTALLAM (via Tenkasi)** Well-known for its waterfalls. A famous bathing place and health resort.
- HUMPI (Vijayanagar)** Marvellous ruins of the old capital of the Never-to-be-forgotten Hindu Empire, Vijayanagar.
- KODAIKANAL** The charming hill station near Madurai.
- MADURA** Capital of the Ancient Pandya Kings, noted for its great Meenakshi Temple.
- MYSORE** The city of lights. The enchanting Brindavan Gardens are only ten miles from Mysore.
- OOTACAMUND** The queen of hill stations in India.
- RAMESWARAM** For a holy bath and its famous temple.
- TIRUPATI** The seat of the Lord Venkateswara or Balaji. Here every day is a festival day.
- TRICHINOPOLY** Noted for its shrines at Srirangam and Tiruvanaikaval.
- TRIVANDRUM** For its famous art gallery, museum and zoo.

Chief Commercial Superintendent.

stability? The integration of East and West will be established without doubt in the future, but not by one of your restless searchers for so-called objective truth and understanding. So be quiet with us, let our thoughts flow freely in limitless meditation, and listen to what the intuitive voices within us will reveal to us."

"But aren't you aware of the urgent problems in the world?" my occidental haste and impatience would prod me into asking protestingly. "Eastern and Western armies are steeling themselves against each other! At any moment the shooting may start again!" And then I will very defensively bring myself into the argument with such cliches as: Colonialism, atomic doom, communism, the turbulent Middle East, the decline of occidental culture and the decay of many other things.

"Don't you create your crystal clear problems to hide the deeper and more obscure ones?" my friend the oriental psychologist would continue.

And then only silence would follow.

III

Nobody knows better than the medical doctor, that men are fundamentally equal. They come to him with identical pains and problems, with the same sadness and ecstasy. Man falls in love, children are born, a man dies.

When I met my first Chinese patient for medical and psychological treatment I expected a great many difficulties. My not-too-precise knowledge of oriental culture had not only inspired me with awe and respect for our oldest existing civilization, but had also given me a feeling, of strangeness, of something eerie that my mind could not grasp. Contact with people from the Far East, during a medical trip to their country, had always been on a formal basis—with that ritual of mutual politeness that leaves an emotional vacuum between people. We could talk about facts, even the facts of different religions and philosophies, but all the while our hidden thoughts were: "Please don't touch our private emotions and prejudices, and let us not

February 23, 1957

S W A R A J Y A

intrude into subtle personal feelings". In addition, anthropologists had warned me about the pitfalls of cross-cultural studies and comparisons.

However, my expectations proved to be completely wrong. The psychological treatment proceeded in exactly the same way as with other patients, though from time to time there were semantic difficulties, because we both were obliged to communicate in a language that was not our own. Yet, the old, eternal human problems were the same: a childhood with difficult parents, a harsh school in a country torn by war, rivalry with an older brother, the loss of the beloved bride. Here was the same outpouring of the crying child as I had experienced with other patients. My Chinese patient told me about his peculiar background of oriental rites; it was always a pleasure for him to explain to me this exotic, unfamiliar world. Yet, it was the intense human contact in our explorative collaboration that helped him to solve his conflicts.

Later I saw patients from Java and Japan, and we met each other in the common field of universal human conflicts. Basically people are the same and understand one another in their needs. We were born in different cultures, we spoke different tongues, our historical backgrounds were different; nevertheless, we understood each other on the basis of mutual goodwill.

Why then man's pre-occupation with racial, cultural and national views so easily leading to non-understanding and the furthering of mutually hostile feelings? We forget all too easily that we all are involuntary members of our particular national and racial groups. By birth we are compelled to belong to them and this fact unwittingly obliges us to develop certain loyalties regardless of the inner conflict we may come to feel about this.

IV

When we can accept the fact that men do not differ much in their basic physical, psychical and spiritual needs, it remains for us to discover what has brought about our fiction of unbridgeable

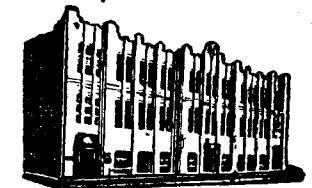
racial and cultural differences. Could it be that at one spot on Mother Earth one aspect of man has been more cultivated and that at another spot a different human quality became emphasized? Psychology teaches us that this very variety and differentiation of human aspects and qualities develops in every community where people live together. Every individual is built up with the framework of various contrasting principles living within him. In every group a strong man gradually gains a dominant position as leader, causing his qualities to be an example for other members of the group. The special aspect or character of the group is greatly influenced by the common identification with the leader and his outstanding qualities. Multiply this principle of coincidental domination of specially outstanding human aspects and variations within a group by several millions (the members of any given civilization), and multiply this outcome again — to comprise the various character types appearing within groups in the course of many generations — and you will more easily accept the variety of patterns into which the common human reaction basis can branch out. Yet, the number of essential cultural patterns is a limited one.

When these various cultural groups look at one another with all the astonishment aroused by their differences and with all their pent-up prejudices, it is difficult to accept the thought that behind the divergent cultural developments identical hearts are beating and similar feelings are experienced. Communication between disparate groups seems nearly impossible because gestures, sounds, symbols and words are different. Yet, that is only the outer aspect of our stereotyped view of different cultural types.

Each one of these groups has a more immediate means of communication that may lead us to the core of mutual understanding and intuition. It is the direct expression through religious symbols and art. Through the avenues of creative expression we can comprehend and empathize the reli-

(Continued on Page 14)

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Reserve & Other Funds ..	79,75,000
Deposits (as on 30-6-1956) ..	32.08 Crores

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FORUM OF FREE ENTERPRISE CODE OF CONDUCT

This Code of Conduct for Free Enterprise has been prepared by the Forum of Free Enterprise and is now placed before industrialists, business men and those belonging to different professions and vocations in India in the belief that they will find it worthy of acceptance and of application in their daily activities. The Forum pledges itself to do all it can to create a widespread awareness in the ranks of Free Enterprise of the obligations that are contained in this Code. We feel that Free Enterprise, which has been tested and proved by time and experience of all democratic societies, should maintain its reputation by insisting on high standards of integrity which are dictated by social purpose. Honesty, hard work, courtesy and continuous initiative are the foundations on which the edifice of Free Enterprise rests.

PRODUCERS and distributors owe it to the consumers of their products that they shall always be of the highest quality and available at reasonable cost. They shall maintain fair measure and guard against adulteration. Customers are entitled to courtesy, promptness and good service, and every endeavour shall be made to see that they receive them.

EMPLOYERS owe it to labour to recognise that welfare is not conceived in terms of philanthropy, but as a social obligation. Men and women engaged in production shall do so with dignity, honour and a sense of security. Fair wages should be paid for work done. Working conditions shall be as pleasant as possible. Opportunities should be made available for the worker to gain technical skills and better his economic prospects and social status. Procedures should be instituted for the removal of legitimate grievances so that the employee is satisfied that he gets a fair deal. The employers should welcome the existence of stable and democratic trade unions. They should recognise that in the sphere of employee-management relations, as in other spheres, checks and balances are essential for the working out of rational and democratic solutions. They should

accept the role of labour as one of creative co-operation and recognise the need for providing increasing opportunities for consultation of employees and their progressive association with Management to help in the promotion of increased productivity from which all will benefit.

MANAGEMENT owes it to those who invest in their enterprise that they receive a fair return on their investments commensurate with the risk they take. At the same time, reserves must be created for expansion and modernisation of the plant and machinery and in their utilisation the Management remains accountable to the investor. Money must also be provided for research. The earning by the shareholder of a fair return or profit by the entrepreneur under competitive conditions and after payment of fair wages must be regarded as a legitimate reward for the risk and the work of promotion and development which the community urgently needs. Certain mal-practices have crept into the system of company management. They are to be condemned and should be removed. Hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering are anti-social and evil. Honest business practices can be promoted and encouraged by an honest and efficient administration in a democratic State.

PROFESSIONAL MEN—lawyers, teachers, doctors, auditors, or writers—owe it to those who avail themselves of their services to maintain the highest standards and traditions. They should discharge their duties truly and faithfully, and should always subordinate considerations of personal gain to the larger objective of service.

WE ALL owe it to the community that we accept our obligations as good citizens. We shall bear our share of taxation honestly. We condemn unequivocally any attempt at tax evasion. We shall actively participate in the promotion of social, cultural and civic improvements. Wealth or power shall not be a justification for vain-glory or ostentatious display, but an opportunity for rendering service to the community.

FORUM OF FREE ENTERPRISE

Sohrab House, 235, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay 1.

February 23, 1957

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

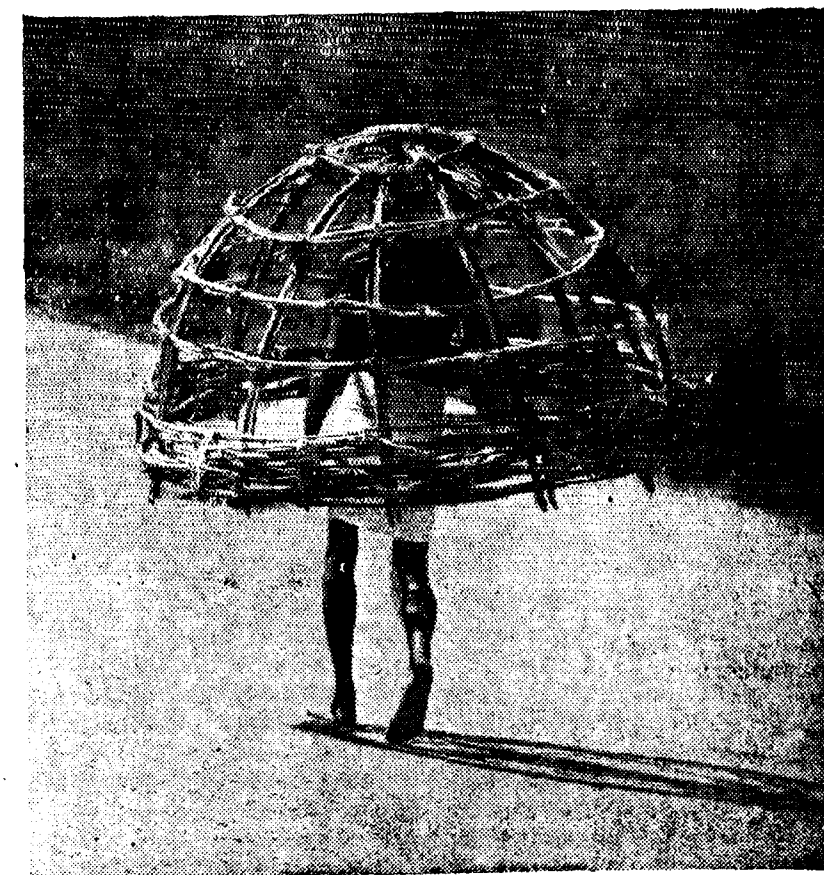
CHOICE BY CONTRA

THE character in my picture is quite a poor man compared to me, but still he has something I lack. The contraption of bent and bound greenwood that he is carrying? No. I don't mean anything like that. Moreover, that's no contraption, but a coop for his kids, as he explained to me. Not his own kids, of course, but the kids of his goats. Having been a goat-herd myself, I had no trouble in making friends with this artless man (I intend the 'artless' literally — Percy Brown might have derived the structural inspiration for the Taj Mahal from that kid-coop!). I established my bona fides by giving him a countryside recipe for a tick-dip that I had found utterly useless, and having found it useless in his own experience, he accepted me as a brother.

It was as we were indulging in fraternal conversation that I made the discovery that this man, for all his artlessness and manifest poverty, had a thing I had not. A moustache? Now, please don't be frivolous, I am a serious-minded man, and though he did have a rather natty moustache, I don't mean anything so superficial. The thing which he had and I did not was the power of exercising adult franchise. A vote, in short.

I don't know why I am voteless, but I am. I always thought that it was because the census had ignored me, but recently I was assured by a warranted vote-list verifier that my own laziness was solely the cause. A man obviously past his minority, not obviously disqualified by lunacy or similar affliction, a tax-payer and a graduate, I should certainly have a vote (two, in fact: I could, as a graduate, vote at University Elections), and if I didn't, well, it just showed how inane, supine and inefficient I was! I thanked him and promised to rectify things at once, and when he was gone I made a solemn resolve never again to meet a vote-list verifier.

Fancy anyone advising me to apply to the University for power



of franchise or anything else! For twenty-five years I have lived in daily dread that the University would discover its mistake, realise that it had given me my degrees by sheer oversight, and summarily resume them. Much better to go voteless than be without my precious degrees. Moreover, were I imbecile enough to follow that verifier's advice, I should have neither vote nor degree — surely any man who takes senseless risks and awakens sleeping universities will be disqualified from voting on the ground of patent lunacy!

However, I have strayed from the point, which is that this rustic has a vote, while I haven't. Not only does he have the power of franchise, but I also know precisely how he is going to exercise it. Yes, I know all about the secrecy of the ballot and all that, but as between goat-herd and goat-herd there are no secrets, and he told me just how and why he would vote, in detail.

There are three candidates contesting a seat in his area, and one of them is his landlord, the 'big-

man' of the place. The landlord's rival is a man for whom no one has any regard, a notorious racketeer and money-lender. The third candidate doesn't count, being a Brahmin. I remarked that he and his fellows would naturally vote for the landlord. "The devil we will!" he replied. Why should they feel any sense of compulsion or obligation in such matters? They'd jolly well vote for whom they pleased — and his vote and the votes of his friends would go to no bloated landlord.

This naturally led me to think that he had strong views on capitalists, but it transpired that was not the cause of his decision. He wouldn't vote for his landlord because the man had used unmentionably rude words to him the previous week, and ridiculed him. When a rustic feels reluctant to specify the exact words spoken in abuse, it is not wise to ask him to repeat them. However, being a man with literary pretensions, I like to lose no opportunity of improving my vocabulary, and I

(Continued on Page 15)

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

THE most important principles of India's foreign policy during the past decade have been acceptance of Panch Shila, non-involvement in the American and Russian ideological blocs, uncompromising opposition to the formation of military alliances for any purpose, continued and consistent support to United Nations Organisation and continuance of India's membership of the British Commonwealth.

The principles of non-entanglement in the ideological groups which resulted from the second World War and of opposition to all kinds of military alliances and pacts have not been popular with the statesmen and people of Western democracies. They understood these two points to constitute only a kind of political neutrality. The term 'neutrality' correctly represented originally the attitude of Mr. Nehru towards the world problems and the conflicts and the cold war they resulted in. But later there arose slowly, but imperceptibly, a change in the conception of this neutrality. Mr. Nehru and his envoy Mr. Krishna Menon began to explain that India's so-called 'neutrality' does not mean that she has no views on world problems or that she is indifferent to right causes, especially the freedom of the Asian and African countries. These explanations undoubtedly alienated to a great extent the sympathy and friendship of the Western democracies for India.

Our Prime Minister's consistent and continuous support to the UNO has evoked some criticism now and then. Though the UNO has done notable work in many fields, it has failed to achieve the main purposes for which it was started. This is due to the fact that in all crucial matters affecting their interests, the big powers have bypassed the UNO and taken independent action. The power of veto granted to the five permanent members of the Security Council has often been criticised. The failure of the UNO has been really due to certain loop-holes in

its constitution. The apparently harmless provision of Article 52 of the U.N. Charter, which permits regional security arrangements has been misused. Under the pretext of acting under this provision a network of regular pacts and alliances came into being, such as the American States' Union of 1948, the North Atlantic Pact of 1949, and the subsequent series of pacts like the ANZUS, the Baghdad Pact, the SEATO, the Arab League, the U.S.A.-Pakistan military assistance pact and the military pact of Yugoslavia with Turkey and Greece. All these pacts and alliances were brought about by the diplomacy of U.S.A. and her allies of the Western bloc. Russia replied with the Warsaw Pact and a Russo-Chinese alliance. To add to this, the reservations made in Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter recognising the validity of pre-war agreements and pacts and excluding them from the scope of the U. N. Charter, practically nullified its value. These provisions of the UNO Constitution were taken advantage of by the big powers to by-pass and practically cripple it. The discussions and decisions in the UNO have shown that a majority of the members there have not always been on the side of the right in international disputes. In spite of all this, our Prime Minister's support to the UNO is justified. We must recognise that unless the UNO becomes an effective instrument of peace and the champion of all right causes, it will go the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations.

India's continuance of membership in the British Commonwealth has recently caused a good deal of criticism in view of the Egyptian crisis. A veteran statesman of the calibre of Sri C. Rajagopalachari has challenged the wisdom of such continuance. Much can be said on both sides and we may not be right in being guided by emotion or sentiment in this matter. Mr. Nehru is probably right in thinking that India has more to lose than to gain by

severing the Commonwealth ties. Whether we desire it or not, we shall be requiring the help of Britain in a hundred and one ways, especially in matters relating to the industrial development of India and the organisation of its defence.

The Panch Shila principles are no doubt good and acceptable. They appear non-controversial to Asian countries which won freedom recently. But to America and the Western powers, these may not have any special appeal because they are in conflict with some of the policies pursued by these powers.

In two matters which vitally affect the people of India, our Prime Minister's policy has been a distinct failure. The first relates to the relations between India and Pakistan. It is no answer to this to say that India's attitude towards Kashmir and other questions of dispute has always been right and even generous and the blame for this failure rests entirely on Pakistan's rulers. India's attitude in the matter of Kashmir has been right according to us. But it must, at the same time, be recognised that India has not convinced most of the powers of the Western world of this rightness. The bulk of the people in many countries, including U.S.A., Great Britain, France and the Muslim countries of the Middle East have been unable to understand the rightness and sincerity claimed by India in this matter. The reason is not far to seek. When India agreed to the demand of the Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan as a separate sovereign independent State for people of the Muslim faith, on the sole ground of their religion, its hesitation to allow Kashmir, which has a majority of Muslim population to form part of Pakistan seems incomprehensible to the people of Western countries. India's charge that it was Pakistan that was the aggressor and the claim that Kashmir legally acceded to India and this accession has since been confirmed by the people through the elected Constituent Assembly of Kashmir have not impressed them.

The second reason for the unsympathetic attitude of the West-

ern powers towards India in the matter of Kashmir is the readiness with which Pakistan joined the Western bloc as against India's persistence in keeping out of the two camps. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, as affairs stand at present, the Western powers like U.S.A. and Britain will side with Pakistan in any Indo-Pakistan dispute, as they have sided till now, if the present situation develops into a crisis.

More important than even the Kashmir dispute is the plight of the Hindus in Pakistan and the allied problem of the refugees in India. Almost all the Hindus have been squeezed out in West Pakistan. They have left all their properties there and come to India as refugees. In East Pakistan also the rights and interests of the Hindu minority have not been protected as they should be in all civilized countries. Many have come to India as refugees. Pakistan has not made any secret of the fact that it is an Islamic State. Under its Constitution which was adopted recently, only Muslims have been made eligible for the headship of the State. Recently the Press of Pakistan and its Foreign Minister Mr. Feroze Khan Noon have been saying that Pakistan has only one enemy and that is India. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, its Prime Minister has not also shown a better appreciation of the relationship that exists between Pakistan and India. To discerning students of Indian history this feeling of the bulk of the Muslims of Pakistan is understandable. The spirit of hostility that existed between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress in pre-partition days continues to exist in Pakistan even after it has got freedom and probably, in an added measure. So it is idle to expect that Pakistan will treat the Hindus fairly and justly and give them protection as it ought to in the manner of civilized States. The interests and security of India require that her Prime Minister should not under-rate the possible danger to them, arising from the passions of Pakistan's people and the policies of its rulers.

India should strain every nerve to secure protection for the lives and properties of the Hindus in

Pakistan. The Government of India's rehabilitation measures are certainly commendable though the refugees themselves have not been fully satisfied. No sacrifice should be considered too great by India to induce Pakistan to protect the interests of the Hindu minorities and instil into them a sense of security. It cannot be said that our Prime Minister is not friendly to Pakistan. But it is doubtful whether he fully realises the dangers of a rift in the Indo-Pakistan friendship taking the shape of the further ruin of millions of the Hindu families of Pakistan.

It was a mistake to have treated Kashmir as a separate dispute and taken it to the UNO. It should have been treated as part of the entire question of Indo-Pakistan relations and negotiations should have been made accordingly. It should have been India's main objective at the early stage of Indo-Pakistan relations to start direct negotiations with Pakistan regarding the entire field of dispute, including Kashmir, in a manner impelling Pakistan not to go into the arms of Britain and U.S.A.

It is no good crying over spilt milk. But even now the Government of India cannot absolve itself of its responsibility for the welfare of the Hindu minority of Pakistan, though it may live in a foreign State. There is a view that as Pakistan is a sovereign State, any undue interest that the Government of India may take in the welfare of the Hindu minority there will be tantamount to an intervention in the internal affairs of a foreign State and all that the Government of India can do is to make representations to the Government of Pakistan. This legalistic view seems to be taken for granted as sound international law and practice. But a little reflection will show that modern international law is in such a flux and the canons of accepted international law have been violated even by the big powers in so many cases that to-day there is no body of principles and practice in international law commanding universal acceptance. Secondly international law cannot be pleaded as a reason for getting over a binding, ethical and moral responsibility regarding the lives of millions of

people. Though India and Pakistan are sovereign States, the principles that govern two absolutely unrelated independent sovereign States cannot be said to govern in toto the Indo-Pakistan relations because the partition of India was in itself in the nature of a treaty with reciprocal obligations, express or implied. One such obligation was to safeguard the interests of the minorities and accord equal protection of the laws to them. If any party failed in this, the other party has a right to take steps to see that it is secured.

The second matter in our Prime Minister's foreign policy that has not produced results relates to the condition of Indians in other parts of the world, especially in Ceylon and South Africa. The new concept of national sovereignty whereby their Governments claim that they have a right to deny citizenship to certain categories of population as in Ceylon or to give discriminating treatment based on the ground of race and colour as in S. Africa is amoral and regressive and has to be challenged and repudiated by all civilised States. The Government of India cannot sit quiet over the treatment of Indians in South Africa and Ceylon. If these matters are considered to fall within the domestic jurisdiction of those countries, in which the UNO cannot interfere by virtue of Article 7 of its Charter — the UNO has not accepted this contention in respect of South Africa — then other methods of direct negotiation will have to be adopted. The question of invoking the Human Rights Declaration and their enforcement should also be investigated with reference to these questions.



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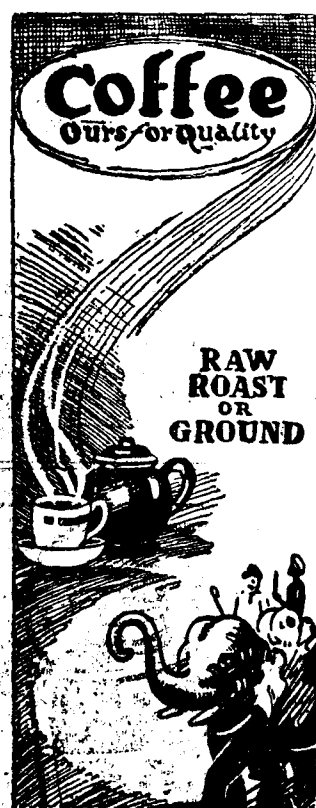
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

BELITTLING INDIA ABROAD

Sir,—More than once our esteemed Prime Minister warned people who go abroad, not to talk ill of our country in other countries.

But surprisingly enough, recently Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, while addressing press reporters at Canada, stated that the Indian motion picture industry stands second in the world, but all the pictures are rotten and show nothing except total imitation of Hollywood pictures. Is this the way in which a highly responsible Indian diplomat should talk of things Indian in other countries! Vijayawada. B. RAMA RAO

QUALITY OF CANDIDATES

Sir,—Rajaji has declared emphatically that the character of a candidate should be the only basis on which votes should be cast during the coming elections. This has set me wondering whether a man of stirring character would ever come forward now-a-days to contest the elections, electioneering being what it is. There is a story about a very religious-minded American maid who surprised her master by preferring to vote for a notoriously unscrupulous candidate and not his upright rival. The reason for her choice was her belief that a man not already bad would become so after he gets elected and she did not wish to ruin a good man by putting him in a position where he was bound to get bad. I may take the liberty of remarking that Rajaji too has generally tended to fight shy of elections.

T. G. NARAYANASWAMI, M.A.

RAILWAY WELFARE INSPECTORS

Sir,—In the recent selection of welfare inspectors in the Southern Railway it was originally given out that only graduates and applicants with suitable previous experience would be eligible for the posts. The vacancies were not even given wide publicity and staff working in the various departments were completely ignorant of what was taking place.

When the actual list of selected candidates was published it was revealed that only non-graduates and inexperienced men were selected, as against large numbers of graduates and experienced men who were not even found fit to be called for interview.

Everything in the name of "Truth and Non-Violence"!

'JUSTICE'

'This Queen of Song'

(Continued from Page 6)

era, after four five-year plans are completed.

Some others have said M. S. Subbulakshmi's music is not 'inspired'. May be it is not—though I wonder if those who say this quite understand what it means. But I would rather listen to a perfect artist who is sure to give me a fine treat of music, than to an inspired genius who might or might not get his inspiration that evening—in fact who might or might not even turn up! One should not go to a concert as if to the Guindy Races.

A lady who has known Srimathi Subbulakshmi since her early years, told me Srimathi Subbulakshmi's musical greatness is nothing compared to her goodness of heart and high-souled nature. I was happy to hear it and I am no longer surprised that she is singled out for attack by her colleagues. It is dangerous to be good, even more dangerous than to be meritorious.

Eastern & Western Psyche

(Continued from Page 9)

gious and moral feelings and even the philosophy of those who otherwise live mentally so remote from us. The East is direct, ideographic, working with the psychic instrument of intuition; the West is indirect and analytic, working with the instrument of connotation.

Yet, the hurried psychologist in us wants all this to be expressed

in precise and formal technical terms of human behaviour. He asks prematurely: What is the psychological motivation behind Confucius, Buddha, or Hindu philosophy? Or, he asks: What deep-seated mental complex divided Christianity into so many different denominations and how can we integrate these schisms?

(To be continued)

Dr. RM. Alagappa Chettiar

(Continued from Page 6)

almost not a minute's surcease from pain his mind never idles for a moment but goes on planning fresh projects, always, of course, on the grand scale. But now his efforts have found a purpose and a direction. For, the school at Karaikudi was only a beginning. That once somewhat arid corner of Ramanathapuram district now houses a magnificently equipped Electro-Technological Institute, housed in buildings beautifully and functionally designed, as well as a College of Engineering. Sir Swarup Bhatnagar, then the India Government expert, inspected the site for the Institute and pointed out that large supplies of water would be needed and there seemed to be none in the area. Alagappa Chettiar said there would be water. There was and plenty of it and in a short time.

Almost as a corollary there is yet another Technological Institute bearing his name located in the sylvan surroundings near Raj Bhavan at Guindy. The very large sums needed for the starting and equipping of the institutions at Karaikudi have almost all of them come from his pocket and now the more money he makes, the more, he feels, can be diverted to make the Karaikudi centre of learning even more efficient and useful. He has cut personal expenditure down to an almost irreducible minimum so that there might be more for Karaikudi.

The man is an enigma. He has knowledge and ability. These have brought him wealth. That wealth he has disbursed with a Nuffield-like generosity (his donations are round about the Rs. 1 crore mark), serenely conscious of his power to acquire more.

Unlike the prophet he has honour in his own country. A list of the men who call on him "to inquire about his health" reads like a page from the Court Circular.

Any attempt at analysing this remarkable personality must be incomplete. In his make-up there is a broad streak of the romantic, giving a touch of colour to the staid processes of successful planning. His conquest of his physical infirmities has been heroic. His projects are based on the grand scale. His ever busy mind never works in grooves but along broad avenues of exploration and endeavour. To a man like him gilded bronze or marble would be neither adequate expressions of gratitude nor would they give him pleasure. His reward will be the benefits that the now young and their children and children's children will derive from the great institutions that he has built up almost single-handed. When the time comes, the most fitting tribute to him would be a plain slab of marble imbedded in the lawn of Karaikudi Institute with the words inscribed thereon,

"Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

A Photographer's Diary

(Continued from Page 11)

pressed him to tell me the very words. And would you believe it, they were wholly innocent of genetic implication! The landlord had called him a "lazy lout" in front of his neighbour's wife, to the unconcealed amusement of the girl. Therefore, the vote of my goat-herd would go to the racketeer.

Does all this seem rather pointless and bucolic to you? Not at all. The experience strikes me as being a profound reflection on human nature — and voting. I am sure that if I had a vote and that vote-list verifier were a candidate, his rival would get my vote. And though I have never seen her, I suspect that the wife of the neighbour of that goat-herd is an attractive young woman.

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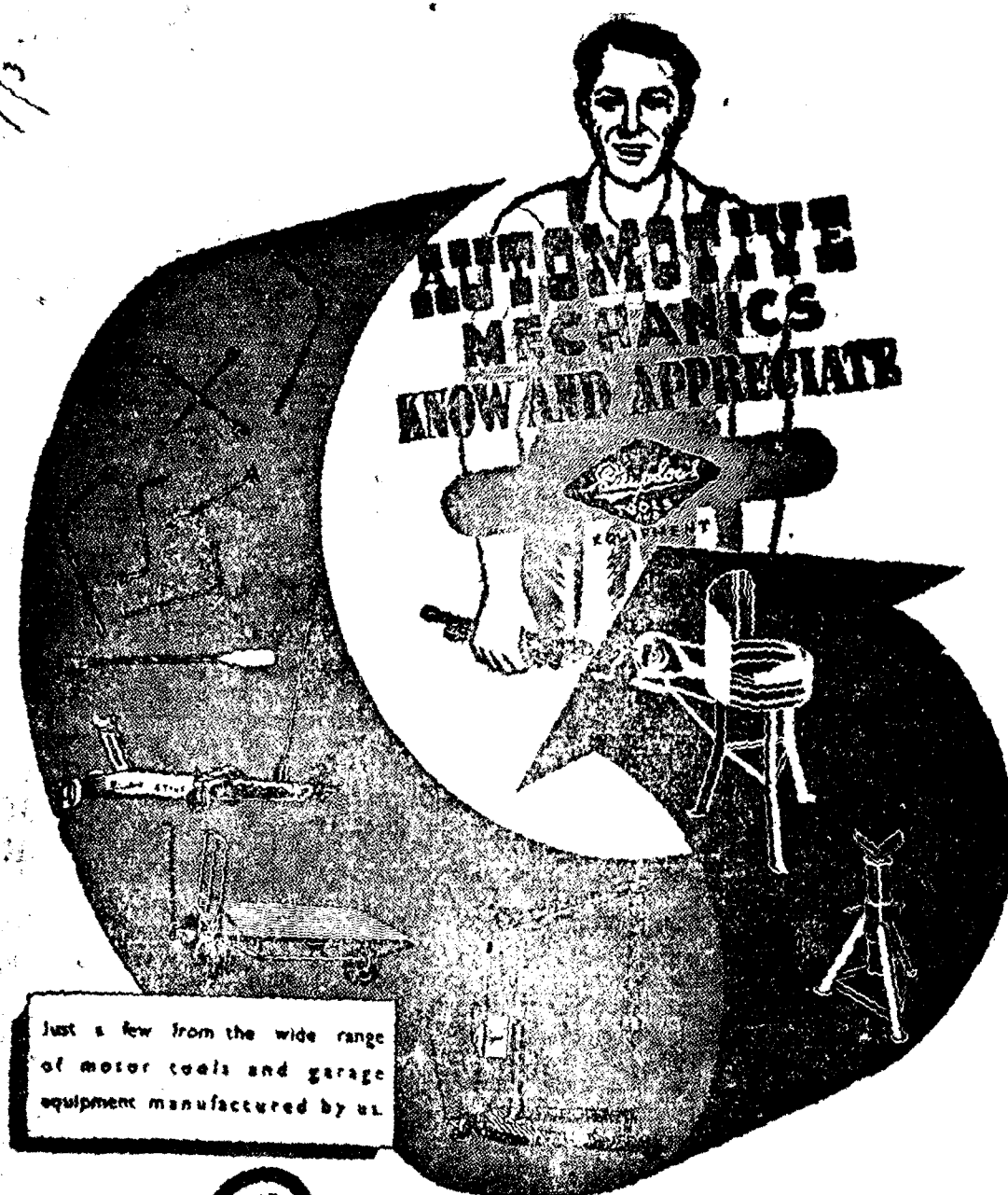
SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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MINISTERS AND PARTY FUNDS

Edmund Burke, when a bill to shorten the duration of Parliament was introduced in the House of Commons, opposed it and made a speech in the course of which he observed that the frequency of elections no doubt tended to increase the power of the electors which was desirable, but that it had no sort of tendency to increase their integrity and public spirit. He referred to the influence that Ministers in office wielded. "Its full weight, its full range and its uncontrolled operation on the electors" would be just the same however frequently the elections were to be held. Nor would it, he said, abate the interest or inclination of Ministers to put that influence to use in the elections. On the contrary they would find it more necessary, he said, that in order to continue their majority in Parliament, they "increase the means of that influence and redouble their diligence and sharpen dexterity in the application".

How truly Burke probed into the minds of electors and Ministers is realised when we scan present-day happenings. The actual issue discussed by Burke was one of shortening the duration of parliaments but the general truths he expounded stand confirmed today in the present elections held 200 years after that speech and in a different country. Congress began its initial venture as a party of very poor people whose prestige of sacrifice was its sole but potent asset. But now the money it commands is far more than what any others that dare to oppose it can put into the

field. The power and the authority of the Ministers, Central and State, have been freely invoked in the conduct of the elections. So much so that even the issues are confused and men and women are made to think that the election in South Madras is of a Finance Minister for India, not of a member to sit in Parliament. The turn that things have taken both in the collection of party funds and in the campaign has led reflecting minds to the conviction that in India Ministers should demit office during the election period and the administration should run on a care-taker basis under the authority of the President or Governor as the case may be during that period.

Some years ago, a certain high official in Delhi—not as high as a Minister but just below that rank—was censured for allowing his daughter to receive gifts on the occasion of her wedding from princes and others of high rank and all the valuable presents that had been voluntarily given and received on a festive occasion were ordered to be returned or given up to the public treasury. The amount collected in this State alone through the influence and exertions of Ministers in office in order to finance the party in power for the present elections is something before which the aforesaid wedding presents objected to in 1948 in righteous indignation, pale into insignificance. The Gandhian sensitiveness to wrong, where is it gone? We are so far from those times and those standards of conduct that it looks almost like a

dream. The power that Central and State Ministers wield today over manufacturers, dealers and transport companies is enormous. That power, and the corresponding terror that is its counterpart at the other end, do not promise to diminish but threaten to increase as the days go by and the threats of regulation and socialisation hang like Democles's sword over every branch of commerce and business including agriculture. Men literally fear being utterly ruined if they dared to displease. What is all this money for? The accounts statutorily produced do not represent anything more than a fraction of what is spent in permissible ways. The poverty of our people needs no pointing out. A single day's wants satisfied may easily corrupt the votes of thousands of people. Secrecy is no deterrent because our common folk are by nature and tradition grateful and in a sense god-fearing. As Edmund Burke put it even about his own people, "the electors are corruptible because they are men—it is saying nothing worse of them". As for direct election through adult suffrage, as Burke put it, "if they are many, the wages of corruption are lower". Apart from corruption, to put the expenses of election on a basis of adult suffrage in a country of vast spaces to be covered in each constituency, on each candidate as his private gamble makes it impossible for any opposition party effectively to spring into existence to enter into conflict with the party in power. The expense is a material consideration in all questions concern-

March 2, 1957

TACTICAL ATOMICS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ing elections. Again as Burke put it, "Let no one think the charges of elections a trivial matter. To many they become totally ruinous which no fortunes can bear". How can we hope for a strong opposition party to be built up or to win in a conflict with the gigantic financial power of Ministers in office executing a policy of nationalisation plus private sector, a mixture peculiarly suitable to serve as sanction for the purpose of collecting party funds? "No principle relating to human concerns can be approved on a mere examination of it in academic isolation. Circumstances give to every political principle its distinguishing colour and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render any civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind". These are the words of Burke, the arch-priest of liberal thought.

From the Horse's Mouth

Further confirmation of the Dravida Kazhagam and Tamil Nad Congress conspiracy is now available from Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker's own mouth. At an election meeting near Perambalur on 22nd February 1957, Sri E.V.R., the Dravida Kazhagam chief who presided, said in Tamil:

காமராஜர் பதவிக்கு வந்ததும் எங்களுடைய (தி. க.) ஆதரவை விரும்பினார்; 'எங்கள் தேவைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்தால் உங்களுக்கு ஆதரவு கொடுக்கிறோம்' என்றும், 'உங்களுக்கு (தி. க.வுக்கு) உதவி செய்வது என் கடமை, அதை நாளை செய்வேன்' என்று காமராஜர் சொன்னார்.

This can be rendered literally into English as follows:

"When Kamaraj took up office, he came and asked for our (D.K.'s) support. We said, 'If you do all that we of the D.K. want, we will give our support'. Kamaraj answered 'It is my duty to help you in your programme and I shall do it willingly'."

The Tamil extract from Sri Naicker's speech printed above is taken from a report in *Swadesa-mitran*.

Receiving 'aid without strings' is what we are revelling in. If any one tried, one could see that what seemed a soft and pleasant bed of loose strings to dance upon, would soon develop into a coil and an entanglement for the feet. Being out of touch with affairs, I asked for dissociation with the Commonwealth. Only those who are in intimate touch can understand the entanglements!

Aid without strings apart, ear-marked military aid including 'tactical' atomic weapons, tactically so-called, are an even more complicated affair. In spite of any negative ear-marking,—that is, that these weapons should not be used for aggression against countries friendly to America, when 'aggression' reaches a stage of 'self-defence', amidst attacks and counter-attacks, what exactly is 'defence' and what 'offence' will all become as complicated as pure metaphysics. It is as futile and silly on the whole to ear-mark weapons as to ear-mark coins for a foolish messenger sent to the bazaar for buying odd things.

I am not an alarmist, but it will not require much greater frenzy or folly than prevails now in Pakistan, to try an aerial experiment with the tactical atomic weapons on the rear of our lines.

New Model

In Srinagar, where on a winter night I write this, new red brick houses are replacing old ones along the Jhelum and in streets off the seven, or now nine, bridges.

Not many new houses, as yet, but enough to prove that reconstruction on a modest scale is under way here.

In the villages, too, situated under the white benevolence of the Himalayas, under the vertical poplars, new houses and shop-fronts show by fresh brickwork and mill-planned timber that repair is in the air.

What is refreshing about all this, to one visitor, is that new buildings so often retain the architecture of the old. The lofty three-storey houses with over-

The atomic scientists can note with mixed satisfaction how the law of nature follows its steady and predestined course. Give weapons and they will be used. Bombers carrying tactical atomic explosives will, if the Powers go on as they now do, become the normal feature of border enterprises all over the world. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. may advertise their super and super-super bombs and their inter-continental ballistic bombs, but the tactical atom is the more disastrous invention in fact, being more tempting for actual use by ardent pupils who have no need to make them but have only to buy or beg for them.

These tactical atomic explosives can probably send to perdition a hundred square miles apiece. And a spore of them fired from bombers flying in the air can accomplish quite a deal in Asia.

The American aid programme then must force India also to look out for these tactical weapons; because, against these new explosives the only defence is a previous attack. What are we coming to, as a result of the West's mission to protect and advance the cause of backward peoples! I write in this strain because it is better to laugh than to cry though the latter be easier.

hanging roofs, the wooden windows and shutters, the shape and allotment by function of the floors and rooms, all are traditional. They blend into history.

Even paneling and the panes of glass are like their predecessors. Ornamentation is less elaborate, but continuity, rather than a sharp break with the past, has been in the builder's mind.

Surely this is a pattern for reconstruction elsewhere in Asia; change, but alliance with what has gone before; consistency, rather than contrast; pride in the indigenous.

In an industrial world, tradition, remodelled, will not always suit. But on the Kashmiri landscape, at least, it looks good.

JOHN E. FRAZER

March 2, 1957



Sotto Voce

We hold our own

Who said the days of freebooters, soldiers of fortune and P. C. Wren's heroes are gone? Nearly ten years after it happened the world was told by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon of how a Major of the bulldog British breed, appropriately named Brown, had walked off with Gilgit, where Pakistan is now proposing to erect an atomic base. Gilgit had been transferred to the Maharajah of Kashmir when the British quit. The Maharajah sent a Governor to take charge. The moment he stepped into the territory that worthy was nabbed by a Major Brown, commander, Gilgit Scouts, who was in charge of law and order. What he did with the unfortunate Governor is not known. But Gilgit he handed over to Pakistan on a platter.

The House of Lords ought to vote Major Brown, if he is still in the land of the living, a special ovation for thus upholding a hoary British tradition sanctioned by a host of empire-builders from Clive to Colonel Dyer. If he has been gathered to his fathers, Major Brown's soul should go marching on in the serene confidence that timely insubordination to orders is a profitable failing in her corsair sons which old Mother Britain will always look upon with indulgence. A General of the British Army was in charge of Pakistani forces when the rabble rout of trans-frontier Pathans was unloosed on prone Kashmir. Pakistan no longer pretends that she had no hand in the affair. But Britain sticks to her friends through thick and thin—as long as it suits her.

Britain maintains with aggressive self-righteousness in the U.N. that India, having promised to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, ought to fulfil her pledge. She resolutely ignores the finding of a distin-

guished British jurist of her own choosing, Sir Owen Dixon, to the effect that Pakistan was guilty of violating international law by sending her troops to Kashmir. Sir Owen also held that India's prior agreement was indispensable if a plebiscite was to be gone through. He was equally clear that, if there was no agreement on this, some other way of bringing about a settlement would have to be sought. But Britain goes on pretending that India, having offered a plebiscite in the days before the floods, should fulfil her part of the bargain, even though Pakistan refuses to fulfil hers; that only shows that hypocrisy is the basic national virtue.

"Circumstances alter cases", is Britain's most distinctive contribution to political doctrine. And Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon had no difficulty in showing that all Europe and America, for that matter, have been her apt pupils in this respect. Beginning with the Aga Khan's "command performance" Britain had grimly worked in India for a whole generation to conjure up the spectre of Muslim communalism. After Mr. Jinnah had been mesmerised into demanding Pakistan, the hellish brew which, Aligarh and Cambridge had concocted, Britain held up her hands in appealing helplessness and plaintively cried, "Alas it is an evil thing. But there is no help for it. We have to accept Pakistan because it is a fact". Kashmir as an integral part of India is no less a fact today, by the voluntary decision of her people. But Britain demands that this egg be unscrambled.

Britain, the palladium of Liberty, is shocked that Shéik Abdullah, whose megalomaniacal dynastic ambitions were luckily

nipped in the bud, languishes in duress. What about Archbishop Makarios? The British Press is sarcastic that Nehru should denounce aggression in the Suez while continuing to be guilty of it in Kashmir. And America, though it has not lifted a little finger to help Hungary, has derived much sardonic enjoyment from contemplating the spectacle of Nehru soft-peddling Russian atrocities in that unhappy land while weeping out his heart in a flood of tears for Colonel Nasser.

All this is part of the international game, "Down me or I'll down you". Mr. Nehru imagined that he was the new Joan of Arc sent to redeem fallen humanity; and he has been as effectively caught in the meshes of unrelenting diplomacy as the Maid was in the toils of the Church. His foreign policy has made us many enemies and brought us few worth while friends. The truth he refuses to face is that the world is not waiting for an evangel from the land of the Mahatma. No nation has a right to take a "holier-than-thou" attitude towards others; as that is the one sure way of putting up the back of the aggressor. "We hold our own" ought to be a good enough motto for us in Kashmir. That is the language which Pakistan and her Western Allies understand. We need not gild the lily by strenuously pretending that the offer of a plebiscite indefinitely stands.

VIGNESWARA

Jesus was one day walking along the sea-shore when a devotee approached him and asked, "Lord, how can one attain God?" Jesus directly walked into the sea with the enquirer and immersed him into the water. After a short time, he released him and raising him, by the arm, asked him, "How did you feel?" The devotee replied, "I felt as though my last moment had come—the condition was desperate." Upon this Jesus said, "You shall see the Father when your heart pants for Him as it has panted for a breath of air just now."

—SRI RAMAKRISHNA

SIDELIGHTS ::

"RAMBLER" of *Sunday Observer* wants to know how long it will take for me to learn "that Brahmin alone is not a synonym for merit and efficiency". The answer is that no time is needed to learn what one has never failed to comprehend. It is not proper to give a communal denomination to any human quality. Qualities belong to individuals and are not bequeathed from father to son as material property can be. They cannot be confined within limits of family or community.

It is only those that see merit in penalising a particular community that betray a consciousness of the superiority of that community. Communal hatred itself is an indication of the fear complex; and fear is an inverted tribute. The South African white, indulging in *apartheid*, simply registers thereby his own conviction that the blacks will get the better of him unless repressed. But repression and the persecution and discrimination that go along with it, themselves stimulate the qualities that make for

strength and character. All history is a series of integrations without intermission between warring parties who had confounded their destiny earlier into an obligation to hate and destroy each other. It is only when the inevitable integrating point of history that lies beyond mutual destruction is reached, that its constructive purpose can begin, and societies and nations can advance towards peace, culture, happiness and prosperity.

An eminent judge who is a Brahmin recounted to me a significant experience of his, last week. A young boy had entered his compound and was helping himself to flowers and vegetables from the plants there. The lady of the house saw it and chided him for taking such a liberty without permission of the rightful owner. He turned round and said: "This is just a fleabite. Wait till we begin to burn and loot your house and the houses of such as you". That boy is a symbol of criminality masquerading as legitimate ambition, and he is typical of the harvest of

evil for the nation that is being produced by the hatred cult of Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker with his prattle of knifing Brahmins and burning *agraharams*.

Now in the exigencies of political conflict and controversy, Sri Naicker is occasionally found hurling diatribes against the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam for its anti-Brahmin hate campaign. But he is in a way the most prominent progenitor of the same campaign, and what he now denounces in the D.M.K. owes its inspiration to his own preaching. Sri Ramaswami Naicker belongs to a generation that is passing out. He cannot do much harm however firm his determination to knife and burn. But the D.M.K. represents the younger branch of a movement fathered by him. Its leaders are educated, energetic and able. Experience should have taught them by now how tragically even a mighty organisation like the Congress has disintegrated in Madras in consequence of a political association of barely two years' duration between the Congress leader and the Dravida Kazhagam chief. There is no future except strife leading to paralysis of the country's economic potentiality that can be achieved by any party that does not base its plans on inclusive integration with all the people excluding none on principles of universal applicability. Now that the Congress under Sri Kamaraj has been communalised and become debilitated, there is scope for overcoming the Congress and developing into a powerful opposition finally capturing the government itself, for a party that can operate non-exclusively grasping the national outlook that is being deserted by the Congress.

The idea that Brahmins advocating supremacy for merit imply that merit belongs to Brahmins alone, is an indication of defeatism on the part of those mistrusting it. The mistrust may be a historical legacy from the past when the Brahmins dominated everything. But it is out of place in conditions like the present when their insignificant political weight under adult suffrage makes the Brahmins incapable of exacting any undue

(Continued on page 15)

THEN AND NOW

By KHASA SUBBA RAU

LOOKING back into the past, the first great event that I recollect is the Russo-Japanese war. Japan's victory over Russia in that war made a tremendous impression on the youth of the country. It excited them with a consciousness of the resurgence of Asian might and provoked, for the first time in this century, a nationwide longing for emancipation from the West. Bengal was the first to receive the impact of the new spirit, and Sri Aurobindo Ghosh became the authentic apostle of the cult of freedom generated by it. He was then editing an English daily paper, *Bande Mataram*. It was sold, to the best of my recollection, for nine pies. This was too big a sum for us youngsters to muster, for in those days we were brought up under a parental discipline which took great delight in flourishing again and again the doctrine that money is poison to children. We solved the difficulty by forming a sort of club to collect the price of the paper, and every evening after school hours, we met at a lonely spot on the outskirts of the town where one of us would read the paper, the others listening with ecstasy and admiration. Most of it went above our heads. But the sound of it was enchanting, and it gave us the thrill of momentous participation in the nation's affairs. Thus we received our first sacred baptism into the theory and practice of Swadeshi.

Teachers of those days were undoubtedly poorer than now. But they conducted themselves with great dignity and were socially very influential. Students looked up to them reverentially. As for the headmaster, he was regarded with great awe and we had a notion that he was the most powerful being on earth. The wide gulf between master and student was narrowed down considerably when the moffussil school was exchanged for the university in the metropolis. The Presidency College took one's breath away when its portals were crossed for the first time. The sartorial equipment of the student

there often equalled and sometimes even exceeded in style and impressiveness that of the lecturers and professors themselves, so that the rustic novice from a different setting gaped in wonder unable to distinguish between teacher and taught.

In the college staff then Europeans predominated. They held a superior position in status, emoluments and amenities. Even stripplings from British universities were drafted straightaway to the higher posts in the educational service, whereas the most competent of the Indian staff, after long periods of even the most distinguished work, were rarely allowed to reach the European level of privilege. Our present Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, could not rise above the assistant professor grade while he stayed in the Presidency College. It must be said however to the credit of the old times that youth never proved to be a disqualification in the case of the imported staff and they all turned out to be men of exemplary scholarship and suitability for their respective posts.

Madras city has made enormous strides in modernism but in its march towards progress it has lost a great deal of its old world picturesqueness. Forty odd years ago there were no automobiles. The horse carriage was aristocracy's vehicle. The fashionable among the rich rode in single horse buggies wielding the reins with consummate expertness and skill. The ostentatiously wealthy who wanted to cut a figure before their fellows specialised in resplendent equipages drawn by sleek thoroughbreds. In the evenings the Marina presented a delightful spectacle, what with the vast variety of majestically moving phaetons, broughams, victorias and open carriages occupied by gorgeously attired men and women specially decked for show. Social vanity found expression in the colour and quality of horses and the splendour of the liveries and appearance of the grooms and riders. As the hoofs of the horses struck the hard pavement of the

road, sparks of light flew after twilight to the accompaniment of the noise of the hoofs with their regular *tut, tut*, that filled the landscape with an agreeable mridangam-like music. There was also a track at the edge of the road specially reserved to horse riding, and morning and evening practitioners in breeches bending forward on the horses' necks could be seen galloping along it breathlessly.

The even tenor of this peaceful life was rudely shaken in the second decade of the century by the advent of the Mahatma on the political scene. When he started his Non-co-operation movement he was almost alone in the belief that freedom could be won within a definable time limit. The weekly, *Young India*, was his medium of contact with the public. Neither before nor since was so much change ever wrought in the lives of people and even their ways of thinking as by this journal. Gandhi wielded it as an instrument of guidance and issued his commands to the nation through it. And because of the power of faith which he put into his words with the magic of a life lived in transparent sincerity, his words became irresistible to millions of people.

I was one of those millions pulled out of humdrum potboiling into risky ventures leading to prison and worse. At one time in the course of the Gandhi movement jail-going called for some measure of intrepidity. Life within jails was like a sealed book to the outsider. Any cruelty could be committed there. But as the number of the people whom the Mahatma inducted into the jails grew, their influence politicalised the warders and the police and these latter, instead of being the inflictors of penalties, slowly tended to be the care-takers of their prisoners. In consequence of this change, jail life lost its terrors and began to yield the inmates new compensations to make up for the irksomeness of the duress. The worst of imprisonment is endured by the poor who leave behind in their homes families without means, unprovided for, and for this anguish and anxiety no adequate recompense can ever be given to the sufferers.

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One incident with which I was personally connected may perhaps be mentioned here. It was in March 1932. I was then assistant editor of the English daily, *Swarajya*, of which Sri Prakasam was the founder and editor. The picketting programme in front of foreign cloth shops was then in full swing. I had at first declined to join it, not being of the picketting type, but every day as I went to office I saw young urchins being mercilessly beaten by the police and the beating went on even after the victims fell down helpless. Unable to bear the sight I fell into the obsession that it was one's duty to challenge the police in protest to put an end to the atrocity. And so one day I joined the picketters in China Bazar. At once a dozen or so of policemen surrounded and belaboured me with the leather-covered iron knobs of their canes. The back of my shirt was torn under the impact of their blows and the skin of the back was literally peeled off. It was like liquid fire being poured into the raw flesh, and every cell of sensitivity in the living, quivering, tortured body cried in unbearable pain urging me to flee and escape. It was only some crude pride at the core of conscience that gave me the will to stand and not run away.

A few seconds more of police persistence, I am certain my near-death condition would have ended in collapse and mortality. But I made a sensational discovery at that dire moment. It is this. However hard and brutal a person is, if he goes on beating you, and you do nothing retaliatory but just look calmly on, a time comes when he cannot proceed any further but has to desist. I was saved that day by this irrepressible instinct of humanity implanted in the most unfeeling of our kind. Some days later the leader of the police party begged me to forgive him, saying that he had felt all the time like one accursed and had not known a moment's peace.

This incident caused a great commotion at the time. Sri O. P. Ramaswami who was my companion in the picketting and received equally rough handling, and I were given royal treatment by the nurses and physicians of

the General Hospital. I was not always conscious then, but I was told that the members of the Lothian Commission then in the city visited us in the hospital and the indignant remonstrance they had cabled to London resulted in immediate orders stopping the police beating of little children in Madras streets.

Swarajya where I was working at the time of this incident was one of the most remarkable newspapers thrown up by the Non-cooperation movement. It was never a business success. But its achievements in the editorial field were of unprecedented significance. It was run less as a newspaper than as a political weapon in the fight for freedom. It became a place of pilgrimage for patriots, and there is scarcely a single leader of national prominence that failed to pay it an appreciative visit sometime or other while it lasted. There was no cleavage between proprietorial and employee elements in its working. The magnanimity of Sri Prakasam's non-interference with the freedom and autonomy of its staff was aptly illustrated in the public proclamation he made on one occasion that "he himself had been taken to task in the columns of *Swarajya* when he went wrong".

In the heyday of Non-cooperation there was no sentiment of discriminatory communal or sectional animus marring the tremendous effort put forth for the national cause. The national interest came before everything, and all other interests were subordinated to it. The Mahatma outlived the smaller dimensions of *bania* or *Gujerati* and was acclaimed a leader of the nation by every part and sect of the whole country to all of whom he was equally dear. The reversal of this process in the case of the indigenous inheritors of power after the British left, is the tragedy of our present condition.

Nowadays, with one or two exceptions, we have no national leaders, we have only communal leaders. In the hands of such of them as have become rulers, national power and resources are being applied communally. Even education has become the play-

thing of communalism. The insurgence of communalism in a country of multifarious divisive denominations would mean (as indeed it has) the consolidation of voting strength for exacting communal benefits, necessarily consigning the smaller minorities deficient in voting power to perdition. Thus we have not got now one common universal citizenship. We have a variety of separate citizenships, each differing in grade in relation to others in accordance with the voting strength at its disposal. Because of this, the integrating power of merit as a factor making for national unity has been lost. It has become more important to suppress merit when it is found outside the favoured or powerful communities. Result: Despair and frustration on the part of the victims, and wasteful inefficiency and, to cover it, indulgence in hate campaigns on the part of the acquirers.

The old camaraderie for building up a great nation, of the Gandhian days, is gone.—A.I.R. broadcast, Madras Station.

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EASTERN AND WESTERN PSYCHE

By JOOST A. M. MEERLOO, M.D.

(Continued from last week's issue)

THE fallacy of describing psychological differences between East and West is that we tend to interpret them as contrasts rather than a more or less pronounced dominance of certain human qualities and patterns that never were completely alien to our own culture and our own inner make-up. Even our concept of "the oriental psyche" is a fallacy because there are as many variations between Chinese and Japanese or Javanese and Hindu habits as there are among individuals and groups in our Western culture. Some deep-seated psychological differences can be tentatively distinguished. Eastern man stays closer and with greater intimacy to his family group and his community. His need for discretion and reservedness, for self-distinction and privacy, for feeling his own separate inner authority is not developed in the same way as it is in the Western soul.

The oriental need for being alone is much more part of a religious ritual, in the service of concentration and meditation. Yet, even in his lonely ritualistic retreat oriental man remains part of the group.

Ruth Benedict calls more intensive group participation the core of the oriental psyche. She makes the appropriate distinction between Eastern *shame* cultures and Western *guilt* cultures. Shame or losing face is man's reaction to criticism of (and minimization among) one's own family and peers. The individual in the shame culture is and remains much more than the Westerner a participating member of his original social group. His group prescribes how he must restrain himself and what character quality he is to suppress in order to be more acceptable to the other members. He can be rejected by his group, or ridiculed, or he may even fancy that he made himself ridiculous. The point is that he virtually never steps out of the compact group relation, the family, the clan, the nation.

The more Western concept of

personal guilt and responsibility makes the individual assume a greater distance and isolation from his group. The individual's principal conflict is not with the group but with his inner self. Nobody else needs to know about this inner struggle. Man and his judging self, his conscience, are in conflict. In contrast to the individual in Eastern society, our Western society burdens the individual not only with restraint from unsocial behaviour but also with a deeper repression of his unsocial drives—as if they do no longer exist. Western man has to ban his hatred and destructiveness out of consciousness, in order not to be plagued by feelings of guilt and loss of self-respect.

Lately, however, we discover in our Western world various transitions between this group-related and ego-related contrast. The so-called "organization man"—the product of our technological institutionalism behaves himself much more according to the Eastern participation pattern. His life belongs to the corporation and the institution, as if directed by mechanical evaluations.

The anthropologist Dr. Francis Hsu expresses this psychic difference through his distinction between the Eastern *Suppression* culture and the Western *Repression* culture in which repression represents a deeper frustration. In his study on the interpretation of four cultures he gives as example different attitudes toward sex. Oriental culture uses the pattern of social restraint. The suppression of sexual and aggressive drives is predominantly under control of the group, in order to fit the individual into his culture. There is less sexual taboo and embarrassment. The West emphasizes the individual inner battle and the deeper repression of instinctual drives controlled by an often overburdened individual conscience. That is why the idealized play of romance and love acquires such an important role in Western artistic creation. Con-

tinual idealization and sublimation have to placate the burden of sexual repression.

We may say that occidental development, more than its oriental counterpart, went in the direction of individual isolation and distinction. Western man became the introspective, soul-searching being, isolated even from his own family, confronting reality with a critical, hyperintellectual view, and morally responsible to an inner Deity, his Conscience. For this social and moral isolation of the individual, the occidental world has had to pay heavily with neurotic development.

This inner psychic tension, provoked by the greater repression and frustration enforced by Western society, resulted in greater hostility toward strangers and foreigners, though incidentally, anti-colonialism and anti-tyranny may arouse the same aggressive passions in the orient. Strangers and outsiders represent for oriental and occidental man alike all that has to be inwardly conquered, repressed and expelled from their own psyche. Racial segregation symbolizes the outwardly directed hatred toward what we hate in our own souls. Oriental civilizations have been more receptive and hospitable toward other cultures and races. China is the classical example. It lost its wars but won the occupiers: the victorious invaders from Mongolia and Manchuria became Chinese. Hindu religion looks at all religions with universal tolerance. It accepted very early the modern physical principle that different theories can be true at the same time.

VI

The oriental idea of man, as we find it in Japan and Buddhistic countries, is in the first place that of unity and oneness, of being one with the family, one with the fatherland, one with the cosmos, one with nirvana. Subjective man merges and identifies with the cosmos in intuitive images. The oriental psyche looks for a direct aesthetic contact with reality with an undefinable empathy and intuition. Individual man is a small part of an aesthetic cosmic mosaic. Eternal truth is behind reality,

behind the deceptive veil of Maya. Man is part of the universe, serving the ideal of passive resignation and non-irritability. His peace of mind is found in rest and relaxation, in common meditation, in being without manual and mental travail. His happiness is born out of the ecstasy of feeling united with the universal cosmos. Asceticism, self-redemption and poverty are still ideals in oriental culture.

The Western ideal of man is much more individualistic and distinctive. Occidental man is the rebellious Lucifer confronting the universe with his own individual self. He builds up subtle ego defenses behind his mask of imperturbability and manipulates reality aggressively with logical deductions and abstractions. In his analytic approach he seeks to reduce the cosmos to simple causal laws. He sees unity in the unity of concepts. He wants to become independent of his teachers, eagerly trying to bypass them. Eastern man wants to remain with his teacher, his "guru".

Occidental man fears the mystic and the irrational, his is an analytic mind. He looks for luxury, fun and enjoyment without expecting happiness. Only the devoted and dedicated artist among Western men reaches the ecstasy of creation. But man's technical perfectionism may degenerate into a megalomaniacal delusion driven to the point of atomic destruction. A Westerner's peace of mind consists of maintaining the harmony of a tense equilibrium. The Eastern psyche may be looked at as an expression of cosmic powers in the microcosmos, while Western psyche is interpreted as the summation of attitudes in the individual leading to cognition and understanding.

The common need of man to belong somewhere, to have contact, to participate with others and to form a living community is solved in a more direct way by orientals than by us. While they fit themselves easily into the environment, the family, the caste, the class, the nation, we Westerners do this through the medium of a fetish: a membership card, a diploma, a church label, a marriage license. Our integration into groups is often expressed more by the official

labels and sectarian names we wear than by feelings of belonging. Even when we are sitting together, watching the television screen, we Westerners are isolated, lonely individuals, soothed temporarily by a sensational and aesthetic program for which we have given up communion and conversation with our children and our friends. Not enough group life is left to ease inner tensions.

Oriental man maintains less distance from the group he is born into. His need for discretion and reserve, for self-distinction and privacy and for having his own inner security is not so extremely developed as that of the Western soul. His need for being alone is much more a part of a religious ritual, to safeguard concentration of thought and for meditation; yet he remains a participant of his group.

VII

Whether East can meet West is not the real problem any more; but can man meet man? Can left

meet right? Can poor meet rich? Can the gay meet the sad? A question arises as to whether those who live withdrawn can meet those who live with their hearts on their sleeves. Basically the same mental and spiritual drives live in everyone but in each individual the patterns and mosaics are different, and there are different cultural histories, traditions, and ideals to identify with. What keeps people apart is not what the other man essentially is, but the traditional stereotyped picture each man projects onto his fellow man. Our upbringing and the impact of our cultural traditions and suggestions encompassing us are so powerful that it is nearly impossible to have an unprejudiced look at our fellow men. Because of different emotional aims (conscious and unconscious) the groups and cultures create obstacles in the path of mutual understanding.

The problem of improved relations between different cultures is

"I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress"

MAHATMA GANDHI

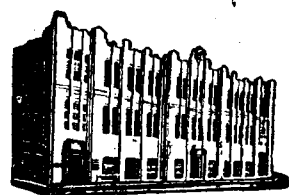
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in the first place one of understanding and comprehension. This is not a matter of keeping on trying in an impractical, idealistic way to teach each other, but of asking ourselves repeatedly, "What keeps other people and us so stubbornly prejudiced against mutual understanding?"

It will take considerable time, and a great deal of education and exchange of thought to correct the various internal stereotyped pictures we have of the Chinese, the Russian, the Communist, the Nazi, the Parisian, the Arab, the Jew, the Mexican, the Japanese, and so on. There remains for each of us the urgent and crucial question: How can we possibly change these prejudiced impressions and pictures we have of one another? Mere diplomatic and official exchange of books cannot help in this problem, and the cold war with its hostile propaganda barrage only succeeds in fortifying mutual prejudices. Cultural and educational exchanges are better means to help us learn to understand what is hidden behind the racial and national masks we all put on in human contact. However, reluctantly, I have to agree that such exchange can also serve as chauvinistic propaganda. Better means than these must be found to overcome the mental barriers of geographical and racial prejudices. The crux of the question is how to familiarize the great masses of people throughout the world with the general and universal man in us, the human man we all have in common. How can we give people a new and vibrant feeling of identification with the common citizen of the world called: homo sapiens.

In the new mondial education the United Nations and its special cultural subdivision, UNESCO, will have their most grandiose task. As a matter of fact, they are already working at this task, though at present on a rather small scale. In the future the United Nations will have to do much more than now to reach the various isolated countries and bring them the images of other men, other cultures, other voices of humanity. A more ideal U.N. will not only

be a central organ of diplomatic and scientific and cultural exchange, but has to reach out and build its own cultural exchange in the different countries. A new image has to be built up: man as the universal citizen of the world. He will be shown in his manifold cultural aspects, not only in all his differences but also in all his similarities. I am sure that future psychology will not speak of essential differences between Eastern and Western psyche, but about their different developments and what mankind as a whole can learn from these. Westerners with their accumulated intra-psychic tensions in their pattern of individual isolation could learn so much from the more accepting equanimity of the Eastern psyche. The more resigned and self-denying Easterner with his pattern of greater participation could take over part of the proud independence of Western individuality. Both the orient and the occident will be enriched by greater mutual identification. Then we may repeat with confidence the less well known lines of Kipling's poem:

"But there is neither East nor West,
Border, nor Breed nor birth
When two strong men stand
face to face,
though they come from the
ends of the earth!"

Nature of the Cold War

The nature of the cold war can be understood from the following extract from an article in the *New Leader* of New York written in strong objection to any talk of co-existence:

"The United States and Britain and France, from the point of view of foreign policy, are still playing an antiquated game of power politics in the H-bomb era. They refuse to see in the struggle with Moscow what this really is—an absolute war that can only end with the ousting of the Communist party from power in Russia."

March 2, 1957

SWARAJYA

ABUSE OF POWER BY CONGRESS

SOCIALIST LEADER'S INDICTMENT

Sri K. R. Karant, Chairman, Mysore State Praja Socialist Party, writes:

Without the least regard to the financial capacity of the nation or even the spending capacity of its administrative personnel the First Five-Year Plan is by and large a waste. I do admit that some good irrigation works and heavy industries have been founded. Much of the money could and should have been spent through the panchayats and local boards. For miles and miles in the countryside there are no roads, hospitals or schools. The panchayats and local boards are meant for establishing and maintaining them. But they are starved for want of funds. Their roads are unmetalled for years. There is no money to pay the teachers. But new roads are being made and new schools started by the Community Project department. Village guides and social welfare workers are appointed. Why? Because Congress legislators and Congressmen mostly man the committees of this department. They can spend money as they like. There is no proper check or audit. By this the Congress party is being subsidised and strengthened at the cost of the State. No other civilized country in the world would allow such misuse and waste of public funds.

The Second Five-Year Plan is a greater waste still. Double the former amount is to be spent. Of this colossal sum only Rs. 350 crores are covered by existing rates of taxation and Rs. 150 crores from railway contribution. Rs. 450 crores are to be got by additional taxes, Rs. 1200 crores are to be borrowed from the public in the country, Rs. 250 crores to be taken from the provident fund and other deposits, Rs. 800 crores from loans from foreign countries and Rs. 1200 crores by deficit financing and with all this a gap of Rs. 400 crores is yet unfilled! Do you know the result of deficit financing on such a colossal scale? Prices of rice, foodstuffs, of every article necessary for life are rising month

by month. The Central Ministers go about the country denying this obvious truth. That means increasing misery and starvation for the poor and middle classes, but our Congress rulers care little, whilst shedding profuse crocodile tears.

The crowded houses of our villages are a shame to any civilised country. In towns 2, 3 and even 4 families occupy a house. In England even the Tory Government is building at the rate of 4 lakhs of houses per year for the poor and middle classes. The Government in our country need not build houses. They can acquire vacant sites which are in plenty but are locked up in the hands of a few and distribute these sites to the people in plots of 5 cents or 10 cents throughout the country.

In our country there are thousands of doctors who live in towns because the interior villages do not offer sufficient income for them. Why cannot the Government nationalise the doctors, pay them a good salary and see that every nook and corner of the country gets free medical service?

A proper solution of the land problem is the greatest need of the nation. Congress has preached this for over 2 decades. But all the time the legislation is halting, half-hearted and muddled, because the rich landlords are themselves mostly the Congress legislators who refuse to pass proper legislation. Evictions of tenants are still going on.

Public servants including those in nationalised industries in several parts of the country are getting, even now, 20, 25 or 30 rupees per mensem whilst the top men get anything like Rs. 3,000 and more. Whilst professing Socialism by the lips, the Congress party is hand in glove with the big capitalists. The Congress Government got the Companies Act amended recently to enable the companies to give monies to political parties and avoid payment of income tax on such payments. Congress Ministers holding and exercising State power are today going round and reaping these harvests from the merchants and capitalists. Crores of rupees have been collected to fight this very election. He who pays the piper calls the tune. How can the Congress with such unclean hands bring Socialism into this country?

Having got into power Congressmen are abusing the trust placed in them. They are exploiting the vast funds and resources of this country even as men of the East India Company did of old. They are incessantly fighting amongst themselves for power and profit. The structure is visibly cracking. Not even the great Nehru can save it for all time.

The magnetic needle always points to the north, whatever the direction of the ship's sailing; hence it is that the ship does not lose her course. If the mind of man be always turned towards God, he will steer clear of every danger.

—SRI RAMAKRISHNA

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SUGAR INDUSTRY IN SOUTH INDIA

By R. RAMACHANDER

INDIA is the birth place for sugarcane. In 800 B.C., it was introduced into China from India. In 300 B.C., Alexander introduced it to the Western hemisphere.

Between the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the process of sugar manufacture was widely prevalent in our country. Juice extracted by crushing cane under heavy weights was boiled and stirred till solids were formed. As these solids looked like gravel, it was called Sharkara, a Sanskrit term for gravel.

Sugar is a carbohydrate containing carbon, hydrogen and oxygen. It is both a sweetener and an energy-giving food. A teaspoonful gives 18 calories of energy. Eaten between meals it controls false hunger.

With the increase in our coffee and tea drinking habits, its consumption is increasing in our country. The target for the Second Plan period is 22.5 lakhs of tons of sugar.

Though sugar is an important article of food there are many other uses for this almost pure chemical product. Synthetic sugar fatty acid esters produce superior grade drying oils for use in the paint industry. These esters in a standard item of diet help those suffering from failure to digest fats properly.

With the formation of the new States in November, the sugar map will change. There were in the five southern States of Andhra, Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras and Travancore-Cochin 22 sugar factories with a total installed capacity of 15,000 tons of cane per day. When the States were reorganised, the number of units in the four States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and Kerala continued to be the same. Though sugarcane is a tropical plant and is a heavy yielder in the tropical southern States, the industry is most concentrated in the temperate regions of the country, namely U.P. and Bihar, where they sprang up as an aftermath

of the protection granted to the industry in the thirties. Recently the Government granted permission for starting fourteen new ventures in these States. The Government has also permitted some of the existing factories to expand their present capacities. When the new ones and the expanded units start working, the total capacity will be 27,500 tons of cane per day.

On the basis of the average all-India recovery of 9.9 tons of sugar for every 100 tons, of cane crushed, we can manufacture in a 160 day period 443,000 tons of sugar in the four southern States.

The per capita consumption of sugar on an all-India basis is 26.5 lbs., which is very low compared to the consumption of 143 lbs. in Australia, 112 lbs. in Canada, 92 lbs. in U.K. and 30 lbs. in Egypt. But even on this low rate, the four States require for the total population about 10 lakhs of tons of sugar. As such we fall very much short of this energy-giving food. As already pointed out South India is well suited for cane growth, and attempts should be made to expand the industry in these States and every facility should be given by the State Governments concerned for the expansion of the industry. Besides the valuable sugar, the by-products of the industry also benefit us much. The disposal of molasses, now wasted,

has become an acute problem, especially after the introduction of Prohibition. Food yeast could be manufactured from molasses.

Yeast is a rich source of proteins and vitamins of the B group. It is well known that the diet of the South Indian, with rice predominating, is deficient in proteins. Yeast incorporated in our food supplies the much needed protein. As much as 40 per cent dry yeast is protein. Being a product of a by-product, it could be sold cheap and brought within the reach of all.

By fermenting the molasses, we can obtain alcohol and carbon dioxide. Though there is not a good demand for alcohol as industrial alcohol and there is prohibition of potable alcohol, yet the valuable carbon-dioxide alone will pay. The carbon-dioxide gas obtained during fermentation is almost pure and requires only the removal of odours. Filled in cylinders in the liquid form it is the soda water gas.

Carbon-dioxide is solidified, when it is called dry ice. It is used in the refrigerating industry. In our country we produce about 10 million tons of fruits and vegetables per annum. Due to inadequate cold storage facilities it is estimated that nearly 20% of this is spoilt. Practically no cold storage facilities are available in the States of Andhra, Mysore, Madras or Kerala. It is proved that dry ice resulting from carbon-dioxide solidification is superior to water ice for refrigeration purposes. Hence if this sugar industry by-product is utilised, we will be able to conserve a lot of food supplies. Meat and fish also could be preserved.

Even from the molasses resulting from the present output of sugar we can turn out about 15,000 tons of food yeast with a protein value of about 5,000 tons using only half the molasses, and about 1,250 tons of dry ice using the remaining half of the molasses.

There is thus ample scope for expanding our sugar industry in the south.

March 2, 1957

SWARAJYA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ROT IN THE CONGRESS

Sir,—It is indeed very significant that Rajaji has made a direct appeal to the voters that the personal character of the candidate, and not the party label, ought to be the sole criterion in the forthcoming general elections. This sets at naught the oft-repeated Congress slogan, "Vote for the party, not for the man".

Rajaji has echoed the feelings of the Madras public that the Congress nominees chosen to contest the general elections do not come up to the standards supposed to be set by the organization.

But why has the Congress sunk so low as not to recognise the merit of the candidates? On what grounds can it justify the selections?

Part at least of the answer seems to lie in the organisational structure of the Congress party. Though it claims to be the largest party in the country, it has never been a strong one in the sense of having penetrated deep into the masses at district level. It is true that district Congress committees and even town committees have been in existence for a long time. But such committees have been, and continue to be, more nominal than real. Whatever 'strength' the Congress has acquired is due to the dominating influence of certain top-ranking leaders at the provincial and national levels.

In the pre-Independence days the Congress in the South flourished under the able leadership of stalwarts like Prakasam, Satyamurthi and Rajaji. The leadership has now passed into the hands of those who can in no way be considered worthy successors to the Titans mentioned above. The progressive deterioration in the Congress ranks is directly traceable to the low quality of the present leadership in Madras. Small wonder that communalism is ruling the roost.

The same state of affairs exists even at the Centre. Here Pandit Nehru is the central figure and a small band of his senior colleagues like Pandit Pant, Maulana Azad,

and Morarji Desai are keeping the Congress flag aloft. But even here all cannot be said to be well.

Thus while there may not be any poverty of leadership as such, the Congress is bound to lose its artificial unity, once the few men at the top are no longer with us, or their leadership is denied to the country. We must not forget that these select few are already on the wrong side of seventy and it would be mere wishful thinking to expect them to continue to serve us for long.

It is therefore the need of the hour to set the Congress house in order in the interest of the organization itself. But this need does not seem to have been recognized by the top-ranking leaders. This is evident from the way in which the selection of candidates for the present general elections has been handled. In Madras the task ought to have been assigned to a disinterested person like Rajaji, who has nothing but the national interest at heart. Similarly other senior Congressmen must have taken up the duty in other States as well.

It is of course too late to undo the wrong. The repercussions may be, as far as at least Madras is concerned, in the shape of a few Congress reverses in the elections. In so far as that does not affect the Congress majority in the legislature, they will continue to boast

that people have voted Congress back to power.

But the fundamental problem remains unsolved—and that is the tottering nature of the Congress, especially at the State level, and what is more important, at the district level. It would never be too late if at least, after the general elections the Congress turns



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70 MAR 1951

TWO ANNAS

LOADED DICE

The dice is loaded heavily in favour of the Congress in the present elections. The entire administrative machinery of the Government is at the disposal of the ruling party in its electioneering. This of course need not necessarily mean that the machinery is misused, as the example of Andhra has demonstrated. In Andhra Pradesh, on the eve of the election propaganda, the Cabinet met and arrived at some wholesome decisions. They resolved not to take advantage of their official position to advance their election fortunes. The Ministers, it was agreed, should not collect donations for party funds, they should not tour at State expense while the elections lasted, they should not even have official papers sent to them at public expense, and they should defer decisions of a sensational kind likely to produce immediate results in the matter of influencing votes. In other words, by voluntary choice they virtually demitted office to the extent possible without alterations in the Constitution, so that the charge of abusing for party purposes their hold on the administrative machinery may not be brought against them by any of their election adversaries.

All honour is due to the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi, for taking the lead and initiative to introduce this healthy innovation. But there is also another side to the picture. It might well be that the pleasing rectitude of the Andhra Congress leadership in organising their election campaign is itself a reflection

of their comfortable feeling of confidence as to their standing with the electorate. By contrast, we find that the tendency on the part of the Ministers to deviate from high standards is most pronounced in areas where the Congress leaders are most apprehensive as to the attitude of the voters towards them.

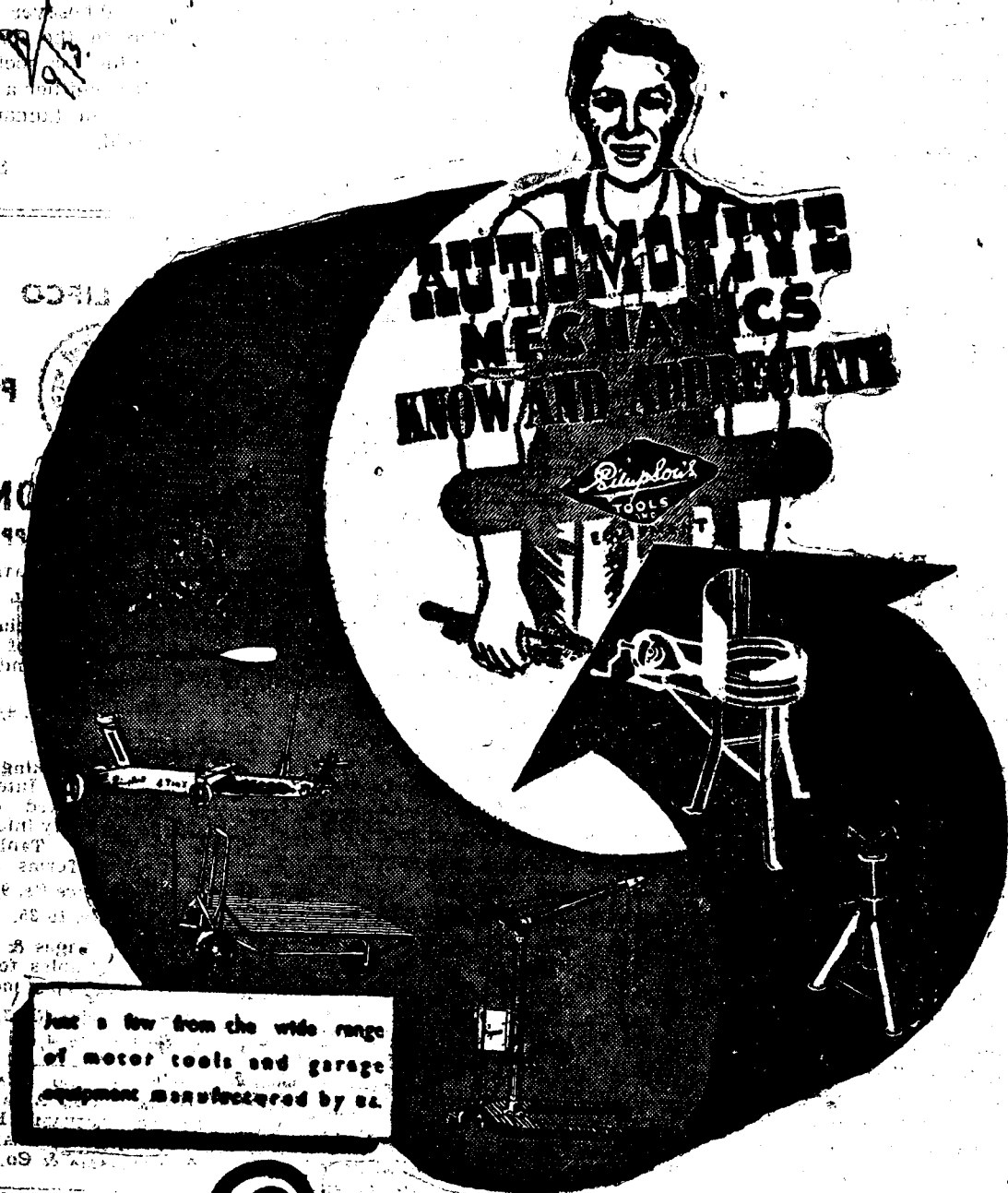
Ordinarily, the expensiveness of an election is a fair test of the degree of public morality reflected in it. A candidate who has served his constituents well or whose reputation stands high in their esteem should not require much money to prosecute his suit with the electors. Huge election expenditure is an indication that votes are being paid for and bought. This purchase of votes affects even the honest candidates as the corruption of the atmosphere affected by it minimises the chances for fair estimates being formed on the basis of character and meritorious service.

In regions where the Congress leaders are not sure of victorious results in the elections, we find them employing their official power desperately to improve their chances. Reference has been made already in these columns to the collection of money by Ministers from industrialists to meet the election expenses of the Congress party. Though this is a very reprehensible practice, it pales into utter insignificance by the side of the histrionic announcements now becoming common of vast benefits for selected sections of voters believed to be endowed with pulling power. Not a day passes now

without expenditure amounting to crores being proclaimed for the benefit of this or that area or community. It only means that money in the public exchequer is being relentlessly exploited to repair the election fortunes of individuals or groups in high power when they are suspected of having reached a precarious stage.

No opposition party has any chance of springing into being while Ministers in office have no compunction to expend crores out of the resources of the State in dramatic expenditures calculated to buy quick popularity and votes. If there is to be a fair deal for all parties enabling them to approach the voters on an even, equitable level, it is absolutely necessary that Ministers and their fellow-candidates of the Congress fold should not have it in their power to employ the resources of the public exchequer to make sensational benefactions on election-eve to load the dice in their own favour at the poll.

The over-effusiveness of Congress ministerial protestations of sympathy for the poor and the hard-up does not sound genuine. Its extravagance and expensiveness now are in glaring contrast with the reticence and illiberality of other days. Outbursts of generosity on behalf of the poor, and sudden grants of over-delayed dearness allowances, when they are indistinguishable in character from a bribe to buy votes, are illusory in their nature, and reveal more of concern for oneself than sympathy for others. They only emphasize the need to whi



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Rajaji has drawn pointed attention, for the ruling party to demit office at election time so that all parties may have equitable chance for winning the support of the electorate.

Glass Houses

Talking loudly in public places is a deplorable defect with many of us. And when the major topic is 'Elections', as at present, it is either boring or annoying.

Yesterday, two passengers seated behind me in a bus were tearing a well-known candidate to pieces. When the words 'down-right humbug... dishonest rascal... characterless coward' were used, I felt hot all over. Usually, I am slow to act on my decisions, and I dislike scenes. But, strangely enough, I acted very quickly this time. I turned round and asked the opinion-vendor if he would kindly give me his name and address and also agree to substantiate his accusations. He turned pale and stammered, "What do you mean?" to gain time.

I coolly told him, "You know very well what I mean. And as I happen to be a nephew of Mr.—, whose unpardonable defects you were enumerating just now, naturally, I am interested. If you would co-operate with me and furnish the proofs, I shall try to make him mend his ways, in the interests of the country."

He was silent for a few seconds, and then asked his neighbour, giving him a warning pinch the while, "Did we talk about Mr.—? In fact, were we talking about anything in particular? The fact is I know next to nothing about Mr.— or any of these candidates."

A gentleman in a seat further behind asked in amazement, "Really, Sir, do you mean to say that you did not cast aspersions on Mr.—?"

The critic turned on him and cried, "It is very bad manners to cut in when two gentlemen are in conversation, especially when it is of a ticklish nature. Apart from that, there appears to be wholesale illusion in the air. I do not choose to say anything more."

He became silent. I hope that

WHAT NEXT ON KASHMIR?

RAJAJI INTERVIEWED

RAJAJI was kind enough, before he left Madras for Delhi to attend his grand daughter's wedding, to respond to my request that he clarify the attitude to the Commonwealth that India should take in view of Britain's action in the Security Council on the Kashmir issue.

I asked him: Your advice, at the time of the attack on Suez by British forces, that India should part from the Commonwealth, was not acceptable to Pandit Nehru. Don't you think you should repeat your advice at the present juncture in view of the Kashmir issue and British conduct in that respect?

Rajaji replied: I would not repeat the advice. In fact, what would have been proper as a reaction to the armed attack on Egypt would not be proper in the context of the British attitude on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council.

Q: Can you please explain why?

A: In the first place an armed attack is different from a position

he and his kind would continue to observe silence in public at any rate when they are not prepared to stand by their word.

M.S.K.

Adult Franchise and Education

In many parts of the world there is a growing tendency to decry the idea of liberal education as Victorian; and the spectacular success of the materialistic philosophy in America (with emphasis on specialisation) is cited as a proof of the deficiency of liberal education. But liberal education with emphasis on humanities must be adopted in our educational set-up. Specialisation is necessary in the modern technological world but it must be preceded by a study of languages and of the classics of world literature. Great epics and classics are expressions of the greatest creative urge of certain

taken up in a debate in the Security Council or elsewhere. The independence that we claim as a member of the Commonwealth and the freedom we expect to policy must be conceded to Britain also. The fact that the British view on the Kashmir question is opposed to our own should not disturb our position in the Commonwealth. It is very different from an armed attack which we disapprove. Again, and what is more important than anything else, parting from the Commonwealth on account of aggression on Egypt would have had great moral potency. The same, if done on a more or less selfish issue, cannot command that moral force. In fact it would be deemed an act of temper and may even go unheeded, unless our parting results in very material loss to Britain, which may or may not be so. A moral issue is very different from an issue of mere expediency. One would be non-co-operation with evil. The other would be non-co-operation with one who refuses to help you. — K.S.R.

periods and civilizations. They belong to the human race and by their breadth of vision and depth of conception transcend narrow nationalistic limits. The spread of classical literature will lift up the thinking level of the entire nation. It might well stop that narrow linguistic chauvinism that seems to be spreading amongst our people. We may also hope that political and economic issues will not be treated as problems to be solved but at a more human level as issues affecting the life and happiness of every individual citizen.

Most of the great classics of the world have been translated into English and the spread of liberal ideas in India was facilitated by this in the past hundred years. With the advent of independence it is necessary that regional and national languages must be given their rightful places. The great-

(Continued on page 15)



Sotto Voce

Congress War - Whoop

There is a village near my own in the Tanjore District (where else could it be?) which was famous for breeding a peculiar race of humorists. They described themselves as 'sukha-vasis', that is, men who lived like the lilies of the field. They presented themselves at marriages without bothering about the formality of an invitation. Though totally ignorant of the Veda they demanded a bigger fee than the vaidiks. If the householder sought to get rid of them by paying them an anna or two they set up a loud wail, "Ayyo, we thought this was a marriage house". The trick worked, the women of the household seeing to it that the inauspicious ululation was stopped by a big *doceur*.

I am not for a moment suggesting that our hard-working N.G.O's have been trained in the Anaikuppam school. But the present Government of Madras is clearly amenable only to "that pre-Gandhian type of passive resistance. The threat to wear "distress badges" while the elections were on worked like magic. Additions to D.A. amounting to an extra four odd crores of rupees a year were announced. And the N.G.O's were implored to see in this gesture how much the Government had their welfare at heart. The unspoken appeal to refrain from being death's-head at the feast and frightening the voters away from the 'bullock-box' was enough to wring the hardest heart.

Madras's example was promptly followed by Kerala where the Congress's plight is far more desperate. That the new State has even less money in the till was not a consideration that could repress generosity which stemmed so obviously from the instinct of self-preservation. But Andhra

Pradesh, having made sure of a majority of the seats in the new Legislature, could afford to parade its righteousness. And Mr. Sanjivi Reddy could not resist delivering a cruel jab at his fellow-Congressmen elsewhere. He refused to go into the N.G.O. question till the elections were over and done with. Whatever others might do, he would not give an opportunity to his enemies to taunt him with bribing the N.G.O's in order to get votes.

There is, as the Congress bosses know very well, some risk involved in buying goodwill by calculated liberality at the public expense. For one potential friend thus secured they might be making a hundred enemies. And even the friend might on closer inspection turn out to be no friend. He might reasonably say, "If you think I really deserve redress why don't you do it handsomely instead of acting as if you were throwing a sop to Cerberus?" But these risks have to be taken at election time. And as with votes it is quantity that counts, you mustn't be extra-squeamish in serenading the mob.

So the D.K. flag of funerary black flaps over Congress platforms. Dancing bards, complete with castanet and cacophony, sing delirious praises of the Chief Minister (who beams affably) and hail him as the Moses destined to lead the hosts of Dravidia to the promised land. The patriarch of Erode rides in triumphal procession to bespeak support for the unspeakable Brahman because he is "Kamaraj's man". 'Periar' complacently claims that he made the Kamaraj regime possible by driving out his old friend C.R. with the threat of burning every agraharam and knifing every Brahman. When simple threats

can vanquish the poltroon, why make a needless bloody mess as the D.M.K. bunglers did in Pudu Agraharam?

The Chief Minister can enter *con amore* into the pleasant fiction that he is the sole refuge of the Brahman. But, so far as another despicable minority, the mirasidar, is concerned, more votes may be lost than gained by equivocating. So he has been painting lurid pictures of these rustic sybarites lolling at ease on their pials, as the gods of Greece did on banks of asphodel, imbibing endless cups of coffee what time the poor tenant—"our people" as Mr. Kamaraj described them with possessive affection—groaned under the heavy loads of paddy, emasculating tribute that the rentiers exacted. "Could not the exploiter be content with two cups of coffee less but must needs grudge the toiler the crumb of comfort the Fair Rent Act gives?"

The mirasidar is squarely placed on the mat as the snake that must be killed, not merely scotched. Thus is class war proclaimed as the official policy of a Government which still goes on making perfunctory genuflections before the Mahatma's shrine. Meanwhile, Mr. Kamaraj's great friend, the Brahman Finance Minister of the Union Government, has been exhorting that pitiful anachronism, the Brahman who still believes in Brahmanism, to shed that superstition if he wants to survive. And nobody can deny that the Raja Man Singhs have flourished in every age; are not the emancipated souls sans thread, sans 'achara', sans 'samskara', who bask in the sun of Congress Raj, triumphant proof that if only the Brahman will discard his absurd scruples he can live by his wits like a prince?

VIGNESWARA

To seek to further the welfare of the State by enriching it through fraud and falsehood is like storing water in an unburnt mud pot and hoping to preserve it.

— KURAL.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Some of the election speeches are so untenable in substance and argument that they repel even well-wishers and throw them into the lap of the other side. A much advertised Congress propagandist whom I went to listen to with great expectations, expatiated the other day on the duty of the public to support the Congress in preference to all other parties for the reason that it was the Congress that won the nation freedom. It did not occur to the speaker that her argument made nonsense of the whole Constitution and reduced the election system itself to a meaningless and unnecessary redundancy. It is a debatable question who won the country's freedom. The Father of the Nation was not so cocksure or dogmatic about it as Congress leaders now in office are. He was an unrivalled tactician in the great art of making even the humblest in the land participate in evolving the nation's destiny with tiny little contributions of effort that swelled into a gigantic volume. An all-inclusive identity of endeavour and achievement, excluding none from its scope, was the secret of Gandhi's marvellous capacity to generate mass power as a political dynamic. It is tragic that those who fill the Congress today should without shame make a self-appropriation to themselves of a national achievement which the Mahatma was ever careful not to attribute to any party in monopolistic style.

There is also the fact that the responsive attitude of Attlee's Labour Government in Britain contributed as much to the precipitation of Indian freedom as the unique Congress leadership of the time. If instead of Attlee, Churchill had ruled then, most probably we would still be continuing in subjection. If instead of the British, the Germans or the French had their empire in India, assuredly more of bloodshed would have preceded the realisation of our hopes of freedom. It is not contended that the British are more generous than their European con-

temporaries in empire-building. But they are more businesslike and practical-minded, more prudent and less ruthless, and they have prescience enough to estimate the course of history a little better and somewhat earlier than other Europeans. In some matters, such as the defence of their own native soil, they are unyielding, and no fear of defeat or even actual experience of defeat will make any impression on them. But in their dealings with others on alien territory, they are resilient and full of the spirit of compromise and endowed with a prophetic vision of disaster that will never permit them to push hostility to extremes. Tribute has to be paid to the unique qualities of the British among the world's imperialists as a contributory factor in the attainment of freedom by India at the time and in the manner in which it was attained.

In the light of the indisputable historical facts of Indian freedom, it behoves Congress leaders to eschew arrogant overtones in claiming popular suffrage for their party. On their own valuation of exclusive contribution to the country's political emancipation, do they want a grateful nation to set them up perpetually in power for all time? This fantastic claim would leave no scope at all for an election to be held except to register a return of the Congress to power. And of course it takes no note of the large body of the present favourites of the Congress figuring at the hustings as Congress candidates, who took no part as soldiers of freedom but were actually on the side of the enemy. If the plea of patriotism is to be applied, we arrive at the result that no recent patriot who worked against the cause of national freedom by allying himself with the British for safety, pleasure or profit should be supported now, even though he might have wangled office or election ticket under Congress auspices in the interregnum.

Socialism is another item in the

Congress propaganda that frequently recoils on the performer. I see no contradiction between the possession of wealth and sincere acceptance of Socialism as an economic panacea. Without some modicum of what in bulk is described as wealth, existence is impossible in modern conditions of life. It is not in kind but in degree that people are divided when they are spoken of as rich and poor. In one sense, the unsuccessful in their striving to become rich are the poor, and the poor who have realised their ambitions pass into the category of rich. To some extent, there is continual interchangeability between rich and poor. It certainly cannot be said that possession of wealth is wickedness, if only because there is universal aspiration for that sort of wickedness all over the globe. The right use of wealth for human welfare and advancement and even for the care of dumb animals is one of the greatest satisfactions of life, but it has yet to be shown that Governments are more capable of such right use than individuals. In fact some rich men of fortune have put their wealth to much better use even for public purposes than many Socialist planners under Government auspices have been able to do. This is a thought that should make Government exponents of Socialism restrained if not humble in their references to the rich as a class.

Yet such restraint is not always forthcoming. In the public utterances of the Finance Minister of India there is often in evidence an anxiety to class himself as one of the poor and a sense of antagonism to the rich as a community not worth much sympathy, fit only to be soaked with heavy taxation. Nothing has undermined the standing of Sri Krishnamachari as a Socialist so much as this Communist-like assumption of clash of interests between rich and poor. His affectation of belonging to the poor is refuted by his way of life which the most affluent in the land might envy. His doctrinaire economic tirades against the rich will only be set down as the endeavour of

(Continued on page 11)

STOP THIS NUCLEAR LUNACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"GIVE the benefit of the doubt to mankind and not to the destroyers" Professor Haddow has said in an address to members of Parliament. I am glad that this cancer research chief of Britain has urged in unequivocal terms what ought to be dinned into the ears of all the non-nuclear governments of the world. United and firm action has not yet been organised in spite of the urgent need for it and the nuclear-mad governments are going on in their lunatic career. The dangers of atomic fall-out have been deliberately under-estimated in many government publications. Some of them seek to confuse the understanding by pushing the danger to a distant future, as if that were an answer at all and as if present mankind were not interested in their children and grandchildren but were intensely interested in immediately opposing economic doctrine by physical force, not minding the dangerous consequences to future generations. All of us, says Professor Haddow, should address our protest to the Americans, the British and the Russians and it is not right that the Japanese should be left in isolation to appeal to the British to stop these dreadful operations. It is not the Japanese but the children of all the countries of the world that will suffer.

We cannot improve on the scientific precision and the force of the Professor's words: "The case for stopping atomic tests rests not on grounds of scientific certainty but on those of scientific doubt, on the unique responsibility of medicine, on grounds of moral certainty, and possibly on those of law". How can the three or four nuclear powers claim the right to poison the air and waters of the whole world in a process that science says is cumulatively deteriorating to generations of mankind all over the world? The ears of particular nations and their capacity to produce these nuclear weapons cannot give them the right to commit the most pernicious of all conceivable nuisances to their neighbours. The law of

nations must be invoked against this violence and a strong group should be formed of prosecuting peace-loving nations for this purpose. They cannot shirk their responsibility by waiting for the dawning of reason in the minds of the lunatics.

Here is the news item about Professor Haddow:

Professor Alexander Haddow, British cancer research chief and head of the London Chester Beatty Research Institute, addressing a meeting of Members of Parliament on 27th February, said that the American, British and Soviet Governments had all under-estimated the dangers of atomic fall-out. He said the atomic tests of the past few years might result in many thousands of cases of leukaemia—a kind of blood cancer—within the next 15 to 20 years.

Referring to the recent Japanese Government note to Britain about the forthcoming hydrogen bomb tests on Christmas Islands, Professor Haddow said it should not have been addressed by the Japanese to the British, "but by all of us to the Americans, the British and the Russians".

Professor Haddow said the case for an international ban on the tests was a humane one. He said: "No one who has seen a child stricken with leukaemia can be in doubt as to the humane answer."

He added that the case for stopping atomic tests rested not on grounds of scientific certainty, but "on those of scientific doubt, on the unique responsibility of medicine, on grounds of moral certainty, and possibly on those of law".

When will the Powers learn that peace is better than a standing army, that friendship is better

than security and that security based on cumulatively poisoning the world is as wicked as it is mad?

NEW BOOKS

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SECRECY OF BALLOT BOX IN U.K.

EVERY British subject, man or woman, of the age of 21 or over has the right to vote (unless he is a criminal, a lunatic or is debarred by being a hereditary Member of the House of Lords). He can exercise this right by having his name placed on the Electoral Register in the place where he normally lives.

This Register is prepared once a year, and it contains the names of all British subjects over 21 who live in each of the 630 areas or constituencies into which England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are divided. The constituencies have their boundaries drawn so as to give, as far as possible, an equal number of voters in each area. This varies roughly from 50,000 to 80,000 in some areas, but the great majority of constituencies have between 50,000 and 60,000 electors.

Up-to-date information for the Register is obtained by means of a house-to-house or other inquiry made by registration officers appointed for each constituency in England and Wales. From this information, lists are published showing the names of the people entitled to vote in the last Regis-

ter, the new residents who are now to be added to the Register, and the names of those no longer qualified to vote in that area. These lists are advertised and publicly displayed in the local council offices or the post office in each area, and the electors are asked to make certain that their names are included in it. Any person whose name is omitted has the right to have it included and any person has the right to object to any other name which he feels should not be included. After these claims and objections have been decided by the registration officer the final register is published and must be publicly available until it comes into force.

This Register is essential to prevent people voting twice, or voting where they have no right to vote. Before polling day each voter receives a postal card from the registration officer notifying him of his number on the Register and where he should cast his vote. The law does not require a man to vote on polling day, even if his name is on the Register — though the parties will do their best to get him to do so.

The ballot is secret and every

returning officer, presiding officer or clerk, together with every candidate, election agent and polling agent, is required to make a declaration that he will maintain the secrecy of voting.

The only persons whom the presiding officer may admit to the polling station are the polling clerks, the police constable(s) on duty, the candidates, the candidates' election agents, the candidates' polling agents, and such number of electors as the presiding officer may determine to admit at any one time. A blind voter may be assisted by a relative or friend.

The hours of poll are 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. The poll must not be closed before 9 p.m., for any temporary purpose such as adjournment for lunch. Just before the poll opens, the presiding officer shows the ballot boxes to those present at the polling station to prove that the boxes are empty. He then locks them up and seals them with his seal.

The voter on entering the polling station is directed to the presiding officer or poll clerk who asks the voter his or her name and ascertains if it is on the Register, calls out the voter's number, polling district letter and his name and description and marks them on the Register. The officer or clerk marks the voter's number on the counterfoil, stamps the ballot paper with an official mark so that it shows on both sides, detaches it and hands the ballot paper to the voter. Only ballot papers carrying the official mark are valid.

The voter then proceeds to one of the screened booths in the polling station and there with the pencil provided secretly marks his paper with an X opposite the name of the candidate of his choice, folds it to conceal his vote but shows the official mark on the back, and then in the presence of the presiding officer puts it folded into the ballot box. The candidates' names appear on the paper without party designation, arranged alphabetically in the order of their surnames. Any marking or writing on the ballot paper by which the voter can be identified will invalidate it.

Before the ballot boxes are removed from the polling station, they are sealed to prevent the introduction of additional ballot papers.

The votes must be counted as soon as practicable after the poll at a central place in each constituency, chosen by the returning officer. In addition to the returning officer and his staff, the following persons have the right to be present at the count: the candidate (and husband or wife), the candidate's election agent and counting agents.

After examination of the seals, the ballot boxes are opened and emptied, and the total number of papers in each box is counted. The papers are then mixed together and sorted according to the candidates for whom they are marked.

The counting agents usually work in pairs in the presence of the candidates' agents. Doubtful papers are put aside, and it is the duty of the returning officer to decide upon their validity.

After the result is known the ballot papers are sealed into packages, the counterfoils sealed into other packages, and both are stored away for a year. At the end of that time they are destroyed.

Britain has free, fair and secret elections not only because rules are laid down by law, but because the people, almost without exception, observe these rules. Only if they ceased to do that, or if their attitude was destroyed by some totalitarian method, would there be any anxiety about the fairness of a poll in the United Kingdom.

"Poor People Have As Little As Before"

"DURING the Revolution I was a republican, but now I see that we have gained nothing. Whether our rulers be kings or Ministers, we poor people have just as little as before. I thought when we were a republic, everyone would share and share alike." This was said by postman Roulin in "Lust for Life" by Irving Stone.

The man in the street, especially the village street, echoes sentiments similar to those of the French postman quoted above. Nearly ten years of Congress administration have brought no ray of hope into the miserable life of the farm-hand, and the casual labourer. Congressmen have been promising work and food for all in every election manifesto since Independence. And every time these have remained just promises. When deaths from starvation were reported in the papers, men in high places merely shrugged their shoulders and said, "We have always had such things. Nothing new!" Such callous remarks from the high and mighty are appalling.

Once again, the elections are before us. Congress, the biggest and richest political party, is out to get a new lease of life. Its manifesto contains pious platitudes, noble sentiments, and

attractive promises to the electors. The party list of candidates contains few names of able men whose sole object is service to the people. It contains many "yes men" who would be useful when the division bell rings in the Legislature.

Rebellion has broken out in the Tamil Nad Congress over the choice of candidates, resulting in the formation of the Congress Reforms Committee by Sri K. S. Venkatakrishna Reddiar and his followers. It was Mahatmaji who said that with the attainment of Independence the mission of the Congress was over and that it should be wound up as a party. But that was not done, for Congressmen had to reap the fruits of their sacrifices in the freedom struggle. It would have been a fair election fight for the other parties if the Congress had ceased to be a political party, if Congressmen had formed a new and purely political party, with a clear-cut platform, and entered the election fight. They could have increased their prestige if they had not sought the aid of the name of Mahatmaji's party and the Tri-colour.

Unable to define its objective clearly the Congress has been changing it from a Socialistic pat-

tern of society, enunciated at Avadi, to the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth, which makes no sense to the common man, who only wants work, food and shelter. The Congress, as Professor Karve said, has been fumbling for words in defining its objectives. The Congress record of administration since 1947 has not enabled the common man to feel the glow of freedom. The prices of the necessities of life have been mounting, thanks to the inflationary policies of the Government. He cannot be enthused over the Five-Year Plans, multi-purpose projects and Panch Shila, nor even over the increased prestige of India in international affairs! Five-Year Plan propaganda, which takes various forms, not excluding burra kathas, does not impress the villager. He treats it all as Congress tamasha. Elections and election campaigns only touch the fringe of his daily struggle for living. He does not, and has not been educated to take a lively interest in the working of parliamentary democracy.

No doubt, he vaguely knows what Gandhiji did for the country and respects his memory. So, he may swallow anything that wearers of Gandhi cap may tell him. When the elections are over and the tamasha has faded out, his grim struggle for bread persists despite the Second Plan's promise of millions of new jobs.

Thanks to the policies of the Congress Government, the common man has now to pay three, four, or even five times the pre-war prices for his food and clothing. Housing schemes are not big enough to reach out to the village. Unemployment during the greater part of the year is the villager's lot. One should only go out a few miles from the city to realise the extent of worklessness in the countryside. Unemployment relief is still a Utopian dream, and will remain so for decades to come. It is this villager's vote that the various political parties are out to get. How will he vote?

LAK.

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RAJAJI ON NEED FOR STRONG OPPOSITION

We give here a summary of Rajaji's speech on the need for a strong Opposition, at Lakshmi-puram, last Friday.

In the ultimate analysis, the choice before the people is whether they want totalitarianism or democracy. The real issue is not only that we should avoid violence and mob rule. We should not allow any one party to gain the power to perpetuate itself for all time.

Relative to total population of the country, the ruling party is not today big in membership strength. It is strong by reason of maintaining its power by organisational manipulation and by the absence of any other opposing or alternative party to take up its place and run the government. Internal differences within the Congress are suppressed in the name of party discipline, and no chance is given for external opposition. This leads to totalitarianism, a thing to be avoided.

If totalitarianism is to be avoided and democracy is to work efficiently, it is essential that the Congress, the ruling party, should not be in the position of being able to perpetuate itself as the ruling party. It should be threatened by an Opposition. There should be an Opposition not merely for the sake of debate but for taking over. The existence of an Opposition capable of threatening the ruling party and taking over the government from it by winning public confidence for its policies is an indispensable need of the mechanism of parliamentary democracy. Just like a brake without which no engine would be permitted to make a car go on the road. But this brake, the Opposition, with which the car of parliamentary democracy is fitted, has a peculiar characteristic. It becomes itself the engine at times, and the engine then becomes the brake and the roles of engine and brake are reversed.

This principle is accepted by Pandit Nehru and everybody else. The latest acceptance of this principle is from Sri T. T. Krishnamachari and Sri Kamaraj. But T. T. K. says, let it not come into operation for five years yet. And

Kamaraj says, not for 10 more years. That is, neither this election should be influenced that way, nor the next general election in 1962.

But a strong Opposition cannot spring into life all at once on some appointed date. It must begin in small dimensions and grow by reason of its quality and service. Steps should therefore be taken at once for the planting of the proper seed, the watering of the plant, the letting in of the sunshine it requires, etc., in order that the Opposition may grow into sturdy strength in time.

The Congress will no doubt win its over-all dominant place in

Quotations from the Speech

I said 'Vote for good men'. The advice was taken at once as if that test would hurt Congress success. Why? Are things so bad?

Because I plead for an Opposition, it should not be thought that I have changed my political opinions. If I want a brake for my car, does it mean that I want to sell my car?

India as a whole in the present elections. The Kashmir issue will certainly not be affected by Congress failures here and there. People should therefore not vote for an imaginary Kashmir issue in Sattur or Mylapore or Teynampet. They can certainly desist from voting for bad and worthless characters without damaging the Kashmir issue.

An alternative government in potential sitting on the opposite side is a requisite for the machinery of democracy, *whichever party be in power.*

But the case has been overstated by some of the leaders on either side.

"No opposition is at all wanted", say some Congress leaders,

"the Congress itself can develop free debate inside". But this is impossible. Discipline will militate against it, as also dependence on the leader's patronage for office, position and power. Similar is the Soviet doctrine of 'one party and free discussion in the party and total discipline on conclusion of the discussion'.

On the other side, opponents of the Congress say that the Congress leaders themselves must encourage the formation of an Opposition. This is wrong in one sense but right in another. The burden of building up an Opposition cannot be borne by the Congress or any of its leaders. It should be borne only by those who differ from the Congress. But good sense and patriotism should impel Congress leaders not to attempt to destroy such oppositions as threaten to grow. To absorb all Opposition elements and to bribe them into joining the Congress and thereafter to hope to impose discipline on them will hurt the Congress and prevent the growth of what is essential for democracy.

One can understand canvassing and receiving support when there is no stable government in power and no sound united Opposition to which to hand over power as happened in 1952 in Madras. But for the Congress to absorb elements opposed to it in fundamental matters and put them up as its candidates is what Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan objects to as wholly indefensible.

How can a proper Opposition be created and developed?

A mere hatred group or anti-national clique or those whose minds hark back to British rule cannot be an Opposition such as we want for the health of the body politic.

Mere auction-bidding on the part of groups cannot lead to such an Opposition. The bidding groups will not command people's confidence. They may be there to ginger up things, but they cannot ever threaten the ruling party with strength enough to depose it.

The important thing for would-be builders of an Opposition is not to succumb to the illusion of the power of the Congress. They should analyse the public discontent over the Congress record and build the Opposition on the basis of the points of discontent discovered in the analysis. There are plenty of points of discontent to work upon, such as:

(1) personal laws affecting Hindus, laws relating to succession, marriage, adoption;

(2) changes in inheritance law leading to over-fragmentation of land;

(3) intolerable growth of the burden of taxation;

(4) deficit-budgeting in all States and at the Centre also;

(5) foreign aid unlimited;

(6) cry for foreign exchange that cannot be satisfied;

(7) inflation;

(8) wasteful advertisements in advance of achievements to buy off the Press;

(9) deterioration of agriculture;

(10) no respect for contract or property;

(11) uneconomical administration and wasteful establishments;

(12) centralisation of power resulting in complete dependence of people; and

(13) need for concern over welfare of people as opposed to a particular pattern adopted by the Congress. (For example, the P. S. P. has adopted Socialism but wishes it to be flexible and Indian depending on the principle of trusteeship rather than expropriation, whereas Congress Socialism permits a private sector for all time, which has served to help collection of party funds through threats of merger of the private into the public sector.)

Even the Government party's own stability is helped by the existence of a good Opposition. Unity in the ranks can be maintained and petty jealousies avoided, if there is a party threatening to replace the ruling party. A little more tolerance is therefore called for towards Opposition even for Government's own stability.

When in 1952 we had a great and strong united front against the Ministry in Madras, there was unity in the Congress ranks. After the Andhras separated and the united front collapsed, the Congress party split on the basis of group jealousy.

If in Madras or any other State, the Congress goes wrong there should be an Opposition to teach a lesson. India will not be in danger by such a lesson being taught.

A large, stout Opposition will be a healthy Opposition. For to develop strength and size, it will have to develop broadmindedness, dropping sectarianism and caste hatreds.

We have seen the use of power and authority for collection of funds for party purposes in the elections and for nipping all Opposition in the bud. During election time, the Ministers should therefore demit office and let the Secretariat rule under the authority of the Governor or the President.

Tagore Academy

The Tagore Academy celebrated Vasanta Utsava, the spring festival of dance and music, at Vani Mahal on Sunday evening. Sri-mathi Prithi Devi organised an excellent cultural programme befitting the occasion.

Sri S. K. Ghose, Secretary, explained the activities of the Academy and said that they would be organising an All India Literary Seminar this year in May.

The chief guest at the function was Dr. S. M. Patel, Regional Manager, State Trading Corporation. Dr. Patel described the objectives of the Tagore Academy, associated as it was with the name of a great Indian, Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore, of whom not only India but the whole world is proud. He added that the programme reflected a cross section of the country's activities in the field of art and culture, and emphasised that in this great city of Madras art and culture are encouraged and appreciated as in Bengal.

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March 9, 1957

OVER A.I.R.

By M. KRISHNAN

I wish I had heard Sri Sami Venkatachalam Chetty's talk, from Madras on the last night of February, twenty-five years ago. That was when I was a newly-fledged Bachelor of Arts. There I was, a guaranteed graduate. The degree was in my trouser-pocket, to prove it: I had received it earlier that evening at the Convocation, and after returning the gown and cap to the tailor from whom I had hired them, was walking home along the Marina.

I was thinking, of all people, of Cardinal Newman. I had had to read Newman for the examination, and though I had disliked reading him most pointedly, I felt that having just acquired a very liberal education, I should try to resemble his portrait of a gentleman. That shouldn't be too hard, though; already I fancied I noticed a resemblance, slight but unmistakable, between me and the portrait! It was as I was thinking such smug, self-complacent thoughts that I met the old gentleman.

He was a horrible old man, lean, lantern-jawed and eagle-eyed, with no particle in him of the softness and benevolence that mere age brings to other men. However, I knew him slightly, as the uncle of a friend, and when he hailed me and halted me I had to halt. I had got rid of my academic robes and even my tie, but he knew my secret at once. He congratulated me in subacid tones, and after compelling me to sit beside him on the kerb opposite

Lloyd Road, subjected me to an interrogation.

Had I read Plato? No? Marcus Aurelius? Incredible! What, not even Emerson!

Fool that I was! I should have retaliated with large chunks of Newman; instead, I explained that what I had read, in a manner of speaking, was Botany.

That was a mistake. He questioned me at once on Carl Linnaeus, and had the satisfaction of discovering that I knew hardly anything about the personal life of the great systematist. Then he read me a severe lecture on the subject of "modern education", particularly its superficiality and limitations. In his days.....and I heard all about his days. The Old Matriculation was equal to the Modern B.A. and so on — and so on.

That sanctimonious old humbug! Had I but heard Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty's talk then, I would have known the truth about him! Mr. Venkatachalam Chetty told us, frankly, that while it was human and natural to decry the present and glorify the past, he had to admit that education in the early years of the century was less adequate and informed than now, and that most of the students of those days thought of the college course as something that could get them a safe, clerical post. Furthermore, there was hardly any women's education. The girls didn't go to school and college, he confessed sadly, as they

do now. Ah, but probably they knew how to cook, and cookery is a much more serious business than the B.A. degree — it is quite a fine art.

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetty spoke in the Madras A.I.R. series *Then and Now*. I congratulate the Madras Station on this interesting series — it is certainly a happy idea to get distinguished people who have lived through the first half of this century to compare those days with these. Earlier in the series, Mr. Khasa Subba Rau spoke, without any great enthusiasm for the present. One sentence in his talk interested me especially. He said "national power and resources are being applied communally", comparing Now to Then. They were applied communally Then, too, to help the community of the White Man to bear its Burden (which, according to Wells, was the loot of the earth). Moreover, I can assure Mr. Subba Rau that things are not as bad as he thinks they are, and that national power and resources are not being applied merely in a narrow, communal way. Only last week I came across an instance of their application in an international and individual manner, to help a distinguished foreign visitor to do something that was wrong beyond all argument! The people who aided and abetted him were men of different generations and belonged to different departmental and educational levels; some of them were the very people who should have stopped him. Instead, by an amazing combination of sophistry, slick casuistry, the complete closure of one eye by the application of external pressure, and the pre-occupation of the other eye with the main chance, they sought not only to insulate him but also to justify him! No details can be given, but they need not be, for similar happenings are by no means uncommon. I refer to this occurrence only to point out that it cannot be solidly true to say that those in authority Then had more integrity than at present, or even that they had less. Human nature is what it is — and was. It is as old and immutable as the hills, and at times it is not pretty.

March 9, 1957

I was much impressed by the Women's Programme in Tamil from Tiruchi, on Sivarathri day. There were two talks in the programme, the first on the origin of Madurai as per epical traditions, and the second on the Saivaite woman saint, Kaaraikkaal Ammai-ayar. I liked the easy, literary style of the first talk. I wished the lady who spoke on Kaaraikkaal Ammai-ayar had not deemed it necessary to sing the verses she quoted, but that is a petty point; those who tell mythological tales should have a feeling and gusto for mythology, and that she had undoubtedly. Listening to the tale, I could not help feeling a sneaking sympathy for the husband of the saint who, finding that his wife had supernatural powers and was able to procure mangoes, of unnatural sweetness from Siva direct, fled under cover of darkness to a distant city and there got himself a more human and fallible partner. That, of course, was not the point of the story, and in the end it did the man no good because Kaaraikkaal Ammai-ayar, being a true wife and a devotee, had no trouble in discovering his whereabouts, and in confronting him, his second wife, and his child by this second wife, with herself. But the flight of this man from marriage to a saint did make me realise once again how deeply imbued with a comprehension of human nature our mythological tales are. Even the gods display very human feelings and sentiments. Srimati A. Rukmini Ammal (who told us this story) informed us that when Siva and Parvathy saw the Ammai-ayar approaching them (to ask for salvation) they felt surprised, and no wonder, for the good lady had elected to approach them walking on her head!

I listened to a number of barren talks in the school programmes, without being able to find anything in them to commend or criticise. But one talk, Sri L. Shanmugam's talk on Coimbatore Cotton of February 27, was remarkable. An examinee studying Economic Botany for a university examination could have listened to this talk with profit. But, in spite of this load of facts, it was fluent, forceful and interesting —

because the talker was completely at home in Tamil and spoke the language with zest and ease. Such vigour and communication are rare in A.I.R. Tamil, which is usually either broadly colloquial, or else pseudo-pedantic, affecting a scholarship which comes not from comprehension of Tamil diction, but from an ignorance of common words! It was a real pleasure to hear that talk on cotton. I look forward to more such talks.

Sidelights

(Continued from page 4)

a man who has already made his pile to prove his Socialism with overt warfare on others of his kind for getting on from property to power. No useful purpose is served by these posturings on the part of favourites of fortune called to high destiny in our Socialist dispensation from the very bowels of the capitalist order.

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Cochin. E. V. HARIHARAN

FLEXIBILITY, FACADE TO FAILURE?

Sir,—Apropos your leading article on the range and scope of our Second Plan, the planners themselves are perhaps so apprehensive of its financial feasibility, that they thought it fit to sound a note of caution, devoting an entire section to "flexibility" in planning and the concept of "perspective" planning, with liberal carry-overs from period to period.

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While rigidity in planning is indeed bad, worse is uncertainty. A plan which has failed is the most tragic calamity that can happen to our nation, for it will undermine the morale of the people and thwart their faith in planning — a faith which is now only emerging, slowly but surely. Instead of sounding apologies in advance, as we now seem to do, is it not wiser to set for ourselves a task which we are certain we are equal to?

We hope that all this glib talk of "flexibility" will not serve as a facade to failure, five years hence,

W. S. KRISHNAN

GETTING VOTERS TO VOTE

Sir,—Sri M. Krishnan's casual remark in his "Photographer's Diary" that "he does not have a vote while the goat-herd has, deserves attention.

It is a distressing fact that the educated, who can exercise their franchise rightly on merits, are the least interested in having the voters' list verified, whereas the illiterate are looked after by some interested parties. It is also felt in some quarters, not without cause, that elections are meant more for the masses.

There seems to be only one way out of this. As Rajaji has rightly suggested sometime ago in SWARAJYA, the Government should send round mobile units in each constituency to collect ballot papers at each house. This would serve the two-fold purpose of minimising the expenditure and getting the maximum number of voters to exercise their franchise.

ANDAVALLI SATYANARAYANA
Vijayawada.

GOVERNMENT AND N.G.Os.

Sir,—Recently the Union Finance Minister stated in public meetings that the problem of the N.G.O's is a 'human' problem and it would be tackled after the elections are over and after receipt of proposals from all the States. But this long-standing common grievance of N.G.O's in all the States has now been dealt with quite partially, with only the Madras N.G.Os benefiting to the extent of Rs. 12. The N.G.Os of Madras could get this relief only

after threatening the Government that they would be wearing distress badges for the duration of the elections, if the Central Government failed to afford relief to them before the elections. Is it the policy of the Government to favour only those who threaten and come in their way, neglecting all who keep quiet?

What prompted Sri T. T. Krishnamachari to act with partiality in this matter, when all the other States' N.G.Os also were expecting the same sort of relief? Was it not because of his selfish concern to get on in the elections?

Eluru.

M. S. RAMJEE

NEW RAILWAY LINE FOR ANDHRA PRADESH

Sir,—It is reported that the Andhra Pradesh Government had suggested to the Centre to consider the possibilities of laying a railway line from Visakhapatnam to Bhadrachalam Road Station and also link, by another new line, Dornakal with Kurnool.

While the laying of a railway line between Visakhapatnam and Bhadrachalam Road Station would cover the entire agency area of Andhra Pradesh, it is suggested that a smaller line link, between Bhadrachalam Road Station and Kovvur (West Godavari district) would have the following advantages.

The problems (of railways) in Andhra Pradesh which require immediate attention are, relieving the pressure at Vijayawada station, facilitating the easy transport of an additional planned production of 1.5 million tons of coal from the Singareni area, to increase the line capacity to handle more goods and passenger traffic and facilitating quick transport of rice, etc., from the surplus districts of the State.

The line suggested above will considerably reduce the bottleneck at Vijayawada by diverting the goods as well as passenger traffic from Bombay and other stations beyond Kazipet on the Central Railway. It is understood that another pit has been recently opened for mining coal at Kothagudem. The line suggested will, apart from facilitating the easy

transport of the additional planned production of coal in the Singareni area, also be useful in transporting the additional production from this new pit. It is also reported that exportable grades of iron ore are found in the Khammam and Warangal districts. When developed, this will increase the pressure on the railways for quick transport. The demand from Japan for iron ore cannot be fully met only through the major ports. The new line suggested will facilitate the shipping of this ore from Kakinada also. This line will also facilitate and quicken the transport of rice and other commodities from places north of Vijayawada to Bombay and other North Indian places by avoiding the necessity to pass through the much overworked Vijayawada station. It is also reported in newspapers that the River Valley Project on Godavari at Ippur (Ramapadasagar) is under investigation and aerial survey. The line suggested above will meet the needs of the project if and when constructed.

The distance to be linked up is only 80 miles and it does not involve any engineering obstacles whereas in the case of the line suggested by the Government of Andhra Pradesh a bridge over the Godavari may have to be built.

Rajahmundry. V. SUBBARAO

KRISHNA MENON AND KASHMIR ISSUE

Sir,—Your editorial entitled 'Kashmir and the Security Council' strikes a discordant note against Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon. In the opinion of many competent political observers Mr. Menon's 'laborious performance' did contain enough points not only to off-set Mr. Feroz Khan Noon's distorting statements against our country but also to vindicate our legal and moral stand in the Kashmir episode. But unfortunately, the members of the Security Council were so engrossed in their pacts and alliances that in order to placate their faithful ally they hustled through their resolution, before Mr. Menon had delivered his full statement.

Small wonder therefore that Mr. Menon's eight and a half hours speech, which seems to have irritated you, fell on deaf ears in the Council.

The Security Council is not a place for justice or fairplay.

SWARAJYA has not done well in accusing Mr. Menon of 'bungling' the case. Far from bungling, he has strengthened it.

P. K. BALAKRISHNAN

Madras.

(ii)

Sir,—I too was one of those who were provoked by your comments on Sri Krishna Menon. Whatever arguments might have been advanced, the verdict would not have been different. India's case was bungled long ago by people less shrewd than Krishna Menon.

Madras T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Adult Franchise and Education

(Continued from page 2)

ness and wealth of these languages are unquestionable. But it is regrettable that true translations of the classics of world literature are not available in large numbers in Indian languages. It is high time that every effort is made to further enrich our languages with translations. With this end in view it is necessary that the Government, the universities and other public bodies encourage translations. Specific works of great authors must be mentioned each year for translation and the best among them should be selected and published at cheap prices, if necessary with subsidies. If an immediate start is made in this direction, within a period of a few years the stimulating influence of the world's literature will usher in a new era in our public life.

S. VENKATARAMAN

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MADRAS TWO ANNAS

CORRUPT PRACTICES MUST BE STOPPED

Now that the elections are over, it may be useful to take stock of some of the malpractices in evidence in order to devise measures from now on, to the utmost possible extent, to prevent their recurrence in future. Our remarks have particular reference to Madras, but it is not unlikely that conditions in one area in the same country indicate with local variations the general state of affairs applicable to all areas. Here the maintenance of the voters' lists was done in the most perfunctory manner. Names that had been there were removed, nobody is able or willing to explain how. Some voters who had their names on the lists were told when they went to the polling stations, that they had already voted. There have been complaints of obstruction and unhelpful attitude on the part of polling officers, from voters who were opposed to the Government side. People have witnessed voters being carried in cars and trucks to the booths in express violation of election law. There was considerable payment of money at the cheris as price for votes.

With one or two honourable exceptions there was no disinclination on the part of the candidates and their parties to advance their electoral fortunes unscrupulously. But the Congress excelled over all its competitors in this respect, because it had more power than the others, and it employed that power without restraint, to achieve victory. In a

proper estimate of the real share of public support enjoyed by the Congress now, due allowance must be made for the abuse of their authority by the Congress leaders in these elections. It will then be found that many electoral victories for which credit is now being taken were really defeats in disguise made to look different from what they are by means of a lavish use of money and power to corrupt the conscience and buy the support of voters.

Just now Home Minister Pant has introduced in the Rajya Sabha a Bill to place permanently on the statute a provision empowering courts to draw a presumption of corruption against public servants found in possession of assets disproportionate to their known resources, for which they cannot account satisfactorily. But what of Ministers found suddenly in possession of enormous assets on election eve which got translated into the huge expensiveness of their election campaigns? Is accountability for the owning or spending of disproportionate assets for which no satisfactory explanation can be given, to be reserved by law only to public servants, leaving the Ministers who exercise power and authority over those public servants, immune?

In the recent unprecedented expensiveness of the Congress election campaign in some of the key constituencies of the State, there is presumptive evidence of corruption of the same sort as that for which public servants are

sought to be penalised in Pandit Pant's Bill. We plead for an enquiry manned by leaders of irreproachable rectitude and integrity in the country to go into the election malpractices and ensure the future against their repetition.

Perverting Democracy and Administration

The remarks of Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji of the Calcutta High Court, reproduced in page 11 of this issue of SWARAJYA, are most apt in the present conjuncture of events in the country. Referring to the recently sanctioned innovation of permitting commercial firms to make cash gifts to political parties, he says that it would introduce a most sinister principle fraught with grave dangers both in the commercial as well as in the public standards of administration. It would, he said, start a race, the race as to who could pay more to the funds of political parties; and in the resulting bid for political favouritism by the bait of money, the company which would be the highest bidder might secure the most unfair advantages over its rivals. Witheringly putting the whole thing in a nutshell, his lordship concluded: "To convert conviction and conscience by money is to pervert both democracy and administration". How swiftly this perversion has gone on even in the few days since these words were written is now known to all, and this invests them with an illumination of prophetic wisdom. Opposition parties

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World Experts' Report on Atomic Radiation

By C. Rajagopalachari

should not be beguiled by the general terms of a seemingly permissive enactment by which they may hope to profit quite as much as any of their rivals in the political field. In reality the extracting capacity of administrative power, especially when there is a public sector to play upon to cow down the resistance of the private sector, is unlimited; and if ever any effective opposition capable of exercising a salutary restraining influence on Congress absolutism is to emerge, the unlimitedness of Congress power to force donations to Congress funds from the rich by the use of fear and favour, must be put an end to with suitable constitutional safeguards.

Presents to Officials

In the issue of SWARAJYA dated the 2nd instant reference was made in the leading article under the title "Ministers and Party Funds" "to a certain high official in Delhi—not as high as a Minister but just below that rank" who some years ago "was censured for allowing his daughter to receive gifts on the occasion of her wedding from princes and others of high rank" and it was stated that "all the valuable presents that had been voluntarily given and received on a festive occasion were ordered to be returned or given up to the public treasury". Sri V. P. Menon informs us that there is a small discrepancy in the editorial. Disclosing the real position "for the first time", he writes:

"You make a reference to the presents given on the occasion of my daughter's wedding. There is a small discrepancy. I was not censured by Government.

During the British regime it was the practice for Political Advisers to the Crown Representative or Secretaries in the Political Department, on such occasions as the wedding of a daughter, to submit to the Governor-General a list of names of those rulers whom they proposed to invite. After the marriage the presents received were listed and submitted to the Governor-General with a request for permission for

At last Truth has found its way out through the cold war barrage. A distinction was made by even very eminent men between "Atoms for Peace" and Atom for war as if the evil effects of radioactive pollution would differ in the two cases. The nuclear reactors installed for peaceful purposes are just there for conversion at any time into what will serve the other object. It is like arms-aid for defence as different from aggression! The following warning from World Health experts has come not a day too early. It is a warning not "to humanity" but to the wicked governments and their experts who are marching their people to ruin.

Geneva, March 12. World Health Organisation experts today warned humanity that the well-being of descendants of the present generation was seriously threaten-

their retention. It had always been the practice for the Viceroy to allow the couple to retain the presents. I do not remember a single instance when they were asked to return any of the presents to the rulers.

In the case of my daughter, following this precedent, I submitted to Sardar (Patel) the names of 16 rulers whom I wanted to invite as my personal friends. I also indicated that if any presents were received, a list would be submitted to the Minister for his orders in regard to their retention or otherwise by my daughter. Sardar agreed with the procedure and invitations were accordingly issued. Incidentally, on the marriage day two more rulers turned up without invitation. On that day Panditji (Nehru) wrote a personal letter to me and told me that there was a rumour that a lot of valuable presents were given by the rulers and that he was anxious that nothing should be done which would in any way damage my fair name. I at once wrote to him and assured him that the rumour he had heard was very much exaggerated and I also

ed by developments in the use of nuclear energy.

This was the unanimous opinion of 20 WHO experts from nine countries who met in Copenhagen last August to discuss the effect of radiation on human heredity.

The nine countries were: Britain, United States, Brazil, India, Canada, Denmark, France, Sweden and West Germany.

Their report published today said: "Radiation has been demonstrated to be one of the agents which produces mutations in a wide range of organisms from bacteria to mammals. The group is agreed that additional mutation produced in man will be harmful to individuals and to their descendants."

"In essence, all man-made radiation must be regarded as harmful to man from the genetic point of view", they said.

submitted the file to him for his information. The presents I received from the rulers were duly sent to two firms of jewellers—one Indian and the other English—for valuation. The value of these presents did not come to the fabulous amount stated at the time, but much below Rs. 20,000!

Subsequently a committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Rajaji and Sardar was set up to look into the matter. They decided that my daughter could retain presents worth below Rs. 1,000, and that presents above this amount should be returned to the rulers. I must tell you that Sardar was very much against this procedure. By that time my daughter was thoroughly fed up with the whole thing and she was not in favour of accepting any presents at all from the rulers.

In accordance with the decision of the committee, the presents above Rs. 1,000 were returned to the rulers; some of the rulers refused to take them back. The presents returned by them were kept in the Government Toshakhana and eventually disposed of. That, in short, was what happened."



Sotto Voce

The Famous Victory

The breezy optimism and careless magnanimity that had enveloped the pre-election pronouncements of Congress worthies were largely dissipated amidst the thunder and smoke of the battle of the hustings. Many of the professional dragons that belched fire have been laid low. Mr. Gadgil who used to boast of his freedom alike from bourgeois prejudice and the superstition of the sacred thread over-called his hand. He had roused his fellow-Maharashtrians with his Sivaji war-cries. But to his intense mortification he discovered that he could not whistle them back when he liked. And the combined onslaught of Maharashtrian and Gujarati particularisms swept away quite a few other idols ranging all the way from the apostle of the Congress brand of trade unionism, Kandubhai Desai, to that meteoric Manu of East Kan-desh, Mr. Pataskar.

So much for Mr. Nehru's pathetic pretence that he can quell regionalism and linguism with a wave of his hand. And Communism in Kerala, 'feudalism' in Orissa and 'communalism' all over the country have behaved with the unbecoming levity and lack of consideration for the fine feelings of the feasting mourners shown by the 'dead' man in the story who sat up in his coffin and called for a chop and a bottle of beer. In quite a number of States the swollen Congress majorities of 1952 have shrunk. And a little analysis will show that this is not healthy voluntary slimming but incipient pernicious anaemia.

The exceptions are no less significant. In the Punjab the Akalis have extended their sway from their old enclave PEPSU to the whole of the newly integrated State. Clad in the shining armour

the Congress has so obligingly conferred on them they have installed Sikh communalism in the heart of the Congress citadel. Madhya Pradesh, that monstrous overgrowth of Congress creation, has expressed its gratitude for the pampering of its megalomaniac vanity by returning droves of non-descriptors. The same forces have been more or less operative in that other conglomerate, Mysore. Of Madras, the State where the Congress has won an even more glorious Battle of Blenheim, more anon.

The portent that has appeared in Uttar Pradesh, the heartland of Congress hegemony, will bear looking at. The home of Pantji and Panditji has had the temerity to return 128 non-Congressmen as against 255 of the faithful so far. And there is no indication that this proportion will be modified by the results yet due. In Bombay the non-Congress percentage is even higher. The landslide is most significant, however, in Bihar. No doubt, even on these terms the Congress might, in normal circumstances, look forward to a comfortable majority for the next five years. But all the indications are that conditions will be anything but normal.

The P. S. P., which was at the last election a forlorn and much-derided rump, has grown teeth both in Bombay and U.P. In concert with other Leftists ranging from the Reds to the Lohia Pinks, it can erode the sandy foundations of Congress prestige so effectively that that house of cards may tumble down without the slightest warning. Mr. S. K. Patil used to pride himself on having driven Communism out of the ports and docks and industrial slums of Bombay. He is no doubt pondering as hard now on its re-emergence as a sizable

factor as on the phenomenon of Gujarati and Marathi intransigence.

The most obvious lesson of this election is that a blight is settling on our barely sprouted democracy. When the figures are fully available, it will be found that there has been a sharp fall in the percentage of voting in every State where the Congress retains a majority. The apathy has been most conspicuous in the conduct of the minority of intelligent voters who do not readily swallow claptrap. They have been seized by a disillusionment far more devastating than the cynicism of the intellectual. As for the drilled knots of rustics and urban proles herded into Congress lorries by kanganis, their education has progressed spectacularly—in the art of bargaining on the basis of a progressive tariff!

Madras is non-pareil. Mr. Kamaraj Nadar has engineered a victory whose magnitude has been so great as to make him shake off his wonted phlegmatism and flex his muscles in the best ring-side style. The mirasidar, and particularly the rich Kulak, whose prime sin is that he has refused to go on being milked by the Congress and has even had the audacity to lift his hindleg in protest, have been told that they must grovel in the dust or be prepared to be vapourised by Ordinance. But not all the thunderbolts that our latter-day Indra may launch will vanquish the Vrittra he has conjured from the vasty deep by his devious diplomacy. The D.M.K. is the misbegotten progeny of a Congress liaison.

VIGNESWARA

The Ropes

Beatrice Webb's father (Mr. Potter) was a contractor. He went to Paris to get paid. But, although everybody in Paris admitted the debt, the cheque did not come. At last he met Lord Brassey who had come on a similar errand and explained his difficulties. Lord Brassey laughed at him and said, "My dear fellow, you don't know the ropes. You must give fifty pounds to the Minister and five pounds to each of his underlings." Mr. Potter did so, and the cheque came next day. — From *Portraits from Memory* by Bertrand Russell.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HERO-WORSHIPPING MINISTERS

Sir,—It is a matter of pleasure for the readers of SWARAJYA to note the immense popularity of the weekly. SWARAJYA can be justly proud of its achievement because it is not even one year old. The secret of the popularity of this weekly lies in the free and frank criticisms in its editorial columns, and the balanced and valued comments of Rajaji on current national and international affairs.

Rajaji was correct when he wrote in the inaugural issue of SWARAJYA that many of the newspapers in our country give out their opinions only after the Prime Minister has expressed his stand on the particular issue of the day. This is a great dis-service to the cause of democracy. In their enthusiasm for the Prime Minister, most of our newspapers fail to appreciate the criticisms of even eminent people like Sri Jayaprakash, Rajaji and Vinobaji. Many of our State leaders and some of the national leaders have of late developed such a regard for Shri Nehru that they appreciate both his achievements and failures.

The Chief Minister of Bihar has openly stated that he was a hero-worshipper of Nehru. This was during the Patna firing disturbances in 1955. The present Chief Minister of Bombay, Sri Y. B. Chavan, speaking at Poona last year stated that if he were asked to choose between Nehru and Maharashtra, he would choose the former. If he had stated "India" in the place of "Nehru" it would have been right. Such statements may bring credit to the personality of Nehru, but certainly they do not bring credit either to these gentlemen or to the people who have voted them to power. A true leader must not be an opportunist or hero-worshipper. With a little more interest of the electorate in the value of the vote, these defects of our young democracy can be gradually eliminated.

All will go well if we have just four major political parties in India, the Congress, the Praja Socialists, the Communists and the

Jana Sangh. The mushroom parties must integrate with one or other of these four parties. With an increase in the number of journals like SWARAJYA, noted for trenchant criticism of the issues of the day, regardless of fear or favour of the party in power, democracy is sure to succeed in our country.

Bangalore M. A. SESHAGIRI

RE-EMPLOYMENT IN RAILWAYS

Sir,—There are many degree-holders with technical qualifications knocking at the doors of Government offices, commercial firms and employment exchanges, seeking employment. Some of them are even prepared to take up appointment as office peons. Recently I came across a news item in a paper that a graduate accepted employment as a water carrier.

While this is the plight of the unemployed, some Railway departments are adopting a policy of re-employing retired personnel. The idea of the Government in re-employing retired persons seems to be that the work in connection with the Second Five-year Plan should not be allowed to suffer for want of adequate technical personnel. If this presumption is correct, then the re-employment of retired men in non-technical posts (for which the juniors have not been found unfit) is not justifiable. It should be discontinued.

Madras. N. V. R. SWAMY

"YOUR EDITORIALS"

Sir,—Apropos your editorial "Dangers in the Plan", I would like to point out that a batch of British economists who visited our country some months back, sat through a dance recital by a local artist at the end of which Mrs. Barbara Wootton said that in all their discussions with Ministers, secretaries and industrialists in India, there was one aspect of the Second Plan which had always been emphasised and that was its flexibility. Bharatha Natyam and Second Plan have got 'flexibility'

as their common feature. Thus the essence and keynote of our Plan is its flexibility. If I resolve that I should finish 120 pages in a book in 6 hours, it does not matter whether I actually reach the target in 6 hours or not. In so far as my resolve acts as a catalyst and stimulates me in that direction, making such a resolve is commendable. So also is the Plan. It is difficult to understand the logic behind your thesis. Paul Bureau's statement is equally unacceptable.

Right from the day you wrote an editorial on the "Scourge of the Second Best," you have been coming round to the same point in all editorials that followed it. A friend of mine says "Khasa spoils his case by over-emphasising things". Shall I agree with him? Madras. M. S. RAGHAVAN

PENALISING PUBLISHERS

Sir,—Under the Press and Registration of Books Act, (Act XXV of 1867) the printer (in effect it is the publisher) should deliver to the Registrar of Books of State two copies of every publication; one copy will be retained in the Registrar's office and the other will be transmitted by him to the Parliament Library, New Delhi.

Again, under the Delivery of Books (Public Libraries Act XXVII of 1954), publishers should send at their own expense one copy each of their publication direct to four Public Libraries specified by the Government of India.

Why penalise publishers alone with the duty to deliver 6 copies of every book free?

It would be nice indeed if all manufacturers in this country are compelled to do so. For instance, a hotel keeper, as soon as he prepares iddies in the morning, must be asked to send six iddies to the local health officer and Parliament canteen. Similarly, a car manufacturer, as soon as he manufactures some cars should send two cars to the Police department.

Let me not dwell more upon this: it is enough if I say that the publishers — most of whom are struggling for existence — are now legally compelled to make a gift of 6 books every time they print one. But, does it stop there?

March 9, 1957

They have to spend money on postage, too in sending the books to the various Libraries. The postage and registration to send one copy of a book to one Library, sometimes comes to more than one or two rupees and this is indeed a penalty to publishers for trying to spread knowledge in this country.

If really the Government are anxious to spread literacy and promote the reading habit, the least they must do at once is to issue instructions to post offices to accept books from the publishers or any philanthropically minded people free of postage for onward transmission to the Registrar of Books and to the four public libraries to be specified by them.

V. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA
Madras.

A TAILOR'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM

Sir,—Recently at a cost of thousands of rupees, electric lights were installed by the Bellary Municipality on the 'Tippu Rock' — a deserted fort. No human being resides there. For some time I was at a loss to know the purpose of the lights there, while many localities were badly in need of street lights. Later I learnt that the Socialistic pattern of society envisaged by the Congress has been put into practice here.

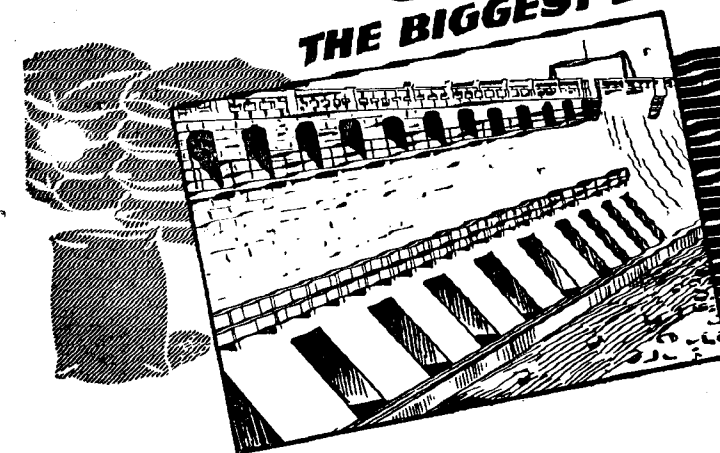
H. SESHAGIRI ACHAR
(Tailor)

POSTAL DELAYS IN COCHIN

Sir,—The present system of postman delivery of mails in Cochin, which is one of the biggest centres of trade and commerce in Kerala is causing great inconvenience to the public. At present the postman delivers mails received only upto 2 p.m., in the post office. Because of that we receive only the letters coming by air mail. The ordinary surface mail is received in Cochin post office usually between 3 and 4 p.m., only. Therefore the bulk of the surface mail, letters, book packets, registered news magazines etc., are delivered only at 9 a.m., the next morning. On Saturdays the mail coming after 2 p.m. is delivered only the next Monday morning after an inter-

SWARAJYA

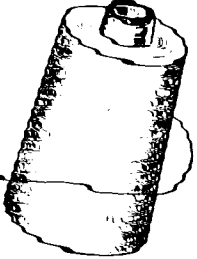
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EP

SOME CITY TYPES

By D. ANJANEYULU

WHATEVER may be the evils of urban civilisation there is at least one feature of city life that cannot but interest any observer of human types. In this historic city there is a rich variety in human material that cannot easily be found in a score of smaller towns or a hundred villages with their humdrum existence and slow tempo of activity. While the new clusters of neat buildings that rise before our eyes in the city are all of a set pattern that creates a sense of monotonous regularity, the same thing cannot be said of the permanent citizens, some of whom are quite familiar figures, presenting a colourful and interesting cross-section of homo sapiens.

Even a cursory glance at the engagements column in any of our daily newspapers would give a fair idea of the number and variety of lectures and discourses given on all subjects under the sun. Most of the speaking — speechifying, rather — is however done by a dauntless set of tireless souls, who can be called 'professional speakers'. They are the lucky few not harried by the prosaic cares of having to earn a livelihood by quill-driving, stamp-licking or clock-watching. Any member of this tried fraternity can hold forth for any length of time on any imaginable subject — let it be something, anything or nothing. He can do equal justice to all topics — a burning topical or a hardy perennial — from the danger of atomic war and the threat of mosquito nuisance and from the vital role of a parliamentary opposition to the urgent need for separate seats for men in city buses.

If the producer cannot exist without the consumer, no more can the professional speaker flourish without the habitual lecture-goer. With his shrewdness and native wit, he had long ago realised that public lectures and religious discourses are by far a better source of entertainment than cinemas and dramas and

music performances and dance recitals, and infinitely cheaper besides. He would be the first to enter the hail — especially to occupy a position of vantage when the speaker is a good draw — and the last to leave it. Often-times he tries to dart questions — not easy to say whether he is putting a long question or making a short speech, this being his only chance of smuggling a speech — at the speaker.

Politics is believed to be the life-breath of nations with their new-found freedom no less than of those striving to be free. The public-spirited pensioner is fast coming into his own more rapidly than in the by-gone British days and is covering himself with greater glory. In fairness, it must be said to his credit that his heart had always been in the service of the people though, soon after leaving college, he sought it through public service in H.M.'s Government. Not that he loved his country less in those benighted days but he loved law and order more, a good citizen of the world that he was and still is. Now that he had richly married off his eight daughters and settled his four sons as public servants (class I Central service) he is free to contribute his mite to the task of seeing that his poor motherland is properly governed and his fellow-countrymen are properly led. If he is always on the side of the party in

power, that is only due to his ripe judgment and he must be ill-mannered who says that he cares for his pension more than public welfare.

Indians in general are known to be religious-minded and those in Madras City are evidently more so from their dress and daily routine. For, is not religion supposed to be a way of life and not merely a view of it? The 'ardent religionist' is a living symbol of piety and no sooner does he doff his closed coat and turban or cap than he becomes a man of God. He never misses his daily discourse though he may sometimes make a move when the camphor is lit and the plate is going round for collections. He has grown weary of this mundane world and wants the younger generation to be happy. For which purpose, he keeps an up-to-date list of eligible I.A.S. men and their latest dowry quotations in the matrimonial market. If he makes a little commission on both sides, that is only for the pleasure of the parties.

'The inveterate sportsman' is an unrepentant city product — whether he is an enthusiast for the king of sports or the sport of kings. To call him a mere enthusiast is rather a feeble understatement, for cricket is his religion and without it life to him would be dull and dreary. Compton and Laker are not two players in a far off land but his bosom pals whose batting and bowling fortunes are like his very own. 'Folly's' (not to be confused with Folly Tumrikar) plan for his honeymoon is a

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SIDELIGHTS ::

In the legislation providing for States' reorganisation, it was ordained, as Kerala was to be formed into a new and separate State, that two of the members belonging to that area elected to the Madras Legislative Council should forego their seats. The task of selecting these two was cast on the Chairman, Dr. P. V. Cherian. Representations were then made to the Home Ministry at Delhi that Dr. Cherian was himself one of the members that might have to be removed and he should not therefore be made a judge in his own cause. Delhi took no note of the objection and the matter was taken to the High Court. The High Court upheld the contention that nobody should be allowed to act as a judge in his own cause and pronounced the relevant provision *ultra vires* of the Constitution. Instead of modifying the enactment in conformity with the judgment of the High Court, the Government of India passed a new enactment to get round the prohibition of the High Court. They cancelled their original decision of reducing the strength of the Council by two and introduced new legislation allowing it to remain as it was. Dr. Cherian's seat was saved.

We have here a characteristic trend. Instead of the law having a sacrosanct status and individuals conforming themselves to the law, the law itself is changed so as to be converted into a sort of hand-maiden to serve the interests of individuals enjoying Government's favour. This trend has invaded practically the whole of the administration. Favour has usurped the place of the public interest.

Sometime ago Sri Gopala Menon who was then the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly was sent to England and other European countries to study the ways and procedures of parliamentary institutions there. Now he is nowhere in the picture of parliamentary life in this or any other State, and all the value of his study and experience of foreign parliamentary institutions may be

taken as lost. It is a good rule, when sending out delegations abroad with the idea that their acquisition of knowledge should be utilised later on for public or national advantage, that only such persons should be chosen as have a reasonable chance of continuing in their respective positions for a fairly long period. It is unpardonable folly to send out for tuition in foreign places legislators at the fag end of their term.

Dr. Cherian is now due to leave, as Sri Gopala Menon did earlier, on a mission of absorbing the practices of democracy on the continent of Europe. In a little over a year, Dr. Cherian's term as a legislator would come to an end and it is problematical if he would play any further part thereafter in the role he now adorns. Invitations to legislators for visits of this kind emanate from the Commonwealth Parliamentary Union and they are considered in each State by the Branch of the Union which selects the person to whom the invitation is to be passed on. If the Chairman and the Speaker, dominating the Branch, appropriate the invitations to themselves by turn, an unpleasant impression is created, and an arrangement internationally initiated for the furtherance of democracy in India, is deprived of its main purpose. It is converted to private use by wrong exercise of influence.

Dr. Cherian is a rich man, and whatever study or sight-seeing or pleasure abroad he wishes to have for himself and others in whom he is interested, he should have at his own expense. This is a fact to be particularly emphasised now, as he illustrates in his political career a singular phenomenon of our time in this State. An eminent surgeon, he would have brought lustre to India in that capacity in any part of the world. But his political ambitions led him from a sphere in which he was master, into another where, for all the prominence he has grasped, he could not get above the amateur level. The Congress bosses in Madras have

served neither the public nor their own organisation by achieving in this manner the conversion of a medical scientist and surgeon of the highest renown into a crude politician of no particular suitability for his new functions. The elimination of tried devotees with many years of dedicated service, and their replacement by prosperous fortune-hunters with as many years of anti-Congress activities and indifference to public causes to their credit, constitute the monumental tragedy of Madras Congress leadership today. And of its numerous symbols the most eloquent are the choice of Dr. Cherian as Chairman of the Council and the selection of Sri Muthia Chettiar as Congress candidate for the Assembly in supersession of the claims of the veteran patriot, Saa Ganesan.

In illustration of the present plight of teachers, public attention has to be drawn to the case of Sri V. Sarangapani Naidu. After 18 years of unblemished service as a teacher in the Kalyanasundaram High School, Tanjore, he was appointed headmaster in 1951. Four years later the governing body of the school terminated his services. He appealed against their order to the Director of Public Instruction. After taking seven months to ruminate over the matter, the Director ordered his reinstatement. Not complying with the Director's direction, the governing body challenged its validity in a writ petition in the High Court. The High Court conceded the writ petition and the headmaster thereupon filed a Letters Patent appeal. He won this appeal, and their lordships pronounced judgment dismissing the writ petition and upholding the order of the Director of Public Instruction reinstating the headmaster.

There the matter now stands. The Director has taken no action to enforce his own challenged order later on declared legally valid by the highest judicial authority in the State. The school management continues merrily on, unheeding the Director's order, in the absence of any further evidence that he would wish to have it respected. Meanwhile, the

THE MOUNTING DANGER

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

headmaster has had 20 months of enforced unemployment with all its incidental economic and other horrors, with the paralysing costs and anxieties of protracted litigation thrown in for good measure. Years ago I read of an English headmaster of a famous public school who roused much ire in many quarters by keeping his hat on when the King visited his school. There was a great movement to get him dismissed. Purely out of respect for the British tradition of giving the accused a hearing before passing sentence, he was asked for an explanation. He said: "In the precincts of the school I am the sovereign and recognize no superior authority. But outside, I am the most loyal subject of His Majesty. So I took my hat off to him when we passed the gate, and refrained from doing so within the gate". His answer evoked immense appreciation and turned anger into deep respect.

High traditions in education cannot be built without a becoming respect for teachers, professors, headmasters and principals. The present attitude of distrust and suspicion of educational authorities, of which a noteworthy symbol is the usurpation by the politicians of the professor's right and duty of regulating admission of students, has synchronised with the loss of prestige of teachers and decline in teaching standards. More money spent or more schools started will mean little concrete good beyond paper propaganda if the teacher at school and college is not rehabilitated and his dignity attended to. In cases like those of the headmaster at the Tanjore school cited above, it is really the top men of the whole system like the Director of Public Instruction, and still more, his appointing authority, the Minister for Education, that are on trial. Before the heart and spirit of the teaching profession are further lacerated, it is to be hoped that Sri C. Subramaniam will look into the affairs of the Kalyanasundaram High School, get the headmaster re-appointed and see to the introduction of some standards of decency in the school management.

SAKA

THE Bulletin of the World Peace Council has given publicity to alarming facts. All NATO troops stationed in Europe are being equipped with atomic weapons. The United States and Brazil have agreed to turn Fernando Noronha Island into a base for International guided missiles. Peru is offering a similar concession. The Dominican Republic has already furnished a base of that kind. Studies are being made to station special atomic units in Western Europe and Turkey and Japan. One has already been installed in Northern Italy. The Eisenhower 'doctrine' plans the same for the Mid-East area. Again, the United States budget envisages an expenditure of 600 million dollars to be added to the already reserved amounts for development of atomic energy for military purposes. The U.S. Navy has been re-armed for atomic war. The new German army is being adapted to "the most modern weapons"—we know what these are. The race is on! The nuclear dispositions of the U.S.A. are expanding to new zones and the U.S.S.R. warns that the governments of those countries will be responsible for the consequences. The fatal chain of circumstances is lengthening. We know that this is an empty threat. The preparations of the U.S.S.R.

are not boastful now but no way lag behind the West's.

The American 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean is specially equipped for atomic attack. The countries bordering the Mediterranean must be prepared for the devastations and contaminations that all this potential danger holds.

Disarmament talks have become therefore a mockery. The years spent on the infructuous business going by the name of Disarmament negotiations have been used with monstrous speed and efficiency to perfect thermo-nuclear equipment for mass destruction and suicide. If the world believes that the men who have brought about this satanic entanglement for humanity will be minded to put their heart into the hard task of mutual trust we shall be horribly undeceived. It has become a religion with the Western Powers absolutely and always to refuse to take what U.S.S.R. offers as genuine. The Soviet offer for the peace of the Middle East has been summarily rejected. The question is, who then must hold the plough of Peace? The People as distinguished from the States. This is the only possible answer. This reads no doubt like subversion but it is a noble subversion if it is one.

President Magsaysay : Legendary Hero

By his death, Ramon Magsaysay will probably become one of the great legendary figures in Philippines' history. A man of the people, his restless energy and brusque perfectionism, not completely native to the Filipino character, set him apart from many of his countrymen. For him degree had no dignity; rank had no rating. Farmer or soldier, the individual was supreme. His care for the ordinary folk, in contrast to the frightening figure he presented to his officers, was exemplary. "It is the soldier who carries the gun and risks his life,"

Magsaysay would say. "I must treat him like my son." Five feet eleven inches tall, he towered over most of his countrymen, in character and capability.

The best known Filipino in the world, Magsaysay emerged from obscurity during the Second World War. When the country fell, he joined other Filipino and American officials and organized the Western Luzon guerilla forces. For three years, he worked with a prize of 50,000 dollars on his head, harassing and hurting the Japanese invader. His audacity was the fire-side talk of the villages and towns; once he disguised himself as a farmer and strolled into

(Continued on page 15)

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ornmental rules require or permit an officer addressing an outsider to send a true copy of his letter signed by his clerk instead of the letter itself. However, I am reluctant to believe that such poor manners and sense can exist in government rules. If they do exist, then those rules should be scrapped instantly, for they are (besides offending the decencies of correspondence) provably wrong.

Consider the position. Here is this D.O. (let us call him Shri A. B. Habibullah Chari, B.A. (Econ.), B.Ed., Conservator of Shrubberies—Division IV, for that's what he calls himself) who has written a letter to me, addressed to me solely and specifically and to no one else. His letter is not signed by him, but where his signature should be is the type-written legend 'A. B. Habibullah Chari, Conservator of Shrubberies'—beneath this is the endorsement 'True Copy', followed by the signature and designation of his clerk. What he has sent me is the original document, as per the Evidence Act. His Office Copy is not the original, but a copy—or, if you wish to be strictly legal, the draft or preparation for the document. Moreover, the O.C. is not signed by him prior to the despatch of the letter to me—he might as well sign the original in that case. What he does is this: he dictates his letter to me, or lets a deputy draft it, and then it is sent to me, marked 'True Copy' and signed by his clerk; the O.C., if initialled at all by the D.O., is initialled later, at his leisure, after the despatch. Since the letter to me is marked 'True Copy', a signed original antecedent to the copy should exist. No such original exists. Nor can it exist, for a preparation for a communication uneffected cannot be the communication itself. Since no original exists, the letter to me is no copy, in spite of the legend 'True Copy' upon it attested by the Head Clerk. Nor is it (the letter sent to me) the original, because it is unsigned and marked 'True Copy'. In other words, as a document it is non-existent, an illusion and a myth. Such is the *maya* that pervades all life, even government correspondence.

However, seeking to expose the hollowness of one aspect of governmental billets, I have found substantial justification for another. For a long while I could not understand why the educational attainments of an officer are invariably appended to his name at the top left corner of his letter. Surely the 'B.A. (Econ.)' and 'B.Ed.' add nothing to the prestige of Shri Habibullah Chari, when his designation makes it clear that his job has no concern either with Economics or with Education, being the conservation of shrubberies? But now I see why government rules require officers to add their degrees to their names. The diction of their letters is so often pitifully pompous and unskilled that in conjunction with the lack of a signature at the bottom of their letter the recipient might, otherwise, jump to incorrect conclusions. By the safeguard of the added degrees the recipient is informed at once, even before he starts reading the body of the letter, that the officer who has written to him is a literate man.

Bringing Ganges Down to South

There are about seven lakhs of villages besides hundreds of towns and cities in India. In every town and village a number of youths could be seen roaming the streets. Some of them have read up to school final class; some have failed; and some have somehow passed. With all this education they can hardly write a few lines. A yet larger number is found in the illiterate sector. These youths, educated and illiterate, are not able to get employment. They live like parasites upon the already scanty earnings of their parents. Having no employment, they find time hanging heavily upon their hands. Disgusted with enforced idleness they indulge in enjoyable mischief and then get emboldened to carry out daring attacks on society.

These two sectors—literate and illiterate—supply hooligans, anti-social elements, reactionary and subversive political parties, anti-religious and communal bodies

with plenty of volunteers. To the despairing youths a call from any of these parties or bodies is an immense relief. Thus, the youths readily fall a prey to these active reactionary parties and dangerous bodies, and become a menace to peace-loving citizens—nay, to law and order.

It is becoming clearer every day that there is no hope of all the youths being absorbed by gainful employment either in the private or public sector. Even the Second Five-Year Plan gives no hope. What then is to be done? Something must be done to employ them.

The South cries for water. The sacred waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra devastate large areas of land and inundate hundreds of villages every year.

Some eminent leader has suggested the bringing of these waters down to the South. The idea may look fantastic on the face of it, but a little reflection will show that it is fully possible.

This idea needs immediate examination and execution. The Central Government can immediately take up this project with a view to employing millions of idling youths and unemployed men in digging canals from north to south as a short-term advantageous employment. As a long term benefit the canals will bring large areas of land under cultivation. This project alone can immediately create a big opening to the unemployed. All along the canals, many families can settle down and cultivate new lands.

A. K. MURTHI

CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL FUNDS

JUDGE DEPLORES PRACTICE BY COMMERCIAL FIRMS

MR. JUSTICE P. B. Mukharji of the Calcutta High Court said a fortnight ago that there should be legislative enactments prohibiting contributions by commercial concerns to the political parties.

His lordship was delivering judgment on the application of the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., seeking the court's sanction for its contributions to political parties and making certain alterations in its Memorandum of Association in this respect.

Mr. Justice Mukharji observed that as the number of applications was becoming more and more numerous by which companies were trying to divert commercial funds to political purposes, it was essential in the interest of both commercial and public standards to have legislation on the subject to "keep the springs of democracy and administration reasonably pure and unsullied and before it was too late to control the dangers and mischief inherent in the situation".

"To induce the Government of the day by contributing

money to the political funds of political parties was to adopt the most sinister principle fraught with grave dangers to commercial as well as public standards of administration", his lordship said.

He stated that in the absence of any contrary provisions in the Constitution and in the Indian Companies Act, a company could certainly be formed and registered one of whose objects or purposes was to contribute to the political funds of political parties.

In his lordship's opinion it was the duty of the court to call attention to the dangers of this situation, of so recent origin, on the eve of the General Election in the country.

His lordship said the dangers of the situation were manifold. Joint stock companies were not intended to be adjuncts to political parties and possible sources of revenue for these parties.

Secondly, it would induce the most unwholesome competition between business companies by

introducing the race, who could pay more to the political funds of political parties. In the bid for political favouritism, by the bait of money, the company which would be the highest bidder might secure most unfair advantages over its rivals.

Thirdly, it would mark the advent and entry of the voice of big business in politics and in the political life of the country.

The object of the company, said his lordship, was stated to be "to contribute to the funds of political parties, which will advance policies conducive to the interest of the company".

"Persuasion by contribution of money lowered the standard of administration even in a welfare State of democracy. To convert conviction and conscience by money was to pervert both democracy and administration", Mr. Justice Mukharji added.

Mr. Justice Mukharji confirmed the proposed alteration of the Memorandum of Association of the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd. seeking the court's sanction for its contribution to political parties. The Company, by a resolution, altered its Memorandum and thereafter applied to the court for confirmation.

Sanctioning the alteration, he laid down certain conditions by which the company was to show every year in its balance-sheet the amount of contributions made to the political parties by name.

The sanction, moreover, would remain effective and operative for six years and it would lapse and stand revoked on the expiry of that period unless extended.

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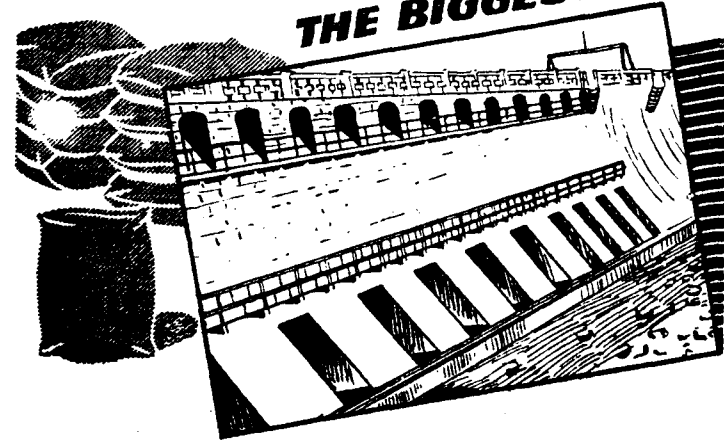
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matter of greater public importance than, say, the Second Five Year Plan. Trueman, for him, always meant more than Truman while the latter was still in the White House. Sometimes, it may be tennis instead of cricket and the school-boy whose cannon-ball service he admires as much as the junior Rajkumar's forehand and Miss Evergreen's backhand, takes precedence in his scale of values over Prime Ministers and poets laureate.

From a strenuous game to a sumptuous lunch is not a far cry as sound health depends on a good digestion and a keen appetite is taken for granted. The inveterate sportsman can also be a chronic nibbler, who believes in the wholesome philosophy of 'live to eat' unlike many who have to 'eat to live'. He remembers the drinks and snacks between meals more clearly than the sets he has won or the games he has lost. If he knows all sportsmen by their pet names, he knows every eating house by its special dish in sweets or savouries. Every mofussil town he has visited is remembered only for its appetising iddies, delicate dosais or bondas as big as tennis balls.

When we are thinking in terms of international understanding (thanks to our P.M.) the value of foreign friends cannot be over-emphasised. The reserved, proud old foreigner has given place to a type that is all smiles and good humour. We cannot but hug to our hearts the hand-shaking, shoulder-dislocating, back-slapper who is all bonhomie and 'hail-fellow-well met' when he drops in at your office on his daily rounds and is so nice as to sit on your table when you are at work. But, when he is in his office, he is the very king in his castle, lofty like a pro-consul and frozen stiff as the King-emperor's statue.

The list is by no means exhaustive nor is the classification mutually exclusive. There is bound to be a lot of overlapping as a wife-beater can also be a shop-lifter and a pensioner can be, and often is, a professional patriot and public speaker.

A Photographer's Diary

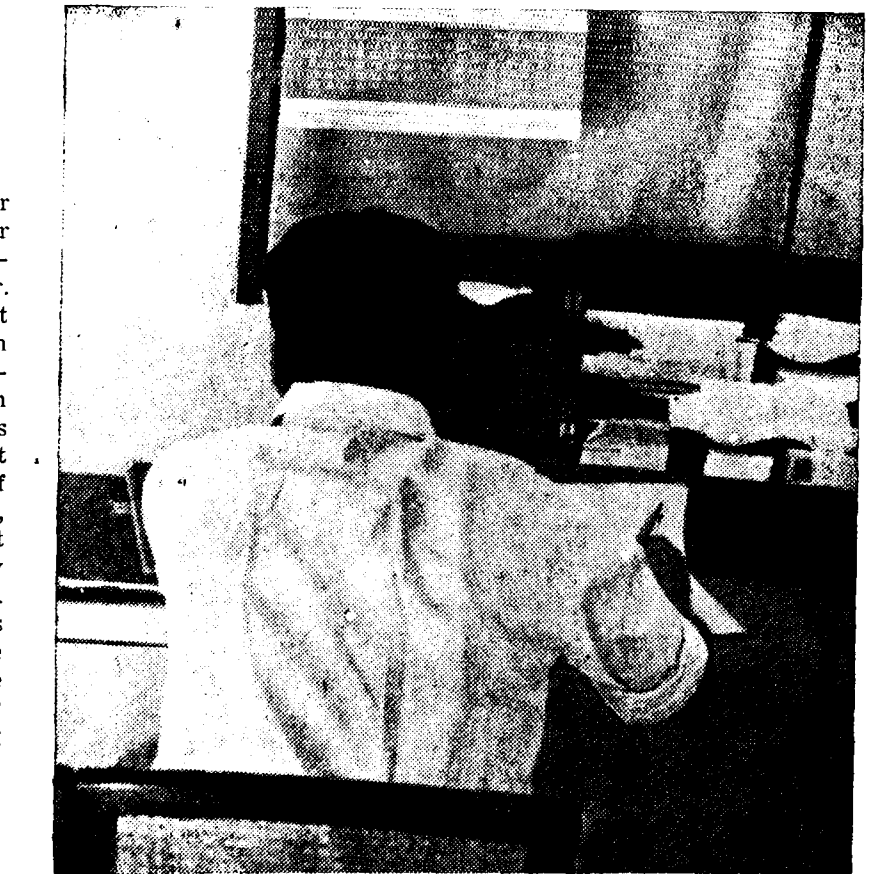
By M. KRISHNAN

PORTRAIT OF AN EVENT

My picture of a District Officer had, unfortunately, to take a rear view, and I concede that as a portrait it could have been clearer. But all the same it is a great picture, and for the same reason that a photograph of planes colliding in mid-air, or an execution by a firing squad, or a comet, is pictorially notable. One doesn't weigh petty considerations of angles, or tones, or such niceties, in judging the record of an event—provided the event is adequately depicted, it is a great picture. The dorsal aspect in my picture is more than compensated, by the rarity of the action depicted. The D.O. here is shown doing a thing he seldom does—actually signing a letter!

I don't know if you have ever been honoured by epistles from District Officers, Divisional Officers, Gazetted Officers and government servants of similar cadre. In recent months, I have. And mind, those epistles were not brief dismissals of my petitions, not even contemptuous grants of my prayers, but genuine letters—beginning with a 'From' followed by the name, the educational qualifications, and the designation of the D.O. and addressed to me specifically, letters not in reply to any of mine but to ask or tell me something, one even to ask a favour. And none of them was signed by the D.O.!

What I received were true copies, certified by the D.O.'s Head Clerk, or signed by some deputy on behalf of the officer. Feeling aggrieved, I did the right thing as I am sure you will agree, whether or not you agree that my grievance was legitimate. I told the D.O. that I could not take note of departmental rules of correspondence, for I belonged to no department, and obviously such rules could apply only as between government servants, and that I thought that a letter addressed to me from a circumstantially des-



cribed officer of the government ought to be signed by him.

He was genuinely surprised at this. He asked, in astonished tones, if I really expected him to sign every letter he had to write in the course of his multifarious duties! My dear Sir, he said, do you know that there are days when I have to write Pages and Pages (and this to a professional writer!) and sign Dozens of Communications? Do you know that when I address a Communication to the Collector himself I follow the same form? And do you know

I stopped him short, for I suffer from the inability to bear any person above the grade of a clerk (L.D.C.) speaking of a Collector, or a District Judge, or even the Accountant General, as if he were a god. The clerks (on second thoughts, even up to the grade of U.D.C.) I except, for they never mean anything by their highly deferential references to departmental heads. But if a D.O. wants to grovel, let him do his grovelling

when I am not there. Moreover, the man was arguing beside the point. I had made it clear to him in the first place that I did not feel bound by what his rules said about correspondence as between government servants: he could, if the rules required it, write his letters to his Collector in a terse, cryptic code. My point was that in writing to an outsider like me, he should jolly well sign his letters himself, in spite of his many pre-occupations.

Don't you be taken in by all that self-indulgent talk about the pressure of work. I have been a government servant long enough to know that an officer never works as hard at his correspondence as his clerk. If any man in a government office has a right to plead that he need not sign as many documents as he has to, it is the clerk—who is asked to attest the 'true copies' of the D.O.'s letters in addition.

I do not know whether or not it is true (as I have been assured by more than one D.O.) that gov-

March 23, 1957

THE TRUTH ABOUT KASHMIR

WHAT TRIBUNE THINKS

The Labour weekly TRIBUNE is one of the few journals in England criticising the British Press for its meagre and one-sided treatment of the Kashmir issue. We reproduce below an article from a recent issue of TRIBUNE under the title "The Truth About Kashmir".

THERE are two sides to the Kashmir dispute—but few people would think so from reading the British press, where India's side has been very meagrely treated.

Underlying the claims and counter-claims, there is a basic question: does a man's nationality depend on his religion?

Pakistan says yes. The theory which led to partition in 1947 was that all Moslems in the sub-continent should belong to a country of their own. In its draft constitution, Pakistan is defined as an "Islamic republic."

India has never admitted the wisdom of drawing frontiers along religious lines. Equality of all citizens, regardless of race or religion, is written into her basic law.

Though most Indians are Hindus, they live alongside Sikhs, Parsees, Christians — and 35 million Moslems.

For close on a century the movement for Indian independence drew support from people of all religions. And in Kashmir the National Conference, closely linked with India's National Congress, has long had the trust of the vast majority of the people.

Autocratic

Formed to oppose the autocratic rule of the Maharaja, it always stood for unity with a free India.

This movement unites Kashmiris of every faith. Of the four million people, three million are Moslems, but there are many Hindus in the low-lying district of Jammu, and large Buddhist areas elsewhere.

Sympathisers with Pakistan formed a rival body, making capital of the fact that the Maharaja was a Sikh who oppressed Moslems, but they gained little support.

When India and Pakistan became independent, Britain left the Princes free to join either.

The autocrat of Kashmir stood to lose both ways. If he joined

India, his days of absolute power were numbered; if he merged his state with Pakistan, he would be displaced by a Moslem.

By the time-limit — August 15, 1947 — he had not made up his mind.

Pakistan turned on the heat. Armed bands, equipped from military arsenals, invaded Kashmir. Thousands of refugees, nearly all Moslem, fled before them.

Under popular pressure, the Maharaja proclaimed his state's accession to India.

A defence force, hastily raised by the National Conference, halted the invaders and held the line for two months. Then, since the attack was reinforced, Indian troops were sent in to help.

Pakistan now openly sent her armed forces into Kashmir, but further fighting was prevented by a United Nations cease-fire order.

The front line became a *de facto* frontier, and about a fifth of the country has been occupied and administered by Pakistan ever since.

By now, since many people have moved their homes in accordance with their sympathies, it may be taken that the population of this zone wishes for incorporation in Pakistan.

India has agreed to respect the existing border until a settlement can be reached, but Pakistan has rejected any such arrangement.

In August 1948, the Security Council — to which the case had been taken by India — ordered the troops sent from Pakistan to withdraw.

When this had been done, said the resolution, India should reduce her forces inside Kashmir to the level needed to keep internal order.

Pakistan has defied this resolution and steadily increased her forces. But Indian resentment deepened when Pakistan joined

the Baghdad and South-East Asia Pacts, insisted on raising the Kashmir problem in their meetings, and accepted large scale American supplies of armaments.

As a correspondent of the *New York Herald-Tribune* reported last June, "Anybody who travels much in Pakistan soon finds that the only enemy most Pakistanis take seriously is India. The average Pakistani thinks very little about the Communist threat if he thinks of it at all . . . And he assumes that, in the event of a showdown with India, American military supplies will be drawn upon."

Tory newspapers in Britain have lined up emphatically over Kashmir since Pakistan became an "outpost of the free world."

Legally, the decision of the Maharaja in 1947 would suffice to make Kashmir part of the Indian Union. In other disputes over the future of the princely states, Pakistan has always taken her stand on the unrestricted choice of the ruler.

Big Victory

But this is not enough for Nehru — or for the Kashmir National Conference. In 1951, elections were held (except in the part held by Pakistan) and the National Conference won a sweeping majority. The Assembly thus elected drew up a constitution for Kashmir as part of India and threw the Maharaja off his throne.

The action now being taken — presented to newspaper readers here as "Indian annexation" — is simply the dissolution of the Assembly, which has finished its task, in preparation for fresh elections.

Why, then, do the Indian local Government in Kashmir object to the Pakistan proposal for a plebiscite on the country's future?

First, because there is no more logical or legal need for it than in

any other part of India — or Pakistan.

..Second, because the pro-Pakistan campaign would be run to divide a united people, now living harmoniously, whatever their faith, along religious lines. This could only stoke the fires of fanaticism in both countries. Hindus in Pakistan and Moslems in India might well suffer in a revival of the religious strife of 1947.

Third, because Pakistan insists that the future of all Kashmir should be decided by a single plebiscite. If by any chance Pakistan won, India would have to take thousands of Hindu refugees from Jammu.

Kashmir has prospered under Indian rule. The people enjoy greater liberties than ever before — though the imprisonment without trial of the former National Conference leader Sheikh Abdulla (who wants a completely independent Kashmir) is a blot on the record.

Indian money has been poured into the state for unprecedented development of power resources, industry and farming. Land has been transferred from landlords to peasants. Health and education have taken big steps forward.

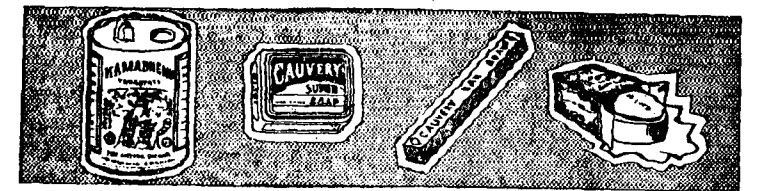
The peaceful state of the country is attested by an all-time record in tourists.

These are some of the things the Security Council ignored when it passed the recent pro-Pakistan resolution.

The weakness of India's case is that she has often been the first to insist on obedience to the letter of the law laid down by the United Nations, and she is now defying the latest expression of that law.

But that does not alter the strength of her case against a law which might easily mean mass bloodshed — in other words, which would defeat the very purpose of international law.

Certainly, the Tory newspapers which seek to equate India's action in Kashmir with Britain's action in Suez or Russia's action in Hungary merely show how ready they are to suppress the facts and how guilty are their own conscience.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"OUR DOUBLE STANDARD"

Sir,—India stands condemned before the bar of world opinion for its stand on Kashmir. We condemned the British over Suez; we condemned though belatedly and in much milder terms, Russia over Hungary. And now it is our turn to stand in the dock and be condemned for our double standard. This is the fruit of our policy of dynamic neutrality. While we accuse Pakistan of aggression, we conveniently ignore what we did in Junagadh and Hyderabad. Is not Pakistan right when it exposes India's 'heads I win and tails you lose' attitude and double standard of morality? While we, the so-called conscience-keepers of humanity tell the British and the French what they ought

to do in Algeria and Cyprus, we resent being told what we ought to do in Kashmir. And we accuse them of being blatantly partial. We may be right in condemning Britain and France over certain of their policies. But we are certainly wrong in not agreeing to plebiscite to which we had committed ourselves until the other day. Even the sober and impartial *Manchester Guardian* declared that we have, by flouting the latest Security Council resolution, thrown away much of our unquestioned international moral superiority. We seem to ignore the threats of Pakistan and to think that the Kashmir question has been settled, that it is a *fait accompli*. But history may well prove otherwise and history has a strange knack of repeating itself. Unless we face the force of facts calmly and courageously (and agree for the plebiscite) the 1947 partition drama may be re-enacted. After all, what Pakistan is asking for is only a plebiscite.

Preachers more than the preached should adhere to their precepts and not let their conscience collapse. I may say that I am an Indian first and an Indian last and a Hindu by religion.

Madras. A. RAJEEVA SHETTY.

PUBLISHERS PENALISED?

Sir,—I am surprised that Mr. Krishnaswamy Sarma considers that a publisher is being penalised by the direction to send free copies of his books to the public libraries. His comparison of a publisher of books with manufacturers of other commodities is not apt. There are publishers who are so parsimonious as to grudge giving the author more than one or two free copies of the book. Any publisher of a good book should consider it an honour, a privilege, and a duty to send a copy of his publication to the National Libraries specified by the Government of India and the Registrar of Books of the State. A place in the great libraries may even fetch the publisher orders for his books, push on the sale of

his works, and even serve as advertisement.

This aspect of the matter is quite different from the heavy postal and registration charges that have to be incurred by publishers in sending books to the purchasers. Knowledge is being heavily taxed. The Union Minister in charge of Posts and Telegraphs should take immediate steps to reduce the postal and registration charges for despatch of books by publishers to the buyers.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
Coimbatore.

POSTAL AIR SERVICE

Sir,—Post boxes in New Delhi indicate that letters posted prior to such and such an hour will catch the night air service. Of course, the time marked varies from box to box as this depends upon the clearance.

May I appeal to the Postal authorities to do likewise in Madras also? This will guide the public to post the letters at the right time to places served by air.

E. SAMBASIVAN

ANOMALIES

Sir,—In the new rates announced by the Government for inland letters and covers a close analysis will bring to light the following points:

Whereas an inland letter now costs $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas which is equivalent to 9 naya paise, the price in the decimal system is fixed at 10 naya paise. Likewise the postal cover which costs two annas now would cost only 12 naya paise which is its equivalent and not 13 naya paise as fixed by the Government. This unwarranted rise in prices is highly deplorable. Does it not amount to cheating the public in the name of the decimal system?

Another amusing point is that if anyone pays two annas for purchase of one cover in the old currency he will be refused a cover because it costs 13 naya paise. He should pay one more naya paise. (He cannot pay this in the old currency for want of an equivalent). Instead of paying one more naya paise he gives one more anna in the old currency. He would be given a cover and six naya paise.

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SWARAJYA

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Six naya paise is again one anna. This is because three annas is equivalent to 19 naya paise. So it comes to this. If you pay two annas you will be refused a cover and if you pay three annas you will be given one cover and one anna.

A strange way of encouraging the decimal system! Let the Government fix the price of an inland letter at 9 naya paise and a cover at 12 naya paise to avoid this confusion.

C. V. MALLIKARJUNAMURTHY,
Cuddalore. M.Sc.

President Magsaysay
(Continued from page 5)

the Japanese Army post in Lingaen to borrow a cigarette. The years of guerilla warfare were to instil in him a training and knowledge of tactics that were to stand him in good stead in his future combat against Communist insurgents.

His rise to prominence was rapid; the end of the war saw him a military governor of Zambales, a position he relinquished when General MacArthur handed over the country to civilian control. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946.

The war-destroyed country, the Philippines, was an easy victim to the waiting cynical politicians anxious to adopt less creditable practices; armed Communism under promise of plenty was threatening peace and prosperity. President Elpidio Quirino was on the horns of a dilemma. In his efforts to meet the revolutionary challenge, Quirino appointed a little-known 43 year-old Congressman of his Liberal Party as Secretary of National Defense.

The new man in democracy's show-window had but three words to utter to the press and public. "Now watch me!" said Ramon Magsaysay, the Secretary of National Defense. Campaigning with his characteristic ruggedness he met the menace manfully and successfully. After assuming office, he ordered his army on the march. When told that two weeks would be required to move a battalion against the Huk rebels, Secretary Magsaysay announced: "If the army does not move in

three hours, there will be a court martial." And the army moved within the stipulated time! In a short span of three months the rebels either surrendered or were on the verge of extirpation.

The country called for his service in a higher capacity. Magsaysay was elected as President of the Philippines by a record-breaking landslide. His honesty and straightforward simplicity captivated the electorate and they elected him President by the biggest number of votes in his nation's history. He assumed office on December 30, 1953, for a four-year term.

The new President based his country's policy on three considerations: National security, economic stability and political and cultural relations with the democratic world. "Our freedom is the fruit of the efforts, the sacrifices and the blood of our people. We won it by rising against Spain, by persuading America and by resisting the Japanese. That is why our people love our freedom so much."

Magsaysay was grateful to the United States, and was full of appreciation of America which "inexorably impelled by her own spirit and tradition" was not hesitant to grant independence to the Islands. The President said: "We have been bound by closer ties, more like kinfolk, ever since we became deliberate partners, years ago, in a unique experiment in modern democracy."

Son of a blacksmith, Magsaysay was born in Iba, Zambales Province, on the island of Luzon, on August 31, 1907. He graduated from the University of Philippines in 1927; he supported himself in

his scholastic career by working as a chauffeur. On July 10, he married Luz Banzon, and has two daughters and a son, Ramon, Jr. In his death, the world, and in particular, the Philippines, has suffered an irreparable loss, a fighter for freedom and a saviour of his country. —USIS.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1957

TWO ANNAS

ELECTION TOLL TO CONGRESS

Dealing with the criticism against the Congress that it had received large sums of money from industrialists for its election fund, the Prime Minister said in the Lok Sabha that "the Congress was a political party with a wide platform and it accepted contributions", but they were "nowhere as large as made out by the Opposition". We are impelled to refer to this subject once again, as the Prime Minister's argument has missed the central point in the criticism against the Congress. Pandit Nehru's words leave the impression that the collection of election funds by the Congress party was a unilateral affair with the donors volunteering to make payments and the party leaders merely responding to their wishes. He has taken no note of the really objectionable aspect of the Congress election fund-raising, the participation of the leaders in power and office, the Ministers, in the collection work. Official participation in money-collection lets in all sorts of iniquities. The mere co-existence of the private and public sectors, with the eternal threat of private undertakings being transferred to the public sector, is sufficient to make industrialists pay to purchase security with favour. Our Ministers have by no means been sparing in their threats lately. Only the other day the Chief Minister of Madras threatened the mirasidars of Tanjore with the appropriation of all their lands if they did not behave, the context of the speech leaving no doubt in

the minds of his hearers that good behaviour could only mean a becoming attitude of subservient response to the Congress demand for electoral support.

The Socialist pattern of Congress creation, with the public and the private sectors existing side by side, casts on Ministers a special onus. They should not exploit their power and official positions for cash-collection, if they are to escape the charge of levying blackmail. The Prime Minister's plea that all the amounts paid to the party funds of the Congress have to be shown in the accounts of the companies is naive beyond belief. Does he not know that under cover of a general permissive authorisation, all donations by businessmen to Congress party funds have been legitimised in advance by a suitable legal enactment? This was certainly made clear by a judge of the Calcutta High Court in a recent judgment in which, referring to the legalised practice of commercial firms contributing to the funds of political parties, he observed:

To induce the Government of the day by contributing money to the political funds of political parties is to adopt the most sinister principle fraught with grave dangers to commercial as well as public standards of administration. The evil practice of Congress exploitation of industrial wealth and industry's exploitation of Congress power as a result of ministerial fund-collecting operations, could not have been censured more energetically or authoritatively.

There are no doubt laws now limiting election expenses and the Prime Minister might be relying on them to serve as effective checks against mal-practices. But everybody knows that the scale of expenditure, in this State at any rate, in key constituencies where ministerial prestige is actively subjected to challenge bears no relation whatever to its legally permitted limit. People are thus given an object lesson in witnessing widespread violation of law by Ministers themselves who are the constitutionally ordained guardians for the observance of law. This evil example cannot but undermine the national morale to a very grave extent. Who can be expected to give correct income-tax returns and regard tax-evasion as a reprehensible civic offence when the example of furnishing false returns is practised with impunity by the leaders themselves that are charged with national responsibilities and are invested with the highest administrative powers in the name of Socialism in addition to other items in the list?

In these elections corruption has prevailed on such a wide scale and has been practised by such highly-placed personages that being bribed for votes has become a vested interest for vast masses in the cheries, and the elections themselves have lost significance as an authentic expression of the people's will. The Prime Minister should look carefully into this matter for the sake of the national honour, instead of ignoring what everybody knows to be true.

Break with the Past?

The Communist Party in Kerala has pleaded with the President of India for the commutation of a death sentence on the ground that at the formation of the first Ministry in the new-born State it does not wish to see the auspicious occasion polluted by the hanging of a citizen. More important than the individual fate of the condemned man involved in the request is the unusual sensitivity to human distress reflected in it, emanating as it does from a party more steeped in violence and bloodshed in the past than any Indian political organisation except perhaps the terrorists of the pre-Gandhian period. If this attitude of the Communists on the eve of assuming governmental responsibility indicates a break with the violent past, it is to be cordially welcomed.

The difficult thing for a political party, when power is transferred to it, is to realise that in wielding the power, the party is a trustee for people of all denominations. Failure to realise this leads the way to all sorts of vendettas contracting the Ministers from public to sectional guardianship. Sri Kamaraj's communalism, with its anti-Brahmin hate cult in alliance with the Dravida Kazhagam, is but one aspect of this sort of contraction in outlook as also in utility. Twenty years ago when the first Congress Ministry was formed in Madras State, Rajaji who was then Chief Minister, the first under conditions of freedom, wisely decided not to delve into the earlier records and official files to discover who had been the most active enemies of the Congress in the past when the British were in control. He inoculated the Congress against injustice by voluntarily denying himself in the capacity of leader access to available information that might have provoked retaliatory vindictiveness. A similar self-denying ordinance would benefit the Communist regime in Kerala enormously now, as the party has to live down its reputation of dealing with its political opponents with ruthlessness and severity. Sri Namboodripad is fortunately gentle enough in disposition and sagacious in a large-

NOT TOO LATE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When Mohamed Bin Tughlak of revered memory (peace be to his soul) saw the distress of the people consequent on his order to move the capital from Delhi to a more central spot, he withdrew his decree. The distress of the common folk consequent on the new coinage scheme of the Government of India seems however to make no impression on the present authorities in Delhi.

It is even now possible to rectify the error—of demanding a change at the bottom levels instead of quietly changing things at the top. If we wanted the decimal scheme to be adapted to our money denominations, we had only to issue a larger rupee, calling it by whatever name we like, giving it the value of 100 paisas instead of creating a new paisa of the value of one-hundredth of a rupee. If this had been done, there would have been no confusion or unearned profits or un-legislated taxation or undeserved loss to the rural seller or to the small purchaser be it of milk or tea or a cinema ticket or a postage stamp or a newspaper. I need not multiply instances as distress letters are coming in for publication in the Press. The bank accounts and the Government books had only to apply the simple formula of 16/25 to convert all old rupee transactions into the new rupee. And the new rupee could have been called *shree* to denote the prosperity of new

India or we could have lined up with the rest of Asia and called our new rupee by the name of "Indian dollar".

Even now it is not too late. We have only to print the new rupee notes—and gradually withdraw the old rupee notes—which would be automatically achieved in the course of a very short time. The fact that we have minted a large quantity of new small coins need not deter us from what I propose. These coins after all represent only labour. They could easily be melted down and reminted to produce coins of the denominations of 10 paisas, 20 paisas, 50 paisas, and any other denomination that may be required to suit the new system. These could run along with the old paisa coins without any difficulty. The labour of reminting is worth saving the distress that is ventilated now all over the country. All the old coins in circulation will continue to have the same value and purchasing power as before and there will be no room for any exploitation. There is nothing very sacred about next All Fools Day and things could be postponed to any reasonable date that may be necessary for the reversal of the scheme. It is a pity that I am repeating what I have more than once said before, but people can understand what I say more easily now, when things have taken shape in concrete form.

hearted human way to realise the wisdom of profiting by the example set by Rajaji on an occasion of similar transference of power—from the British to the Congress.

Error

In last week's SWARAJYA, on page 5, in Rajaji's article under the caption, *The Mounting Danger*, this passage occurs: "The fatal

chain of circumstances is lengthening. We know that this is an empty threat." The second sentence in the passage is wrong. It ought to be "We know that this is not an empty threat." I regret the omission of the so significant not from the sentence. It was due to an error on my part in transcribing, for which I sincerely apologise to readers.

The Editor.



Sotto Voce

Nahi Paisa!

I have now lived under the Nehru-Saka era for a whole week without being able to realise my good fortune. In "Bharat that is India" "1st Chaitra Saka 1879" still remains "22nd March 1957" of the Christian Era. The Government have decided that as the rest of the world would still use the Gregorian Calendar we must continue to use it side by side with the National Calendar. One learns to be thankful for small mercies. If the Income-tax Department asked me to submit my return by 17th Ashadh 1879 without giving the Gregorian equivalent I should feel as lost as I do confronted with the outlandish legend on the humble post card.

The Government have been at great pains to explain why they have chosen the Saka era in preference to others, particularly the Samvat or Vikrama era which is prevalent in most parts of upper India. The champions of the South, it is to be hoped, will take due note of the subtle compliment thus paid to their intrepidity. For, whatever earth-grubbing historians may say, we patriotic Tamils have always believed that Salivahana, with whose name the Sakabda is inseparably connected, was a great Tamil King who defeated King Vikramaditya. He thus emulated the exploit of that other Chola who hoisted the tiger flag on the Himalayas.

The Sakas, according to prosaic chroniclers, were Scythians who by a pious fiction were transformed into Rajputs with ever-lengthening pedigrees tracing their descent from the Sun and the Moon. One of these tribes settled in Rajputana and, migrating later to Nepal, gave us the Buddha. The old Adam seems to have been pretty strong in them; for Asvaghosha, in his *Soundara-*

nanda, describes them as a turbulent lot. But that is neither here nor there. If the Calendar Reforms Committee, in pitching upon the Saka era, did indeed pay a delicate compliment to the memory of the Blessed One, the Prime Minister will not take it amiss.

But still the nagging question remains: What is all this to-do about? The Government point out that there is a confusing multiplicity of calendars. But their long and learned labours will add only one more to the lot, just as their crusade against caste and sect is merely serving to produce more castes and sects. Every denomination will, for religious purposes, continue to follow its own calendar and, where there is more than one, to pick and choose by tests which defy bureaucratic standardisation. Religious holidays for Government servants and public institutions will, as hitherto, be decreed by the Varahamhiras of the Secretariat.

Naya Paisa, unlike Naya Kalandar, comes to me with a sardonic personal message. For its advent coincides with the cessation of forty years' wage-earning and the commencement of the era of 'Nahi paisa' for me. But it looks as if it will not produce in the minds of those who must go on getting and spending an iota of that exhilaration I feel at the prospect of release. I am not referring to the bosses who haven't got to reckon their paise and who in any case have cybernetics to do the slavish tally for them. Nor am I thinking of the Government and other monopolists who like supercilious Humpty Dumpty can say "Naya Paisa? Why, it shall be worth just what I say it is in my conversion table".

But turn your attention for a moment to the milling crowd at the third-class booking-window on our railways. This, at the best of times, is not exactly a place for peaceful meditation; though when the first bell has rung and the seething queue pushes and curses, the booking clerk goes into a trance thumbing his fares-table. And he is called upon to find change both in puran paisa and naya paisa. Would you be surprised if he impartially refuses to do either? The onus of tendering the precise fare correct to the last naya paisa is of course that of the passenger. The Government have considerably arranged to hang conversion tables prominently near every booth.

That the illiterate in a hurry would not be able to read the table any more than the illiterate who has plenty of leisure is not the kind of detail you could expect them to remember. And if John Citizen has to pay rather more for every post card he buys and very much more for every M.O. he sends he has no business to grumble: he is after all helping the Second Plan. But imagination bogs at the prospect of having to flaunt the conversion table in the face of the fluent vegetable-vendor. Moral? 'Nahi paisa!'—these busy-seeming activities of our Sirkar bake no bread. Remember the Tamil parable of the idle barber who tonsures the cat—a sinful as well as an otiose proceeding.

VIGNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri E. M. S. Namboodripad, prospective Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, arrived at Communism via Gandhism. At one time he was filled to the brim with the Gandhian spirit of renunciation. Long before Vinoba Bhave preached *bhoodan*, he practised it. Political adolescence threw him into practical saintliness and he systematically cultivated a non-material outlook until money ceased to have any attraction for him, or career either, or any other sort of personal ambition. He lived in a world of exaltation of his own, filled with intense excitements over benevolent planning for the public good. With his feet firmly planted in this world, he found the shortcomings and limitations of the accepted disciples of the Mahatma exasperating. It drove him, in the reaction of disillusionment, into the Communist camp, as so many other embittered and disappointed high-souled young men were at the time, as for example P. Sundarayya in Andhra.

The young idealist embracing Communism undergoes a remarkable transformation. He is all keyed up with a sense of personal responsibility for the devastating conflicts and contrasts between the *haves* and the *have-nots*. As there is nothing he can do about it, he oscillates between resentment against the existing order (attributed to a retrograde Providence) and helpless faith in an enlightened and revolutionary leadership, (trusted to rectify the blunders of Providence) operating through party as the mechanism of its power and beneficence. He is propelled into what he imagines to be a brave new world in the making, and its effects on him which are immediate, are seen in two drastic changes. Party takes the place of God as the power commanding his loyalty. And violence, as a shortcut to desired results, takes the place of morality, culture and civilization. Personal responsibility for right and wrong disappears and is replaced by a mechanical and un-

thinking readiness to obey the party mandate, whatever that mandate be.

The terrible thing about the Communist doctrine and practice is the absolutism it gives to individuals from the restraints and standards of conventional morality. Any atrocity, if commanded by the party, is sanctified as right conduct. To this fact we owe the phenomenon (more glaringly witnessed only a short while ago in the present Kerala Governor's home State Hyderabad than anywhere else in India) of Communist workers pursuing their idealistic, revolutionary drives for a classless society and the good of humanity with bloodshed, rapine, loot, murder, incendiarism and cruelties of all kinds. Not that the perpetrators were not individually human in the content of their characters. They were demonised for the occasion by a doctrine which removed the sway of conscience from their actions and glorified even crimes as laudable sacrifices to the party mandate in the interest of the over-all benefit to humanity postulated as Communism's theoretical objective.

It is when the unscrupulous means of Communism for attaining its proclaimed ends are masked by the attractive qualities of some of its top leaders, that it is most dangerous; for then it will make headway accelerated by the magnetism of such qualities, with its repellent crudities hidden from the public eye. This is what will now happen in Kerala. Elsewhere in the country, the present upholders of the Gandhi tradition have in the exercise of the privilege of governing that came to them, brought people to the verge of despair with their sybarite ways of living, greed for power, high prices, excessive taxation, profligate wastefulness, concentration on non-essentials first, clannish divisions of rewards among themselves and kindred, multiplication of V.I.P.'s and imposition of them on the public at great discomfort

to it, corruption, nepotism, communalism, diminishing rectitude and the like. All the patent ills of Congress rule have somehow been getting continually dissolved in the glamour of the great name of the Prime Minister who nevertheless has proved himself powerless to remove them. Now from Kerala a reverse process will start—a government with no legendary figure to fall back upon, but ostentatiously bent on capturing the public imagination with serviceable innovations like economy, simplicity, efficiency and non-addiction to red tape.

Sri Namboodripad as Chief Minister may be expected to cut down the privileges and emoluments in which Ministers in other States have been specialising. Already there is talk of reducing the Minister's salary in the State to Rs. 350! There is of course no merit, in financial abstemiousness as such, and a poorly paid Minister may prove to be a costly liability to the State, whereas another with the requisite competence may turn out to be an asset, a profitable bargain to the community, even at thirty times that scale of payment. But in a national set-up, where neither ability nor balanced handling of resources has been noteworthy, the expected Kerala example will galvanise the public mind and lift it to some comprehension of a different sort of leadership not steeped in money-mindedness. Spectacular consideration for the lower strata of society, making the common man rise to a sense of personal participation and adventure in the affairs of the State, is the initial change that will be introduced forthwith in the government of Kerala, and it is bound to evoke adverse reactions in the public mind on Congress rule elsewhere.

The Kerala Communist regime will prove beneficial if it serves to ginger up Congress leaders in the rest of the country out of the morass of complacency and degeneracy in which they are sunk. It may be regarded as a sort of concrete opposition to Congress rule everywhere else operating from a limited region but with nationwide

(Continued on page 5)

SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

COMPREHENSIVE, and to those who are not obsessed by implacable suspicion, obviously very reasonable proposals have been made by Mr. Valorian Zorin on behalf of the Soviet Government for reduction of all armaments and for quickly reaching a complete prohibition of the military use of atomic energy. These proposals if quickly accepted and carried out in the right spirit can save the world from the almost certain fate to which the present race in nuclear weapons of all kinds must lead.

A subtle programme has been put in operation by the nuclear Powers, of screening off spectacular fall-outs, lulling humanists to sleep by lowering potential and at the same time vastly increasing the spread of masked atomic weapons all over the world. All this is supposed to be entirely defensive as it probably is genuinely intended to be. 'Defence' in the case of atomic weapons is attack and never anything else and is a misleading term. The poison emanated by the exploits is the same whatever the motive of the operator may be. In the ultimate analysis it is fear that operates in all armament pro-

grammes and there is no aggression that cannot be proved to be an advance defence against an anticipated attack. Military dialectics have made considerable progress since the last war.

We are facing the main question: Can humanity survive today if offers and proposals are not taken at face value and if agreements are made impossible by implacable distrust? Modifications of proposals if arising out of careful analysis are relevant. But out of hand rejection on the old ground of the unreliability of Soviet promises is suicidal. Few Western thinkers really believe now that the U.S.S.R. intends to gobble up Europe by force or lead a mad undertaking such as Hitler did. What was folly fifteen years ago would be impossible idiocy today. It is doctrine that we dislike and fear. And doctrine cannot be met or stemmed by weapons, either conventional or atomic. If a quixotic attempt of that type must be made, to oppose doctrine by arms, let it be with conventional weapons and not with weapons that will poison unconcerned nations and future generations.

Those Who Buy Votes Today Will Sell Country Tomorrow

THE right to vote is the only real right that is given to the people under a democratic form of government. Even that right under our Constitution can be exercised only once in five years. It is the duty of the party in power to educate the people regarding the proper exercise of so valuable a right. Referring to this it is that our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru says that election propaganda serves the common people like university education. But those who saw the practices resorted to by the ruling party during the recent general elections, in order to ensure success for themselves, cannot help feel-

ing apprehensive about the future of our country.

Bribery has been so widely employed that the common folk have come to regard it as nothing extraordinary for candidates to buy and voters to sell their votes. Added to this, in some areas, threats, murder, supply of drink, theft and arson have been resorted to. Kindling communal hatred and soliciting votes on that basis have also been brought into vogue.

The cardinal teachings of Gandhiji are truth, non-violence, Prohibition, character, and abolition of caste differences. The Mahatma's spirit would be gravely disturbed at the extent to

which these principles were violated during the recent elections.

One wonders if those who buy votes for cash today, have realised the great harm they inflict on the body politic. Those who sell their votes for money today will not hesitate to sell their country for money tomorrow.

We should explain true democratic methods to the people; we should ourselves act according to the highest democratic traditions. It is only then that real patriotism will take root among the people; it is only then that democracy will flourish in a healthy way.

An indispensable requirement of democracy is a good Opposition. The only party fit to take up this responsibility in our State of Madras is the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. That is why I supported it in the elections and wished it success. In a secular democratic republic, who can possibly object to a secular party? Politics is the business of the State. Religion is the business of the individual. I hope the members of the D.M.K. now elected to the legislature will function as a good and effective Opposition and render national service.

Long Live Democracy.

P. T. RAJAN

Sidelights

(Continued from page 4)

reactions that may even turn out to be world-wide. But the Congress has little time to lose. Once the Communists get established in the favour of the multitude, the first casualty will be the Congress, and the second, all the other parties in the field. In limited power, with another party exercising over-all sway in national politics, the Communists might stimulate healthy inter-party competition for better government. But if they rise to absolute dominance, it will mean unalterable one-party rule and the death of democracy and individual freedom. The duty of averting this catastrophe without resorting to undemocratic means is now cast on the Congress by developments in Kerala, more than on any other party.

SARA

KRISHNA MENON AT U. N.

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK: The outstanding Asian-African delegate, and possibly the outstanding figure of the whole U.N. Assembly, has been V. K. Krishna Menon. To begin with, his appearance is arresting. He is a tallish man who dresses well, and his mop of grayish curls is always neatly arranged. He carries a cane, although as a rule he does not use it for support. Often he moves about the chamber restlessly, walking up and down one of its two principal aisles, with his head dropping forwards and a look of absorption on his face. Or he may wander about conferring with the other delegates, and in such huddles he has the same air of restlessness. His hands move expressively, and he is apt to glance sidewise as he talks, the whites of his eyes showing dramatically and giving an impression of scheming—of hatching manoeuvres. He is a brilliant speaker, with a striking grasp of parliamentary forms (he lived in England for years before India was set free, and while there he became a borough councillor of London). He is the unquestioned spokesman for the Asian and African countries whenever they are united on an issue; even the chief delegate from Pakistan, a country hostile to India, lets Menon speak for him if the two of them see eye to eye on a subject. Menon is extremely eloquent in dealing with matters in which his motives seem direct and unmixed, as when he is defending Egypt or appealing for

Red China's admission to the U.N. At these times he almost casts a spell over the Assembly. But when his motives are confused—as during the early debates on Hungary—in which his predilection for Russia appeared to clash with the neutral, moralistic stand of India, he inspires wide distrust. On such occasions, other delegates show a tendency to haze him, and he becomes less and less impressive, chattering excitedly that passion must be kept from the debate, and talking of detachment and principles and at the same time showing himself to be partisan, and denouncing blocs while clearly trying to lead one. After one of these paradoxical displays, he is apt to appear chastened for a day or two, and to seek to regain face by conciliation and by using his talents non-controversially. But soon he is plunged into excitement again. Through all these ups and downs he remains a centre of attention. He may be acting like a troublemaker in an Asian bazaar, but either way he steals the show consistently.

Krishna Menon has grown up in the womb of this new world; he knows the birth pains, the heartbeat, the language; he knows the how and why of its development, chapter and verse; he knows many of the people, old and new, big and small who are building (and those who are trying to prevent the building) of this new order.

Knowing as he does what the new world means to his people and his country, he also understands

much of what it means to the former "have" and "have not" countries; he recognises and appreciates the tremendous readjustments that must be made. He is sensible of their feelings, their long tradition, their misconceptions, prejudices and fears. In committees, at forums, at press conferences and in private discussion, he usually takes care to note whatever good points there are on the other side, then adds, "having said that, we must go on to say...." and lowers the boom of disagreement or criticism.

Mr. Menon is often a thorn in the side of the old-fashioned diplomat, and is therefore frequently severely criticized and maliciously misrepresented. He will make no concessions to futile double talk, but goes straight to the point with his brilliant inexorable logic, usually in the simplest terms. I have been present at most of Mr. Menon's press conferences at the U.N., and have heard him speak on and off the record. He was always courteous and co-operative with reporters, except when they have been downright rude: on these occasions he has rebuked them sharply.

I remember one occasion when American reporters asked him why India presses for "recognition of Red China", Mr. Menon answered crisply: "My country's view is not that the United States should recognize China, but that China be admitted to the United Nations". Then he continued with some irritation: "Why don't you people call the country by its correct name, the Peoples' Republic of China? How would you like someone to call your country the White United States or something like that?"

Krishna Menon believes in free, full discussion and negotiation on every situation on every level, and in open agreements freely arrived at. He does not believe in so-called gentlemen's agreements so dear to the old type of Western diplomacy, and thus he often infuriates devious people. On occasion the Western press has described him as "Nehru's bad boy", "India's trouble maker", etc. All of which has practically no effect on him.

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burdens involved in selling products and services should be brought down to the minimum. The sales manager wants to boost the sales volume economically. Individual salesmen are benefitted by the results of marketing analyses.

It was after the 1920's that marketing research began to secure adequate importance. (1) The excess production capacity and the shrinkage of world markets shifted much of the attention of the executives from production to marketing (2) With the development of large scale production, the gap between producer and consumer widened. (3) The complexity of modern business organisations necessitated the need for some definite procedure to keep firms in touch with the

requirements of the market.

Marketing research activities contribute towards business success in several specific ways. They point out the significant marketing problems which the business executive may fail to detect easily. They interpret markets to business organisations so that business policies may not be based on guess work. They reduce marketing costs by suggesting more effective and less expensive methods of marketing and advertising. New sources of profit are found out by the discovery of new markets and new uses for established products. Above all, they can be effectively used for sales promotion purposes.

Compared to other industrially advanced countries, the progress India has made in developing

marketing research technique is far from satisfactory, for with the exception of a very small number of foreign firms, no concern in India is making proper use of this effective device in scientifically tackling many of its marketing problems. In the United States, in addition to the separate marketing research departments attached to many firms, there are several independent consultants, syndicated services, advertising agencies, advertising media, associations and public agencies engaged in marketing research and their findings and suggestions have been of valuable use in solving many marketing problems peculiar to each concern. In India, although the emphasis is on production, the significance of an efficient system of marketing is gradually being realised by the producer. He is at present faced with several problems such as distribution, waste, difficulty in finding markets for his products, ineffective advertisement, keen competition, the absence of a scientific approach towards assessing market potential, etc., the solution of which is necessary for the progress of the industry and thereby that of the nation. It will be extremely useful if our business organisations have separate marketing research departments with competent personnel. Both the large scale and the small scale industries, the State and the private undertakings can secure extremely valuable guidance if proper emphasis is laid on marketing research.

P. THARYAN

University education is not a stuffing of adolescent minds with a mass of facts. It is not just a matter of turning up for lectures and filling up notebooks. Examinations are not just a test of memory of what the professor said; they are not even just a matter of hard work. No. What higher education aims at is to teach you to think clearly and to think for yourself—critically, perhaps, even of the professor—on the basis of communicated facts and methods of getting at the true facts. The words 'communicated' and 'getting at the truth' are not just idle prattling.—Professor Sargent Florence.

IMPRESSIONS OF DELHI

By Mrs. CHARULATHA ROY CHOWDHURY

DELHI, the capital of India, always wears a festive garb. Hers is not the humdrum part of an ordinary city. She has to play the host to all the powers of the world. If you have the time to go out for a stroll in the evening, you perhaps will see an illuminated tower raising its head far above the luminous glow of the city lights. It is the temporary abode of the head of a foreign State who deigned to grace our country by paying us a visit. To entertain these eminent guests a banquet is arranged here, a reception there, and these are crowded with all shades of people. One may question: What do they go there for? Perhaps with the expectation of getting a glimpse of the high and mighty or just being one among the thousands who gather there to pay respects to the great one and feel honoured for being invited to such a special function. If any of them have the habit of keeping a diary, this, I am sure will be marked there as a great event.

Once this city was the seat of the Moghul potentates who intermingled with and became a part of the country which they had come to ravage and plunder. History tells us the story of the grandeur of the Moghul Court which, when we read it, fills us with awe and astonishment. Only a few works of the master artists of those days survive now as remains of past glory. There is the Kutub Minar, tall and splendid, standing as a watch tower and braving the fury of age and the elements. Scattered in different parts of the city are the ruins of some forts which perhaps are the sole witnesses now of many a struggle of the days of yore. The tombs of the ancient monarchs, massive structures, invite numerous visitors. Are the spirits of the dead there perturbed under the curious gaze of these intruders? No one knows, none cares. All that we are interested in, is the satisfaction of our curiosity.

If by the touch of a magic wand a dead man could be brought to

life, would he, I wonder, recognize the Delhi of the past in the Delhi of modern times? Vanished from the field are the monarchical power and the imperial grandeur. In place of the palace of the bygone days, has cropped up the round structure of Parliament House. Here laws are made and unmade. The policy which guides the land is discussed and settled and then broadcast throughout the country for the benefit of the people.

The voice of the court musicians which charmed the audience and took them to the land of oblivion from the world of struggle, is heard no more. We live in the days of speed and machine. No one need stir from his hearth or home to listen to music. Just a turn of the knob and you hear the music of all sorts and from all parts of the world—classical music, folk songs, modern songs and the cinema music. Equality is our pass-word, therefore none can be belittled. Apart from this, there are the umpteen music conferences. To be culturally progressive one has to attend these. All that is required of you is your presence. You have to pay for it, yes, but what pleasure can you gain without paying for it? To be considered a cultural guide without much effort on your part is surely not a small thing.

Art, both graphic and plastic, forms another important side of culture. It has a tradition of its own and on no account can it be neglected. The great city of Delhi is not unmindful of this and does all that is in its power to support and encourage art and artists. Exhibitions are held throughout the year in Delhi and elsewhere for awakening art consciousness in the minds of the common people. The past has left wonderful works to elevate and enlighten our minds. These act as inspiration to the artists of the modern age. Yet no one can thrive with past glory alone. Every age has a message of its own to give. The modern artists are quite conscious of this fact and

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are struggling hard to give something new. Their enthusiasm in this respect is very great indeed. So much so that to a man unaccustomed to the cult of originality these works may seem like puzzles. But as his eyes get trained, it is expected that he would learn to appreciate their beauty.

While I was visiting an art exhibition I encountered a person whose thirst for knowledge prompted him to ask what was really the function of art . . . to emanate, beauty or to introduce novelty? Since my ignorance was equally profound I evaded the question by telling him to go round the exhibits. This, I said, will enable him to decide the thing for himself. He looked at me dubiously and marched on.

Dance, drama and the cinema, three other offshoots in the field of art, are also receiving due recognition in our capital city. Quite a large amount is spent every year for sending cultural delegations to foreign countries and to entertain the delegates who come to our land from different parts of the world. This, I presume, is essential, for it enables people to understand each other and encourages friendly relations between countries.

Delhi is very keen that she should send abroad first-rate artists, but the demand for them in their own country does not always allow her to be successful in her efforts. But that does not matter. Since the delegates represent the governments of the respective countries they invariably receive a tremendous welcome wherever they go and on their return they are full of praise of the country which they visited! And this is not all. Any number of seminars are held every year for the propagation of these arts, which are visited by all shades of artists. One may be curious to know what they do there. They talk, they have discussions and they attend the parties that are thrown in their honour. When the artists return to their places after the session is over, they feel they are so much wiser from the experience gained through interchange of thoughts.

The importance of Delhi de-

mands that the city should always be clean and trim. Its roads are broad with newly built buildings on their sides. No rickshaw or hackney coach is seen to ply in its thoroughfares. One is expected to possess a car. If not, at least a cycle or the money to spend on a taxi-cab. Buses there are but their number is small. Big hotels are always functioning at places of importance and these are patronised by the elite of society. Men and women in their fashionable array assemble there to meet, chat, admire each other and depart.

Quite a contrast to this is Old Delhi. This is the business quarter of the city. Its streets are lined with shops of all descrip-

tions. It is neither clean nor decorated like the new city. Yet no one can neglect to visit this part if one wants to make a good bargain.

There is no question that Delhi is destined to be politically important. It was the country's first city during the Muslim rule and its glory and splendour then knew no bounds. It is true the city lost its glamour for a considerable period during the British regime but got back its position later. Its prestige has risen to its zenith since the day it became the capital of independent India.

Oh Delhi, great are India's expectations from you — great ideas, great works, and above all, impartial judgement.

American Policy in Asia: Massachusetts Studies

THE Massachusetts Institute of Technology has issued a gorgeous book giving the results of the policy studies of its Centre for International Studies regarding how the United States might conduct itself in its Asian relations. Professor Rostow and his colleagues have done a lot of valuable thinking as will be seen on a reading of this book. The Institute the Director expressly states in a preface, does not take any responsibility for the substance of the views set forth in the book which "are inherently controversial matters on which there is room for much difference of view".

This is a scholarly attempt at objective study, but one cannot help feeling sad going over the pages of the book at the fixed and unalterable basis of all that is thought out, viz. that the U.S.S.R. is and must remain an enemy of the West, and the question is not how to befriend, but only how to circumvent.

An American Policy in Asia: By W. W. Rostow with Richard H. Hatch. Published by The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York. Price 1 dollar.

Towards the very end of the book is a sentence which I consider contains the most precious thought in the whole book. It deals with the duty arising out of the world leadership which America has undertaken: "An important part of the function of leadership is to take the first step in the dark". This great truth cannot be enunciated in better language. But it is of wider application than what Professor Rostow has limited it to in the context. It is not only in the leadership of the Western Coalition against the Communist world and as between the members of that Coalition that the onerous spiritual privilege of taking the first step falls on the party that leads. As between America and the Communist world, too, one or the other has to take the "first step in the dark" if we want the world to be saved. Professor Rostow has touched a great truth but I wish he had grasped it in its entirety. Who is stronger between two peoples who have been misguided into mutual hostility? The stronger must take "the first step in the dark". It is a duty that always falls on the strong. Otherwise it will be endless waiting, and sure disaster one day.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



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FUTILITY OF COURTESY WEEKS

By KOUNDINYA

RECENTLY I went to cash my National Savings Certificate which matured on the 16th of this month. It turned out to be a holiday due to Holi of which I was not aware, being a common working man who has to earn his livelihood with the sweat of his brow.

Let me digress a little here and express my deep concern at the increasing number of public holidays. The high-ups in the political field who are flamboyantly declaring that you must increase production and must make the Second Five Year Plan successful defeat the achievement of that commendable object by declaration of holidays on flimsy pretexts.

There is another side to this question. While Hindi sticks in the gullet of our Dravida Nadu enthusiasts, holiday for Holi which is not of much importance in this part of the country seems to glide

down easily because probably it offers them a pretext for doing less work.

On the 17th when I presented my certificate at the office working in full swing I was asked to wait even at 11 o'clock because they had not sufficient money to pay me. I was told that cash to the tune of two lakhs had already been paid out. "You know, sir, we have sent for money from the State Bank next door. They take their own sweet time" so I was told. Finally, at my willingness to accept a cheque, one was made out in my favour with a fair amount of celerity more due to the row I was kicking up there than any innate desire to expedite business. Should they not have asked me in the very first instance whether I would accept a cheque? Probably I looked a bit needy and bedraggled in appearance that day

though I usually bestow some attention to my appearance. Probably I was lax that day.

The remark made to me by a friend of mine, "if you wish to cash a cheque at the State Bank, you must go with your lunch basket," was repeated by me to a high-placed Bank official, and evoked from him the following reply: "Yes, there are lots of verifications to be made". "But the other private banks, like Chartered and Lloyds, I dare say, do make the necessary verifications before they pay out. They cannot afford to dole out largesse" I said. No reply.

The reasons for this state of affairs, as gathered from my personal observation, are these. Firstly, there is greater discipline in the other places, more clean-shaven faces, combed and brushed hair, and cleaner shirts and coats. When a complaint is made to an officer, there, he at once leaves his post to make enquiries. His appearance at the general office electrifies the rank and file of the clerkdom. The officers in the State Bank do not appear to inspire that respect or fear.

Secondly, there appears to be a desire for tips. A habitue of the place, a casual acquaintance of mine, noticing the disgust and impatience in my mien, whispered into my ear, "Sir, call that peon who is lolling there (quite a few of them were lolling there) and put a rupee in his hand, at the fifth minute you will have your work finished." It is tragic that affairs should have come to such a pass as to occasion even a casual remark like this—this may be false altogether. Personally, I feel that if some of the officers of the higher hierarchy move out of their seat and stroll now and again in the vicinity of these clerks, that may brighten up the lads. By no stretch of imagination could it be said that the clerks are over-worked. For I have seen but recently in an office hall containing about 20 clerks, that about four of them were twiddling their thumbs, and three pairs were carrying on an animated conversation — not on office matters I am sure — probably on some incident in the picture they saw the previous evening, and all this, mind you, when there

were a few well-dressed individuals with impatience registered on their countenances, at the counter.

I said "Good morning," with the angles of my mouth drawn out to the full recently at a railway counter. It didn't work. The gloom in the face of the chap there did not clear. The change that he flung, if thrown with a little more force and a little better aim, might have landed straight in the breast pocket of my coat.

I have an innate sense of humour and great fondness for fun. But nothing doing with Government servants. They are a gloomy, grousy, and pampered lot. You see the alacrity and cheerful-

ness with which an ordinary salesman at any shop in the China Bazar attends to his customers. I wish we could find out some recipe, something like Eno's Fruit Salt, to relieve the ailments of some types of people and make them smile a bit and do their work with some celerity.

Personally I feel that ever since the introduction of Prohibition, gloom, misanthropy and pessimism have settled on a good few of the citizens of this land. Courtesy could not be made to order. It will gush out when there is good cheer at heart, camaraderie towards colleagues, and general benevolence and goodwill to all men.

The Scope of Marketing Research

WHEN you drive into a filling station the pump attendants fill your gasoline tank and if necessary supply the lubricating oil. This is a common experience for many of us. What some may not realise is that back of this simple buying transaction lies a vast complex of industry, of which a relatively new element, marketing research, is now an essential part. Although the process may seem casual, it was not by accident that you drove into that particular station. Most probably, the selection of that particular location for the station itself was not primarily a matter of personal judgment, but rather of a considerable amount of marketing research into the community, competitive stations, neighbourhood characteristics, traffic flow, etc. Even the words spoken to you by the attendant may have been developed as a result of research which tested the effect of various personal sales approaches. While waiting for the fuel, you were subjected to a variety of silent influences in the form of station lay-out, merchandise display, the appearance of the kiosk and a barrage of advertising signs. These matters were not left to the opinions of the dealer, but were rather based on marketing research studies of the effectiveness of various forms of store lay-out, merchandise display,

and advertising. The selection and training of the dealer and his employees, the service performed free or for a charge, and the quantity of stocks maintained are a few other items in modern marketing operation in connection with which marketing research plays an important role. There are innumerable applications of marketing research in modern business. Marketing research means only the use of scientific methods in the solution of marketing problems.

Marketing (distribution) covers the entire process of getting goods and services from the factory which produces them to the final consumer for ultimate consumption. In modern business, the greatest opportunity for increasing profits rests with increasing the efficiency of marketing and in

turn, decreasing the costs of marketing. It is quite evident that, in future, the reduction of marketing costs will offer the maximum opportunity for securing competitive advantages because the production costs are becoming more standardised within industries. The consensus of opinion among the heads of business organisations is that haphazard ways of selling should be replaced by policies based on scientific analysis of consumer's preferences, dealer's ability and markets. The cost

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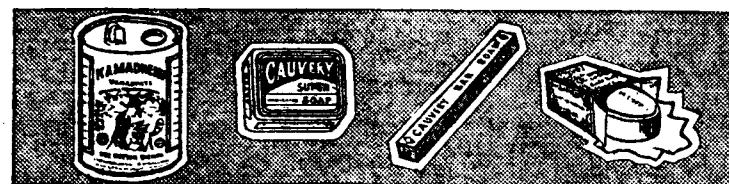
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ILL-TREATMENT OF TEACHERS

Sir,—With reference to your comments in *Sidelights* (SWARAJYA, March 23) regarding the plight of teachers, I wish to draw your attention to the affairs of an institution in Andhra, where there is no security of service for the teachers who live in continual dread all the time, fearing dismissal at the whim of its Principal.

In the Andhra Christian College, Guntur, for nearly six or seven years, appointments to the teaching staff are being made only on a temporary basis, for a period of one year. At the end of each academic year, fresh applications are called for and appointments made again for one year without

any consideration for the previous incumbents of those posts.

In 1954-55, in the Department of Natural Science, all the members except the head of the department, were new-comers. In 1956-57, the same thing happened once again. There are still some people with more than four or five years of service in the college who are not confirmed. They will have to once again apply at the end of the year and take their chance along with other fresh candidates. So far they have not been given any increment in salary, for the college rules permit increments only to permanent members.

It is very strange that so far nothing has been done by the University to prevent recurrence of such unhealthy practices. The Government of Andhra must at once look into this matter and see that the college is governed by some service regulations.

S. A.

A GOOD PIECE OF WORK

Sir,—Of late, Pandit Nehru has been pleading that we should behave like the mature people we are. Let us make a beginning by sportingly admiring a good piece of work when we see one. I am referring to the masterly analysis of the Kashmir problem by Aneurin Bevan's *Tribune*. *Tribune* has thrown more light on the subject than all our one-to-eight-and-a-half-hour spokesmen have been able to do, till now.

A READER

'REFORMERS' TOO IN THE SAME BOAT

Sir,—Our electorate does not seem to have understood the value of their votes. Communalism prevails everywhere and in every party, whether it is Congress, Communist, C.R.C., D.M.K., Socialist or any other. Political parties select candidates from the majority community of a constituency. The electors too, irrespective of party policies, support candidates belonging to their own

respective communities. The electorate also expects something in cash in lieu of their valuable votes. In view of all this, how can these elected persons be said to be representative?

Even the dissidents from the Congress in our State, who claim to have left the Congress to fight for reform, also float on the same ship. They proclaim from the platforms that they have cent per cent faith in the Gandhian ideals and taken to contesting the elections only to reform the Congress and rescue it from its communalistic and dictatorial leadership. But actually they utilise their propaganda machines to support parties with views, policies and ideals opposed to their own, taking advantage of the political illiteracy of the masses. If this persists, how can the public repose confidence in those parties and their bosses?

In the interests of democracy and of a strong and healthy Opposition, may I request all the political parties to start from now on to educate the voters on their ideals and policies, eschewing personal criticism? They should tell the voters about the value of their votes and why they should cast their franchise in the elections. The Government should also take the initiative in this matter.

K. SANKARA SASTRY
Sankaranainarkoil.

CHIEF MINISTER SHOULD LEAD LEGISLATURE

Sir,—The Chief Minister of a State should, on principle, function as the leader of the State Legislative Assembly. The Chief Minister is under Article 164 of the Constitution responsible to the Legislative Assembly along with his Council of Ministers. For the proper discharge of his responsibility to the Assembly, it is essential that he should act as its leader. Unfortunately, due to party exigencies, this wholesome principle has been departed from in the Madras State, for the past few years. The mistake should not, however, be repeated. It will be a serious breach of a constitutional principle to do so. The Congress Parliamentary Board as well as

the State Congress Legislature Party will, it is hoped, respect the principle and carry it out. The observance of healthy constitutional conventions is essential for the proper working of democracy, especially in an infant democracy like ours.

A. S. KUPPUSWAMY
Tirunelveli.

IMPLICATIONS OF CABINET SYSTEM

Sir,—Sri Krishna Menon's success at the polls is hailed as the vindication of India's foreign policy and Sri Nehru himself has stated that his Government's foreign policy was being put to test at North Bombay. But to treat a Government representative in a certain field as representing Government wholly, as if other re-

presentatives have no responsibility in that particular sphere of duty, appears to misread the fundamental basis on which a cabinet system of government works in a democratic set-up.

In a cabinet which is working on the principle of joint responsibility, each member represents wholly the policy adopted by that body. For example, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari represents India's foreign policy as much as Sri Krishna Menon does. It is therefore as much a defeat for foreign policy if say a Minister of Mining is defeated, as a defeat for financial policy when an Education Minister is defeated. Talks of test and vindication have no relevance in a general election, especially when all the political parties are in agreement with the Government's stand on Kashmir, which presently is the hottest part of the foreign policy.

S. P. VASUDEVAN, M.A.
Bangalore.

ALAS, FOR HUMAN VALUES!

Sir,—The late Madam Chimana Saani of Bellary had donated the building "Rani Choultry" for sheltering the poor and the destitute. For decades it had been a home for many unfortunate families.

But our wise and benign municipality had a plan of its own. It drove these families into the wilderness (without providing alternate accommodation) and converted the building into business flats, renting them to merchants, thus making it a source of revenue to the municipality.

Alas, where are the human values!

H. SESHAGIRI ACHAR
Bellary.

DISCRIMINATION

Sir,—After the formation of Andhra Pradesh the meagrely paid N.G.Os. are put to great hardship and subjected to unjust discrimination. There are now different pay scales as between the people from the Andhra area and those from Telangana area who work at the same table at Hyderabad. Besides being unjust, this is most un-constitutional. The promises given that the pay

scales will be levelled remain promises till to-day.

In addition to this, the same Andhra employees who were given Rs. 10 as house rent allowance at Madras were given Rs. 7 at Kurnool on the ground that Kurnool was not a city; but on transfer to Hyderabad the house rent allowance has remained unaltered.

I hope our unions will do something effective instead of merely passing resolutions, to achieve what is due to us.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1957 15 Naye Paise

DISINHERITED WITHOUT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the Letters to the Editor this week there is one from Sri S. Guruswami, Secretary of the Dravida Kazhagam. He refers to a statement in our editorial three weeks ago that "several devoted Kazhagamites were included in the Congress list of candidates" (for the election) and says it is not a fact. He asks: "When Rajaji concurs with the Kazhagam in the matter of the exploitation of the South by the North, can you say that he is also a devoted Kazhagamite?" Of course not, and the fact that we have not said it may be taken to indicate that we are in agreement with the Secretary when he wants the Kazhagam stamp to be applied to people with discrimination and circumspection. Two things mark the Kazhagam out as distinctive: its demand for Dravidia and its anti-Brahmin hatred cult. Sri Guruswami's claim that his is "the only movement in this country which is serving without fighting for the loaves and fishes of office" reflects the pleasant excitement of a highly enviable conceit but very few who have any knowledge of what is going on will be taken in by his grandiose phraseology. The leader of the Dravida Kazhagam, Sri Naicker, stands before the public today as an embittered old man so hopelessly steeped in the hatreds he has propagated that he has publicly begun to glorify the torch and the knife as fit instruments for his mission. His ablest lieutenants have left his fold, unable to endure his impossible politics. The creation of a casteless and classless

society is not a matter of warfare on denominational lines, nor can it be brought about by means of assiduous hatred - mongering, which seems to be all that is now left to the credit of the D.K. leader towards the close of his stormy career. Far from cementing society with cohesive influence to dilute the divisive effects of caste and class, he has thrown into it new forces of disruption to disintegrate it and destroy its harmony.

The proud boast that the Kazhagam, alone of all parties, has stood out of the fight for the loaves and fishes of office can scarcely impress any intelligent observer of present-day events, after Sri Ramaswami Naicker's continual election propaganda that he has, as it were, caught Sri Kamaraj himself as a fish to serve the D.K.

The unanimous election of Sri Kamaraj once again as the Chief Minister has to be interpreted in the light of the Kamaraj-Naicker election alliance. Notwithstanding the D.K. Secretary's repudiation, it is not our invention that Kazhagamites were admitted to the Congress list of candidates but a fact widely and repeatedly notified in the Press. The conversion of Kazhagamites as Congress legislators is however not so significant as the wider process of the Congress itself being Kazhagamised by its present leader whom Sri Naicker has paraded as his political captive repeatedly on his election platforms. All this invests the apparently spectacular success of the Congress at the

hustings in Madras State with an illusory character. Apart from the fact that in the key constituencies defeat was averted only by colossal expenditure and devious methods that will not brook scrutiny, it is also noteworthy that the content of the Congress character itself has changed without acknowledgement, but changed none the less effectively and in directions diametrically opposed to Congress traditions and the declared Congress objectives. Thus we have Communalism entrenched in office under cover of the name of the Congress, and we have Communalism installed in the Opposition as well, legitimately in its own constitutional right. What the Congress stood for in the halcyon period of the freedom fight under the Mahatma's inspiration stands annulled, without a champion to preserve the inheritance, or ever any chance of one emerging on the scene to oust the usurpers in wrongful possession.

It was because something like this happened in Kerala that the Communists are about to take over government there. What is happening in Kerala today is a portent of what will happen in Madras and other similarly situated States tomorrow.

A Call to Duty

At Madurantakam, flanking a Vane leading to the well-known shrine of Kodandarama, is a gateway consisting of twin stone pavilions of the Vijayanagar school, richly carved in the style of that period. Historically, these pavi-

SIDELIGHTS ::

Twenty-five years ago I went to Pondicherry for the first time and had *darshan* of Sri Aurobindo. The effect of induction into the presence of the sage was overwhelming. The kindness of his glance fell on one like a shower of benefaction. Tears came out of my eyes uncontrollably. Later I wrote to Sri Aurobindo for an explanation of this phenomenon. He answered: "The inner being felt the psychic call but the exterior was not ready to follow it. Your time however will come."

Last week when I went to Pondicherry again the exterior aspect of the Ashram seemed more impressive than ever before. What headway the inmates have made in the practice of yoga, which the Ashram was founded to teach, is more than I know. Yoga is not for discussion but for silent discipline and realisation. Its fulfilment is the destruction of the *maya* of duality. It is duality, a sense of the separateness of one's own self from all other selves, that engenders fear, envy, jealousy and acquisitiveness, the perennial springs of all the miseries of mankind. To overcome duality is really a gigantic feat, the most difficult that the human spirit can attempt. But it is only in the beginning of the endeavour that struggle and strain are experienced. Thereafter, as the aspiration becomes full, vigilant, pure, all-absorbing, to meet it, grace will descend from above, the necessity for personal effort disappears and the body will awake and unite its consciousness to the supra-mental super-conscious force of the universe. "The human mind shut in the prison of its half-lit obscurity cannot follow the many-sided freedom of the steps of the Divine Shakti" taught Sri Aurobindo. "Follow your soul and not your mind, your soul that answers to the Truth, not the mind that leaps at appearances: trust the Divine Power and she will free the god-

like elements in you and shape all into an expression of Divine Nature. . . . The Mother's power and not any human endeavour and *tapasya* can alone rend the lid and tear the covering and shape the vessel and bring down into this world of obscurity and falsehood and death and suffering Truth and Light and Life Divine and the immortal's Ananda."

There is a passage in the Gita which defines yoga as skill in works: *yogah karmasu kausalam*. Everywhere in the Ashram the visitor feels the atmosphere of an all-pervading executive genius. Everything is done in the most perfect way. The combination of economy, efficiency, pleasantness and cleanliness is captivating. Nowhere is there any waste of substance. The blend of nature with engineering and art is exquisite and there is scarcely a building without its little garden of green grass, plants and foliage and enchanting flowers. I was thinking all the while how much could be accomplished if the Ashram spirit of turning inward in doing work without need of advertisement to impress it on others and sustain enthusiasm, could animate our Five Year Plans with all their thousands of crores of expenditure. I caught Mr. Eisenberg, the American expert on management who was also at the Ashram saying to himself, evidently lost in admiration, "Amazing experiment. Most amazing experiment."

On returning home late at night, the sad news was waiting that Sri N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar had passed away in the morning. He was a silent benefactor of many needy people who looked to him as a guardian Providence. I do not recollect any preface of mere acquaintanceship to the very close relations that subsisted between us in the past dozen years. He had a talent for swift and

enduring personal friendships without the intervening trial period of formality and uncommitted affections that is usually the rule between people that come together. His very first visit to our house was to me memorable. I had just received a letter demanding payment of Rs. 25,000 due for a lino machine I had rashly ordered, which arrived in the harbour. Aiyar saw the letter and left after a few minutes. Next evening I had a telephone call from a local bank manager that a loan of Rs. 20,000 was waiting for me and I could come and take the cheque. Sri T. V. Viswanatha Aiyar who by command had arranged the loan made up the balance of Rs. 5,000. Viswanatha Aiyar had for the late judge a devotion like Hanuman's for Rama. Many such devotees worshipped at this shrine. Sri Chandrasekhara Aiyar dispensed immense hospitality and exercised an enormous personal influence over a vast and varied range of people, high and low.

Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar has retired from *The Hindu* after forty years of service. He was the ablest of its editors, and to the prestige which the paper now enjoys he made an individual contribution which is unsurpassed and unsurpassable. He may be rated as the greatest of India's journalists in our time. He exemplifies the truth that great writing is not a flair or a mere matter of labour at words and collecting information, but an expression of character itself, as also culture, civilization and equipoise. It is the very flowering of these attributes that in a way has led to his retirement. For he seems to have outgrown interest in routine tasks under the compulsion of the questing religious impulse for the core of reality. For men of this calibre there can be really no rest. They are at work while they are alive. Retirement in this case only means that one confined within a newspaper office all these years is now released for more important public and humanitarian service under conditions of greater initiative and freedom.

SAKA

OUR CLEAR DUTY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A crisis has developed on the nuclear issue. The persistence of governments on the one hand and the opposition of informed and enlightened opinion on the other have both reached a pitch this month which promises a decisive conflict. My solemn appeal is that India should recognise the importance of this occasion for supreme service.

Bertrand Russell has once again come out with his powerful protest against the programme of his Government for the Christmas Island test. He has disentangled the nuclear issue from the almost unavoidable generalities about the evils of war and concentrated on the immediate question. A great man still alive with us has pointed out that to let this crime go on is to be an accomplice in it. He has used language which reminds one of Thoreau and Gandhi.

All enlightened opinion has expressed itself in severe and unqualified condemnation of these tests that are cumulatively and dangerously polluting humanity's present and future conditions for life. Again and again the wisest among the people of the world have called for a complete ban of these tests and these weapons. Again and again have the U.S.S.R. offered to accept an agreed ban.

But America has its world superiority anchored in nuclear armament. She feels it is not easy for her to deal with local conflicts in a vast world for which she has been compelled by fate to take responsibility and she feels her only policy can be to be prepared for a total war with the inescapable corollary of mass retaliation meaning total destruction of civilization. Her plans for decentralisation of destruction by means of multiplied bases spread over treaty-bound non-nuclear territories have not met with much encouragement.

Britain is emphatic that she ought not to become a satellite as she fears she must be if she has not her own nuclear programme. Unless she explodes her test

bombs, she will, she thinks, completely lose her place among the Powers.

The time has arrived when something must be done to relieve the melancholy fruitlessness of the offers of the U.S.S.R. Others who are not tarred by the brush of nuclear production must take up the battle with fierce determination. The Japanese Government, as distinguished from her scientists and her unofficial organisations, have now vigorously taken up the question. The voice of martyrdom cries through Japan's appeal and the issue has reached a high pitch. If this decisive moment is let go and the occasion is not utilised, the powers of darkness will have it all their own way.

How I wish Gandhi were alive in this critical hour in the history of the world! He would not have hesitated to throw India into this supreme battle. The moral issue is clear and in his name and inspired by his spirit let us take up the challenge. We are supposed to be in the Commonwealth. If the connection has any meaning and our being in it has to serve any purpose, it is time we solemnly demand in the name of that Commonwealth that the British proposal to carry out the Christmas Island programme against the Japanese Government's protest must be given up. We have indubitably shown that we greatly value the connection with Britain, but our continuance in the Commonwealth would be

totally immoral if our protest in this matter is not heeded. The connection would be selfish and maintained for mere pottage at the cost of our soul. Our economic entanglements are no answer to the supreme call of duty to dissociate ourselves from this deliberate offence against humanity. The dissociation cannot be deemed as done by verbal condemnation. Is our Commonwealth connection voluntary or is it imposed? Is it a high-minded bond in the interest of world-peace or is it a low-class treaty for selfish purposes? If it is a noble high-minded voluntary attachment, there can be no greater or juster occasion and reason to sunder it than this criminal obstinacy of the British Government. We have the chance of rendering supreme service to humanity and I hope and pray that the Guardian Spirit of our nation may inform us now, so that the occasion may not be lost. The step I suggest is a very serious step, but the cause and the call are great and sufficient for such a big step and history will vindicate it in golden memory for future generations. May we be blessed with the courage needed!

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—Kural.

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THIS, OUR FREEDOM

By BHARADWAJA

lions are significant, for though so unmistakably dated in their carvings, their precise origin has not yet been established. To the iconographer and the student of Indian art, they are of even greater interest; the figures and motifs here are nearer to those at Hampi than at other and better-known shorehouses of Vijayanagar art, such as Vellore and Kancheepuram. That is, the carvings at these obscure Madurantakam pavilions display an unmistakable affinity in design and style to the hate-scarred, time-scarred carvings at Hampi, an affinity that marks them as being almost contemporaneous with the fulness of the Vijayanagar Empire. Moreover, some of the Madurantakam carvings are absolutely unique in the boldness and exuberance of their conception and execution.

The importance of these pavilions is yet to be appreciated by authorities on Indian art, but it is only a question of time before it is very fully recognised and proclaimed. Meanwhile, the natives of Madurantakam have found another use for the recesses of the pavilions — being sufficiently removed from the nearest place where actual worship is offered (the Kodandarama shrine), and sufficiently close to the main street to suit traditional location in such matters, these pavilions are being used as public latrines.

Words cannot convey the revulsion that overcomes one when one sees human ordure in juxtaposition with some singularly beautiful figurine or floral relief. We are guilty of no sentimentality that is not wholly human and natural in feeling this revulsion; it has been felt in every age and cultural climate. Pope could not bear the thought that his beloved Celia, idealised as the figure of tender loveliness, was human in the elimination of waste products from the system. Our own rural culture, always sensible and tolerant in matters of inevitable bodily needs, prohibits the open use of places close by human dwellings and public thoroughfares as latrines. And these Madurantakam pavilions are sufficiently part of the public thoroughfares of the place for their use as latrines to offend municipal law. Still,

It is an ill wind, they say, that blows nobody any good. In this sense the Communist victory in Kerala is not an ill wind. It has already driven Congressmen — and quite a few others — to re-read our Constitution to see what means there are to prevent the abuse of power by a Communist majority to subvert the democratic process and establish one-party rule. Past experience in Europe has shown that a totalitarian party, once it acquires control over the government by victory in a democratic election, can use that power to make an end of democracy as we know it. The Weimar Constitution was claimed to be the most democratic constitution in the world. And yet Hitler after becoming Chancellor made mincemeat of democracy in Germany. After the war in Eastern Europe we have seen the eclipse of democracy in every country where the Communists infiltrated into the Government. Historic experience testifies that a ruthless and determined minority, once it acquires the power to influence a government, can reduce democratic safeguards to a farce.

The danger at the moment, it may be said, is no bigger than a man's hand. Kerala, after all, is the smallest State in India. The Centre is still solidly Congress-dominated and the infection can be effectively localised. Such a view, however, ignores two factors. It is wrong to imagine that Central heavy-handedness will be good enough weapon to teach the Communists their place and limit the area of their mischief. It is even more wrong to think that the

nothing is being done to protect this notable and attractive gateway from the disgusting use to which it is now being put. We do not know who is ultimately or immediately responsible for such protection, but surely some governmental or municipal authority is, and we appeal to them to step in and do their duty.

threat to democratic freedoms comes only from the Communists. The danger from Communism may be so magnified as to make out that the only bastion of democratic freedom in this country is the Congress. That would be a fatal political error.

What then are the safeguards? The Constitution, with its basically democratic procedures and its emphasis on fundamental freedoms, is doubtless the first safeguard. But in our system of parliamentary government, it is not widely known how much the preservation of democracy depends on observance of recognised conventions. The President and the Governor, under our Constitution, are expected to play primarily the role of the Crown in Britain. The substance of power vests in Cabinets subject to the vote of elected legislatures. Unless Ministries continually conduct themselves in a manner which demonstrates their subjection to the legislature and which really shows to the people that the ultimate source of power is the legislature, the people may come to think that the legislature does not count. The most disturbing trend of the past five years is the conversion of the legislatures at the Centre and in the States largely into passive instruments for registering the decisions of Government. The weakness, numerically and otherwise, of the Opposition has lent an atmosphere of unreality to proceedings in legislatures which must be radically altered if the spirit of democracy is to survive. Perhaps the only redeeming feature of our second general elections is that we shall have in most legislatures a more solid and strong Opposition than we have had before.

Respect for the legislature, in spirit as much as in form, is thus primary. This implies, for instance, that resort to the extraordinary procedure of legislation by Ordinance is not done except in a real emergency to meet a totally unexpected situation. It is

(Continued on Page 15)



Sotto Voce

Utkal Bhima, Magician

Dr. Hare Krishna Mahtab is the Utkal Bhima whom Prime Minister Nehru summoned to fill the gap left by the death of Sirdar Patel. It was supposed that the Congress in Orissa was so unassailable and running so smoothly that his faithful lieutenant Mr. Naba Krishna Choudhuri could be relied upon to do the routine machine-minding. His translation to Delhi did not, however, fulfil his admirers' sanguine expectations possibly because Mr. Nehru has always preferred that "strong men" should serve as mascots and not throw their weight about in inconvenient ways suggesting that there were two kings in Brentford. It was soon discovered that Mr. Mahtab's presence was more badly needed in Orissa.

That State was in fact behaving in an eccentric way, to use the bright phrase of the *Manchester Guardian*. Even at the 1952 election the Congress had failed to get an absolute majority. But it was a comparatively easy matter to win over the few non-Congress members needed to keep going the Congress Ministry which had been inducted into office by a friendly Governor. And when Mr. Mahtab some time ago took over the reins of government — the *locum tenens* having dutifully omits to say — Jharkhand were jubilant thinking of the ignominious squelching that awaited the Opposition under the impact of the steam roller. But, for a wonder, the Crustacea not only proved too tough: they actually multiplied.

If the Mahtab magic did not work with the benighted feudal serfs of Orissa any more than the Nehru Niagara of eloquence did with the Communists of Kerala or the bourgeoisie of Bombay, the Congress was too old a campaigner

to be nonplussed by such a trifle as the verdict of the electorate. So Mahtab, the tactician and master-casualist, was to the fore. He claimed to have increased, with all the professional conjurer's ease, a hopeless minority of 56 in a House of 140 members into a comfortable majority of 74. How was the trick worked? That, naturally, is a professional secret which cannot be revealed.

One member elected on the Ganatantra Parishad ticket has already told the world that he is going to sleep in (the Congress) Abraham's bosom. And Mr. Mahtab nonchalantly hints that this is no solitary example of the death-wish we shall see in action. Meanwhile the Jharkhand group of five has after tacking about uncertainly for a while decided to sail with the Congress. They are good trimmers, as one may see from the statement of their leader, Mr. Jaipal Singh. It is a masterpiece of lucid thinking. The 'party', it seems, has wrestled long and painfully to discover which would be "the better alternative", keeping in mind the paramount interest of avoiding President's rule. "As, however, all the efforts made to persuade the Opposition to get together have failed" — thanks to whom, he discreetly omits to say — Jharkhand has had perforce to plump for the Congress.

But, even with this strange conquest, the Congress falls short of the needed majority by two. It is at this point that Mr. Mahtab's talent for bluff is seen at its transcendent best. Like the wary auctioneer who threatens to bring down the gavel on the latest (pre-arranged) bid fixing his basilisk eye the while on the fumbling innocent whom he has decided to inveigle into the

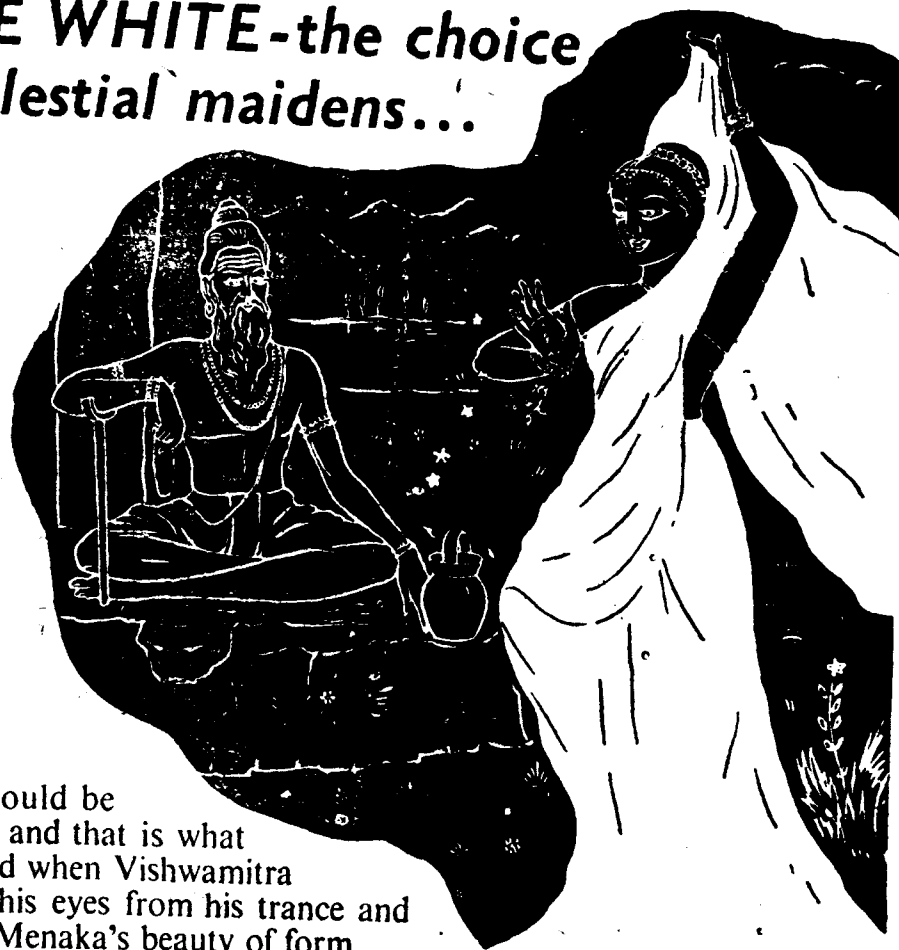
net, Mr. Mahtab, keeping his shadowy 74 in the background, has sprung upon the legislators of Orissa a thesis begotten of Machiavelli out of Burke. The Congress, he said, "was entitled to shoulder the responsibility of working out the programme set out by the Congress". Here in a nutshell you have the Congress version of the Divine Right of Kings.

And all non-Congress members would, he smoothly argued, regard it not merely an honour but a sacred duty to clothe the Congress in purple. Such patriotic self-effacement must not be confounded with anything so ignominious as the decision of the P.S.P. to enter into a coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad. That, said Mr. Mahtab, with characteristic elegance, only showed that the P.S.P. were prepared "to crawl and lick the dust at the feet of power". But those who genuflected and laid nuzzers at the feet of regnant Congress would not be toadies and turn-coats at all. Oh, no, they would be 'Socrateses' rather — the reader will recall the wise old sow of *Animal Farm* which rejoiced in the philosopher's name — who had taken their Burke seat and come to rest contentedly by the swill tub the Congress has set out for them.

"A member is not an attorney of his constituency", says Mr. Mahtab, glibly quoting the Address to the Electors of Bristol. Only the excoriating tongue of a Burke could do justice to Mr. Mahtab's own parade of "convictions" and "principles". The blatant seduction of new elected members from their allegiance to their party is pictured as a high-minded invitation to "those who are worthy of it" to help him fulfil his Heaven-appointed mission. This is claptrap and confused claptrap at that. But a Ganatantra Ministry would be a Rightist Deviation. And the right thing for Mr. Nehru's democratic Left to do is to do the Right in the eye.

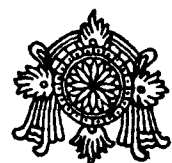
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FRANK MORAES'S BIOGRAPHY OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

By Dr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

HISTORY, it has been averred, is the essence of innumerable biographies and this remark is specially appropriate to the India of yesterday and today. The life and work of Dadabhoi Naoroji and Hume, of Phirozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, of Dr. Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Mahatma Gandhi, Patel and Nehru may, in truth, be regarded as an epitome of recent Indian history. The uniquely peaceful liberation of India was, to no small extent, due to the antecedent preparation of Tilak and Dr. Besant and finally to the culminating and many-sided efforts of Gandhiji. The consolidation and unification of India was specially the task of Patel. The winning for India of security at home and prestige abroad must to no small extent be ascribed to Jawaharlal Nehru who is specially fitted, by his upbringing as well as the inspiring contacts with his great father and with Gandhiji, for an achievement which demanded a combination of several disparate attributes. Frank Moraes, the Editor of the *Times of India*, has definite qualifications for dealing with the life and qualities of one who, like himself, was educated abroad but who, in addition to and in spite of such training, has developed a spirit of intense nationalism.

Biography may be of two types—one typified by James Boswell who not only adored Dr. Johnson but who could hardly see any foibles in the object of his worship save perhaps a few amiable weaknesses. Another and radical method of biography was adopted by Lytton Strachey who almost put the subject of his sketch on the dissecting table and to whom the chronicling of weaknesses, temptations and backslidings was almost as significant as the recounting of virtues and achievements.

Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography. By Frank Moraes. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Frank Moraes who has watched Nehru's career with critical observation during many years has, while dealing with the family life and the education of his hero as well as his association with Gandhiji in the struggle for Indian independence against the complex background of multifarious conditions and handicaps, notably maintained a balance between the two above-mentioned techniques. Very acutely he observes that Nehru came to identify in Gandhiji the leader-image with the father-image. While his father lived, Nehru's political ardour was kept in some check but after Pandit Motilal's death Nehru, although he had many and occasionally deep differences with Gandhiji, adjusted himself to the Mahatma's views.

Moraes' analysis of Nehru's character is penetrating and revealing. He states that 'despite his eruptive and emotional outbursts, a strong strain of calculation exists in Nehru's character.' Gandhiji, as the biographer observes, acted more from intuition than from reason and often referred to his inner voice. Nehru did not depend on any such voice; and, after Gandhiji's death, in the language of Moraes, the battle between heart and head was over and Nehru began to implement his ideas brooking no opposition.

Dealing with Nehru's outlook on religion Frank Moraes observes

that Nehru believes that religion clouds men's minds, and adds that Nehru is not godless but feels that religion is purely a personal and private affair. Taking all things together, the biographer's summation is perhaps correct when he notes that perhaps there is a pro-

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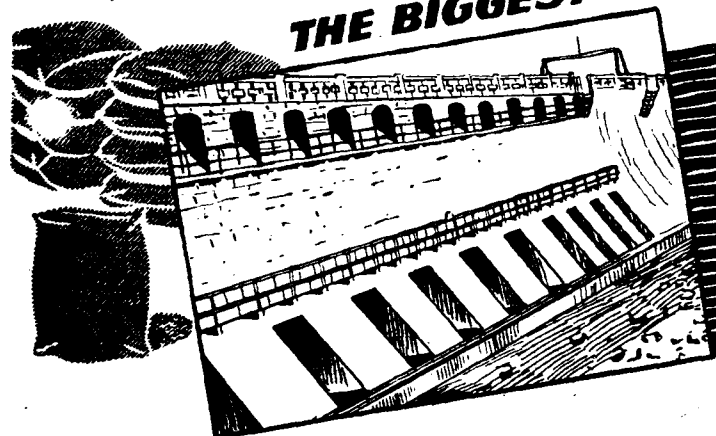
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found scepticism at the back of Nehru's mind. He illustrates it thus. During the individual Satyagraha campaign of 1940, Kasturba Gandhi blessed Nehru and said, "God will look after you". Jawaharlal's reply was partly but not wholly playful. He asked, "Where is God, Ba? If He exists, He seems to be fast asleep". In truth, Nehru's deepest convictions are akin to Marxism although he differs, in essence, from the Russian practice and wishes to usher in the Socialist millennium by democratic methods. Moraes is right in stating that in Nehru's view Marxism and democracy can co-exist, the Marxian theory being wedded to democratic practice.

Nehru's training in science has culminated in the present network of laboratories in India and he is profoundly convinced that science is the most potent means of furthering human progress.

With deep insight, Moraes has noticed that, with the advent of independence, Nehru's sense of loneliness which has always been a fundamental trait has been enhanced although this sense co-exists and is perhaps sub-consciously connected with the hunger for constant contact with the crowds. Nehru is not sure of individuals however near they are to him. He has been described as a lonely eagle in a flock of birds. One sentence from this volume is perhaps the subtlest of all:

"At the highest administrative level, there are few who can claim to be his confidants. To each he opens a compartment of his mind and looks out on each through a window of his choosing. To none will he disclose his complete mind."

The author refers to the complaint that Nehru is too much influenced by his immediate circle and specially favours Indians who, like himself, have had a Western up-bringing; but he adds that Nehru approaches and assesses persons more by instinct than by cold-blooded reason. The biographer's gift of phraseology is aptly illustrated by sentences like the following:

"He relied greatly over a period on the sage and sober counsel of

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the late Sir N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar and carried on a prolonged honeymoon (which was abruptly ended) with the astute C. Rajagopalachari."

This observation is not perhaps quite just because it is known that, even now Nehru agrees now and then though generally he disagrees with C. Rajagopalachari. One of the most brilliant descriptions contained in the book deals with V. K. Krishna Menon, whose relationship with Nehru is described thus:

"The closest to him today is probably the didactic and controversial V. K. Krishna Menon with whom he visited Spain during the civil war some 20 years ago. Menon has an aptitude for rationalising Nehru's instincts and impulses, particularly in the field of foreign affairs and of clothing them in clear, precise language and logical thought."

It will thus be perceived that Moraes is not a blind admirer. He says that Nehru is inclined to trade too much on the talisman of his name expecting thereby to carry through measures not acceptable to certain sections of the people as in the case of the formation and the controversial conclusions of the States Reorganisation Commission. He adds, "Herein lies the danger of his splendid isolation. From Caesar, one can appeal only to Caesar." Moraes indicates that Nehru's scholarship is more comprehensive than erudite and observes that in his speeches as in his conversations, Nehru is apt to be prolix although when moved, and occasions move him, his eloquence is impressive. In final analysis, Moraes states that in Gandhi's life-time, Nehru was accused of scaring Gandhites by his Socialism and shocking Socialists by Gandhism. In reality, according to the biographer, Nehru felt at home in neither camp.

The chapters relating to the relationship between Gandhi and Nehru and Patel and Nehru are among the most illuminating in the book. There was a legend that regarded Nehru as the Hamlet of Indian politics, noble but vacillating; but time has proved that, after a period of vacillation, Nehru has been pressing boldly forward certain ideas that he has made his own. He is so firmly anchored to certain ideas

that everything else seems to be unimportant.

Moraes has done full justice to the development of Nehru's philosophy of history. Just as Gandhiji, during the war, appealed simultaneously to Roosevelt and Hitler, Nehru believed that Communism and democracy can subsist side by side and live at peace with each other, although, as Moraes emphasises, there are occasions, as in the case of the Chinese advance on Tibet, when Nehru suffered some disillusionment. In Nehru's mind, however, a philosophy like Communism, opposed as it is to colour prejudice and colonialism, scores against Western doctrines whose attitudes are equivocal. He will rather put up with Egyptian and Chinese totalitarianism than with the vestiges of imperialism manifested by Western countries.

The American decision of 1954 to give military aid to Pakistan effected a deep psychological change in Nehru which has been accentuated by the recent events in Egypt. It is perhaps correct to state that Nehru has no illusions about democracy in Russia but he greatly prizes their economic experiments. Moraes sums up the attitude of India (which is really the attitude of Nehru) in the following words: "The Russian move to draw India into its orbit has failed as it was bound to fail; but that does not mean that India has thereby moved closer to the West". The author quotes with great effect the exclamation of Nehru in a Parliamentary debate: "I am on my own side and on nobody else's".

It is not possible in a short review to do more than to pay a tribute to the discerning minuteness with which the personal and psychological history of Nehru in his youth and during his periods of political tribulation has been dealt with; but enough has been stated to show that this may be regarded as a standard biography of Nehru by one who in the main has succeeded in portraying one of the most formative figures in recent Indian history in the context of world events. Such a task involves the maintenance of a rare balance and perspective, and Frank Moraes has shown that he is equal to that task.

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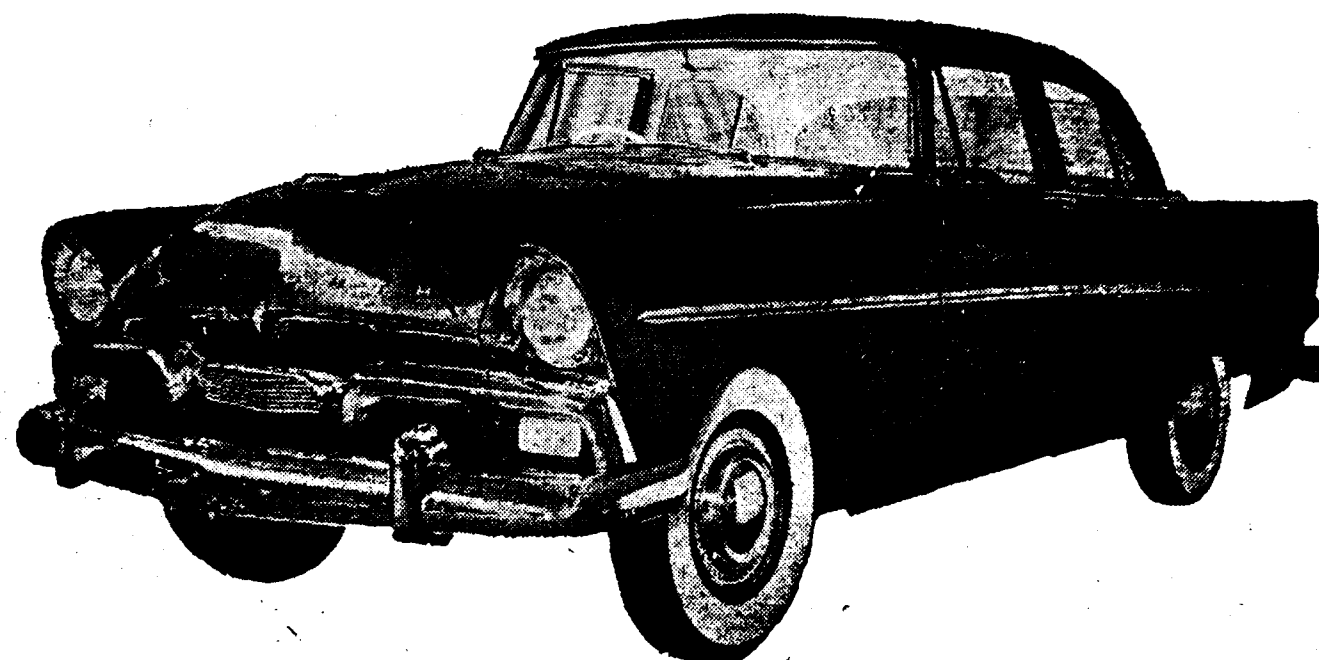
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THE UNTOUCHABLES OF CHRISTIANITY

GANDHI'S VIEWS ON ARAB-JEW CONFLICT

Sri V. K. Krishna Menon said in Parliament recently: "We have recognised the territory of Israel that was granted under the United Nations. There are no double standards. Our position in regard to West Asia is exactly the same as in Kashmir. You cannot establish rights by conquest."

On this same issue of the creation of Israel by U.N. Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* dated 26th November 1938:

"Several letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Arab-Jew question in Palestine, and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

"My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for Jews.

"But the sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for a national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English, or France to the French. It is wrong and

inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely, it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews, partly or wholly, as their national home.

"The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or, do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colourable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews."

Then he condemns the German persecution of the Jews and says that if ever a war could be justified in the name of humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be justified. But having no belief in any kind of war, Gandhiji urged the Jews to follow the Indian example of Satyagraha in South Africa. He says: "I am convinced that if some one with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them into non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope."

In the end he concludes: "And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it the wrong way. The Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A

religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the good-will of the Arabs. They should seek to convert the Arab heart. The same God rules the Arab heart who rules the Jewish heart. They can offer Satyagraha in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot or thrown into the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find world opinion in their favour in their religious aspiration. There are hundreds of ways of reasoning with the Arabs, if they will only discard the help of the British bayonet. As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them.

"I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regarded as an unwarrantable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds."

In the light of these words of the Mahatma, which time can never erase, is it not time we made a drastic change in our foreign policy with regard to Israel? Some time back I read in a newspaper a moving appeal of the Foreign Minister of Israel to our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru for guidance and help. The best help that Nehru can give will be to send a reprint of this article quoted above, written by Mahatma Gandhi nineteen years ago.

C. R. NATARAJAN



THE LESSON OF KERALA

By T. N. V. NAMBOORI, M. A.

Nobody can be naive enough to say that the majority of the voters of Kerala are supporters or sympathisers of the policies and programmes of the Communist Party or that they believe in Communist theories. Then how could this party achieve such a majority in the elections? The reasons are not far to seek. There is no other party in the State in whose hands the people could give safely the reins of government. They have totally lost faith in the Congress. The Congress had bagged all the seats in the erstwhile Travancore and Cochin Assemblies during the first general elections. They had a precious opportunity to gain the confidence of the people. But they utterly failed to do this. The next day after the formation of the first Congress Ministry in the State of Travancore, the communal cliques which formed the body of the Congress raised their ugly heads. Then came Ministry after Ministry supported by one communal clique after another. The Congress became a hot-bed of communal politics. Patriotic people who were pained by this state of affairs approached the high-ups in Delhi time and again, but they were thoroughly disappointed. The High Command shut their eyes completely to the real facts and were quite content with the explanations given by the State Congress leaders who made an air dash to Delhi every time there was confusion among their ranks. So it is no wonder that the Congress administration in the State found no time or energy to do any good to the people. We should congratulate some of them, however; for, even in the midst of all the chaos and confusion, they were able to help themselves, their families and their relatives in many ways. How could the people confidently hand over their future to such a party?

The results of the elections show that the voters of Kerala used their franchise very judiciously this time. This can be seen in the complete routing of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

This party could not secure even a single seat in the Assembly or in the Lok Sabha in spite of having some leaders of merit. The P.S.P. and the Muslim League got very few seats compared with their performance in the past. Not even one Independent got elected except those supported by the Communist Party. This shows that the people made an all-out effort to have a stable government, in the State.

One fact which comes to the forefront as a result of the present elections is that the Congress organisation has no appreciable popular support. The invocation of the names of Gandhi and Nehru and of the Five-Year Plans has not helped it. The few seats that it succeeded in winning were due, not to any of its own virtues, but to the fact that there is still a section of the people who have got a kind of sentimental attachment to the party and also due to the fact that certain sections of the people feel that their vested interests are safe only in the hands of the Congress.

One important thing that should be borne in mind while considering the results of the present elections in Kerala is that there was no particular emotional problem as in the case of Bombay, to swing the opinion of the people away from the Congress. The votes were given on the real merits of the policies and the past performance of the contending parties. All the assurances and high promises given by the great leaders of the Congress proved to be of no avail because the people of Kerala knew from past experience that once the elections are over and the Congress is returned to power, the Congress High Command would turn a blind eye to the activities of the State Congress which will be free to continue without any inhibitions its harmful policies.

It is high time that the top-leaders of the great organisation, the Congress, see the writing on the wall and try to win real and effective popular support by pur-

ging the ranks of the party of vested, communal and sectarian interests and cliques; or else it will in course of time have to face the same destiny throughout the country that it has suffered in Kerala.

Ramayana Dance Drama by Kalakshetra

On the 8th April 1957 the public of Madras will have another opportunity of witnessing *Ramayana Sita Swayamvaram*, a dance drama produced by the Kalakshetra, Adyar.

Last year this dance drama was presided over by Sri Rajaji who, while complimenting Srimathi Rukmani Devi and the Kalakshetra artistes, suggested that it will be quite appropriate if it is again organised on a Sri Rama Navami Day.

This excellent suggestion is now taken up by the Theatre Centre of Madras.

The Theatre Centre is a movement having its headquarters at Delhi with its Regional branch functioning at Madras.

The musical composition of *Sita Swayamvaram* is composed by Sri K. Vasudevachar of Mysore. One hundred and twelve verses from Valmiki and Ananda Ramayanam have been set to dance and music and Srimathi Rukmani Devi has made the characters of the epic relive for us. This dance drama is unique for the great effect that is achieved with simple stage equipment, blending of colour and light effects to enhance the beauty of the classical dance movements and expressions.

The show will begin at 6-45 p.m. on 8th April 1957 and will last for two and a half hours. It will be held at Sri N. K. Thirumalachariar's Kala Mandapam, Triplicane.

Freedom Through Poetry

The very act of putting down your inmost feelings on paper, especially in a poetical manner, is a release for the human spirit. The kind of release which is tremendously necessary for all of us to find in some form or other today. That release is a kind of gate: we slip through it, leaving behind, for a short time, all the dreary paraphernalia and the harsh slogans of an age of ever-increasing materialism. —Godfrey Winn, in the BBC's Light Programme.

NEGLECT OF A SACRED SHRINE

By C. RAMAKRISHNAYYA

Ahobilam is nearly 80 miles from Kurnool by road. About the middle of March I visited the temple there and this is what I saw.

The arrangements in the temple are far from satisfactory. There is no one who will take any responsibility to conduct the temple arrangements, or look to the minimum facilities for the incoming pilgrims. Some responsible people who appear to be in touch with the temple say that the head of the Mutt has absolutely no interest in the proper upkeep and management of the temple. The police officials were having necessary facilities for themselves, as is common with them wherever they go. Everything is left in the hands of a contractor, and his agents are all-powerful. No proper sanitary arrangements, and no supply of drinking water except for those who carry it for themselves from an adjacent tank. Even the arrangements for archana are not as good as expected.

In the main temple, everything was on a contract basis. I took the tickets, one rupee for *harathi*, eight annas for *archana*, four annas for entrance, and one anna for offering cocoanut. There were no proper arrangements for food. The Vaisyas run a chatram for themselves to feed their own caste-men, and others cook their food under the trees where the springs flow and plenty of fuel is available. Feeling desperate, I returned to lower Ahobilam walking the distance of six miles in the forest track in the hot sun. I was given food in the Annadana Samajam and left by bus. I hear this Annadana Samajam collects subscriptions from various villages and towns in Kurnool district to run free boarding during the festival days and it does not get any monetary help either from the Mutt or from any Government institution. The distance of 15 miles from Arlagadda to lower Ahobilam is knee-deep in dust, and the distance of

6 miles from lower Ahobilam to main Ahobilam is also very dusty, and no action has been taken by the Highways Department to improve the road. The mantapams in both the places are in a very wretched state. A devout pilgrim cannot but shudder at the neglect and dilapidation that have come upon this sacred abode of the Lord, neither the head of the Mutt nor the State Government evincing any interest in maintaining the sanctity of the place. It is for the devotees to take the necessary steps to improve the entire shrine in both the Ahobilams, and make the place really attractive for pilgrims and visitors. The menace of the contractors and their agents is the first thing to be put down with a strong hand. The management should be reorganised on a proper foundation so that the importance of the shrine may be sustained for the good of coming generations.

Whither, Administration?

In SWARAJYA of March 23 is given an illustration of the present plight of teachers. Saka had given the instance of a headmaster who had to undergo 20 months' forced unemployment. I shall give another illustration.

On March 18, in the Madras High Court, a writ petition filed by Sri S. Swaminatha Iyer, headmaster of the Nandanar Boys High School, Chidambaram, to quash the order of the Collector of South Arcot and the Government removing him from service, was allowed. His Lordship observed: "I cannot agree that disagreement with the founder-supervisor constitutes a valid ground for removal of the headmaster from service. Merely because the petitioner would not see eye to eye with the founder-supervisor, it did not follow that the founder-supervisor's action was in the interests of the institution".

Here again the headmaster is more sinned against than sinning. To substantiate this I shall give a

recent judgment delivered by Sri P. Singaravelu, Principal District Munsiff, Tiruchel. Disposing of two suits sometime ago he observed that "there is no denying the fact that there is a clear faction in the council (of the National College) and each clique tries to get at power. It is high time that someone interested in the welfare of the institution took up the matter to have a scheme formed for the good administration of the institution. The rule is being taken advantage of for the purpose of packing the council with people of one's own following with least regard to the administration of the institution".

In another recent judgment it was pointed out that "it was the Collector who broke the law.... it is for the State to consider and consider seriously whether an officer of such totalitarian views and disregard of law should continue to be entrusted with the duties of maintaining law and order in any locality in the State".

On August 29 last year, the Madras High Court, in allowing the writ petition filed by a jamedar and dismissing the orders of the Inspector-General of Police, observed: "We do not think that it can be said that the appellant has been given a reasonable opportunity to show cause against the action proposed to be taken against him".

No social good is achieved with administrative machinery manned with defective governing personnel. It was Machiavelli who said that a good administrator should be both a lion and a fox. Officials should be firm and impartial. The right sort of executives are those of upright character, talent for judgment and quick decision. Ability to analyse issues implies sagacity, prudence and imagination. Good administration means efficient, well-informed men at the top. The mischief being wrought in educational and other public institutions by defective governing personnel is amply borne out by the recent judgments in writ appeals in Madras during the past six months.

The public are perturbed over this trend.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DRAVIDA KAZHAGAM AND CONGRESS

Sir,—In your editorial of 16th March 1957 you have stated: "There is also the fact that several devoted Kazhagamites were included in the Congress list of candidates".

As the General Secretary of the Dravida Kazhagam, and as the Editor of its daily official organ, let me tell you that it is not a fact. It is not enough if you say that X or Y is an indirect supporter of the Kazhagam in any one of its hundred-fold objectives. For, when Rajaji concurs with the Kazhagam in the matter of the exploitation of the South by the North, can you say that he is also a "devoted Kazhagamite"?

I therefore entirely and unreservedly contradict your statement quoted above, which is perhaps calculated to pull down the Congress victory in the recent elections in Tamil Nad. You have every right to attack or criticise your political opponents, but when you drag in the name of our Kazhagam, your statement must be based on unassailable facts and not dame rumours.

Ours is the only movement in this country which is serving to create a casteless and classless society without fighting for the loaves and fishes of office in the name of democracy or opposition.

S. GURUSWAMI,
Secretary, Dravida Kazhagam.

DECIMAL COINAGE AND
CONVERSION TABLE

Sir,—Apropos the letter on the above subject published in your esteemed weekly on 16th March, I would like to point out the following.

Existing coins of the denominations below quarter-rupee will not have exact equivalents and their exchange into decimal coins will involve fractions of naya paisa. As there are no coins below naya paisa, Section 14 (2) of the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, as recently amended by Parliament, provides a method of rounding off the fractions for actual transactions. According to this principle, the exact naya paisa equivalent of

the total amount to be converted is rounded off by ignoring fractions of $\frac{1}{2}$ naya paisa and below and treating more than $\frac{1}{2}$ naya paisa as one naya paisa.

Conversion of existing coins into new coins should therefore take place only on the basis of the conversion table prepared by the Government of India. But we find the cost of postal cover and inland letter has been fixed as 13 Np and 10 Np instead of 12 and 9 Np which are the correct equivalents according to the conversion table. In my opinion, the prices of articles need not be refixed in decimal coinage as the prices expressed in annas and pies will automatically be payable in new coins according to the conversion table. When such is the case, I am at a loss to understand why prices of articles have been refixed by many commercial firms "consequent on the introduction of decimal coinage". Will any of your readers kindly enlighten me whether the refixing of prices due to the change-over of coins is contrary to law or not?

K. RAMAMURTHI

RAILWAY RESERVATIONS

Sir,—While welcoming the new procedure adopted on Railways from 1st February 1957 with regard to the reservation of accommodation in trains, that is, taking applications from persons with their addresses and issuing "regret slips" when such requests could not be complied with, it is pointed out that there is no uniformity on the Indian Railways in the fixation of time limit for reserving seats before the journey could be undertaken. I may mention that on the Central Railway at New Delhi persons can reserve seats for second class accommodation three days in advance and for third class seven days in advance, whereas on the Southern Railway reservations can be made ten days in advance for second class accommodation and only 24 hours in advance for third class.

May I request the Ministry of Railways to look into this matter

and issue instructions to all the Railways to observe a uniform procedure in regard to the reservation of accommodation in second and third classes.

SAROJINI SAMBASIVAM

Madras.

THE MAGIC WAND

Sir,—With a candour unusual for him, the Chief Minister of the State has been reported as saying that it is the Fair Rent Act that had secured for the Congress its big success in the Tanjore district. True, the cultivators outnumber the land-holders and the promise of the lion's share in the produce to the cultivator has tilted the scales. So the enacting of it on the eve of the elections is a deliberate vote-catching manoeuvre and the subsequent Two Voices at Tiruchy and Tiruvaroor, one cajoling and the other threatening the mirasdars are also part of the electioneering tactics. In view of the Communist hold over Tanjore as reflected in the last elections, the Government on the eve of the present elections 'waved this magic wand' to wean the peasants from the Communist fold they have only adopted the Communist tactics and outdid them because they outbade them. And perhaps next time they may have to offer even more and as the Janata Party leader in Bihar, Raja Bahadoor Kamakshi Narayan Singh did, offer not only lands for cultivation free of rent but also free of tax. Where will this lead? *Ayavasta* is the worst that can befall a Government and it is equivalent to anarchy.

K. VARADACHARIAR

Kumbakonam.

DISCRIMINATION AMONG
N. G. Os.

Sir,—The news that a very scanty amount has been added to the scales of N.G.Os. of Andhra Pradesh, is most disheartening. It was expected that the Government would do the same for the Andhra N.G.Os. as for the Madras and Kerala N.G.Os., but to everybody's astonishment, they have adopted a policy of differentiation.

The attitude of the Government of Andhra Pradesh towards the N.G.Os in regard to their pay scales is most sickening. Before driving them to 'drastic' action, it is hoped the Government will consider a further increase equivalent to that of the Madras scales. How will Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister of India, explain this most partial act except as an election stunt?

M. S. RAMJEE

Eluru.

WHY THIS HUGE WASTE?

Sir,—The time tables of the Southern Railway, though sold at the rate of 4 annas a copy to the public, really cost more than that. The cost works out to nearly 10 to 12 annas a copy. These time-tables get printed by private printers every time and this Railway is incurring a heavy financial loss every quarter-year to the tune of Rs. 20,000. This aspect of the matter should be probed into. This revision is a drain on the railway finances; it is a drain on the finances of the advertisers, who have to repeat the advertisements every time, even before the public see their earlier advertisements in the previous issue, and it is a continuous drain on the resources of the common man who has necessarily to own a 'new' copy every time. The 'Revised Time Tables' may come and go but the trains go on for ever according to their own 'punctualities' only. Then why this huge waste?

ROHINI

NAHI PAISA, NOT NAHI KAAM

Sir,—Nahi Paisa — not, fortunately, Nahi Kaam. That is Vighneswara's notification to his readers in SWARAJYA. Those who are fortunate to know Vighneswara will sit up and count the thoughts he has spun on your pages for years now and given the tonic to the mind that grows with study. For forty years he has been a wage-earner, he says, and he has now put a voluntary stop to his earnings. No more work for pay or paisa but work in other ways: A true Karma Yogi. He has, to those who have chosen to follow his methods, shown two paths, with his unerring insight

into men and things that matter: One is, choose your guns and stick to them, clean them, keep them in repair but be sure of substitutes if at all you change; secondly, never ask another to do a thing which you yourself can do. Sunshine is a sparkle. It gives light and warmth. But it burns too. So has he been to one and all, radiating the quintessence of wit, an occasional scorch. He has demonstrated a rare agility alike in wielding the ponderous tomahawk and in the deft touch of the rapier that splits the gossamer veil. I have been asked if I know the time that he usually takes to write: Yes! I know. The question itself is the answer, that is, the time taken actually to write the words that gush with force and elan through the fast hand that writes and stops not. No more time is taken. For, his is a full mind. And a full mind cannot rest nor can paisas peg it to the precautionary Press alone. A wider sphere is sure to claim it and rightly too.

T. N.

PREACHERS AND THE
PREACHED

Sir,—In the 23rd March SWARAJYA issue, Sri A. Rajeeva Shetty has said that "preachers, more than the preached, should adhere to their precepts and not let their conscience collapse." I agree with him. But he has equated, like most of the Tory newspapers, the action of India on Kashmir with Britain's action on Suez or Russia's action on Hungary.

He has stated in his genial way that we have aggressed in Junagadh and Hyderabad. Yes, we did it only when the rulers of those States tried to be independent and when there was chaos and confusion. If we had allowed those States to remain aloof, we would have been condemned for paving the way to the "outposts of the free world," like our sister-country, Pakistan.

I would like to draw the attention of our friend to "The Truth About Kashmir" reproduced in the same issue of SWARAJYA from the Labour weekly, Tribune.

India is not against plebiscite but she is for it only when the

Pakistani troops are withdrawn from Azad Kashmir.

(MISS) SITA B. BAKTHAN

This, Our Freedom

(Continued from Page 2)

wholly indefensible that economic legislation, of the kind represented by nationalisation of life insurance or improvement in the conditions of pannaiyals, should be promoted in the first instance by means of ordinances. Measures of this kind, once adopted by ordinance, present the legislature with a *fait accompli* and the subsequent debates in or out of the legislatures become a meaningless ritual. Democratic liberties are not safe if overnight by an ordinance a government can extinguish valuable rights and compel the legislature, as it were, to ratify the act. When a Minister tells a gathering that the Government, if it wanted, could expropriate the mirasdars by an ordinance, he is serving notice that totalitarianism is near at hand. That represents an attitude of mind which looks upon democratic forms as a convenience and that temper has always been the precursor of tyranny.

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K. MAHADEVAN,

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people from the irritations that have become inseparable from Congress rule are unlimited and they are not always tied up with finance or redeemable by taxation, and in Sri Namboodripad the Communists have a leader of intrinsic public spirit and unostentatious strength of character who can be depended upon to explore these opportunities to the fullest possible extent.

This first Communist State Government is, in a sense, an Opposition confronting the Congress all over the country. Its success will mean the dethronement of the Congress in other States as well. The Congress can survive only by proving itself to be better than it has been, and quite as good as the Communists will presently reveal themselves to be, in the period of grace still available to it for avoiding downfall and decay. The top leaders of the Congress have not much time to lose. They must set to work forthwith to extirpate in other States the communal and other demoralising influences that have led to the Communist electoral victory in Kerala. For otherwise, the Communists may be able to supplant Congress altogether and establish themselves in power throughout the country. In absolute domination, the pleasant side of Communism during the formative stages of seizure of power will disappear, and a ruthless dictatorship will take its place no less destructive of joy and freedom than in other parts of the world where it has had earlier incarnations — Russia, China, Hungary.

Art without Vulgarity

Appropriately on Sri Rama Navami Day Kalakshetra Artists presented Sita Swayamvaram to the Madras public. Produced by Srimati Rukmini Devi, with music composed by Sangita Sastra Visarada K. Vasudevacharya, this dance-drama is the fulfilment of years of dedicated thought, toil, study and application. The producer's conception of the mission of Art is beautifully illustrated in it. "To me", she said not long ago, "Art is the most powerful instrument for stirring the hearts

The Commonwealth

KUMBHAKARNA stuck to his brother in spite of the latter's wrong ways. He severely condemned his crime but failed to persuade his brother. Thereafter he thought he had done his duty by dharma and fought on his erring and obstinate brother's side and gave up his life for it.

Vibheshana also disapproved of Raavana's conduct. But he did not deem his duty done by the mere expression of his disapproval. He did not consider his attachment to a brother was more sacred or binding than the call of dharma. When he found Raavana incorrigible, he terminated his partnership with his wicked brother. Although it was a partnership arising out of birth, he ended it when all his attempts to divert his brother from his wickedness and obstinacy failed.

So must we terminate this Commonwealth bond when we find that we have failed in attempts to divert Britain from her wrong design and that she is determined to poison the world's air and water. The Japanese people's appeal is not just a protest like other diplomatic protests regarding rights and wrongs. It is the lamentation of men and women in distress, the pathetic cry of children yet to be born, to which we cannot allow our ears to be deaf. Let us exercise the right of a partner and tell Britain that this will compel us to part. Otherwise we shall not escape the guilt of connivance. The battle against these A and H tests has reached a decisive stage. Let us not falter.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

of people towards a nobler way of life. When Art is devoid of vulgarity it is the messenger of the celestial world. It speaks from

heart to heart and its gift is not for mere pleasure to be enjoyed for the moment". This is how the thousands who witnessed the dance-drama felt as the story depicted in it sprang once more to life before their eyes under the magic of the producer's talent.

Sri Aurobindo says of Valmiki, "the father of our secular poetry," that he stands for that early and finely moral civilization which was the true heroic age of the Hindu spirit. And of the Ramayana he says that "those who have once entered into the spirit of this masterpiece, will never admit any in the world as its superior." The Ramayana is also perhaps the most musical-sounding of literary compositions in the world. And as we hear its melody and music and see it set to measure in dance and movement by artists who seem steeped, as it were, in the very spirit and dignity and significance of the great epic, the thrill of the old heritage of the Hindu spirit comes upon us with overwhelming joy and pride. A monumental achievement, this, of Kalakshetra Artists under Srimati Rukmani Devi's inspiring guidance.

Map of Man's Mind

"A source book in Indian philosophy," by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, is described by the *New York Times* as a "map of man's mind."

In a review of the book, Gerald Heard noted: "Indian philosophy is an epitome of all philosophies. For the Indian mind was more concerned about thought than action, about insight rather than behaviour."

"This book, therefore, is not only for the Western student but for all of us who must gauge our impacted 20th century world and find our path in its confusions. It is edited by that extraordinary man, India's Vice President Radhakrishna, who is an expert in the multifarious philosophies of his country and who is its greatest intellectual and political representative."

"The book is a map of man's mind. No one who has had to learn the disturbing truth that 'ideas have consequences' can neglect consulting this chart."



Sotto Voce

Unicorns and Minotaurs

'Samaroh', the name which the Radio Literary Forum delights in, is a word which intrigues me. Perhaps it is the clipped form of the Samskrit 'Samaroha'. Possibly it is the end-product of the Hindi sea-change. It no doubt can suggest a 'forum' or 'platform' which is a place which people "ascend". But in Samskrit a much apter and more familiar word 'Goshti' is available and is in fact in wide use even in the Tamil country which is supposed to look askance at Samskrit. It etymologically signifies a place where many utterances ('naanaa uktayah') are heard.

The authorities may have considered that 'Goshti' had already been pre-empted in such combinations as Radio Vadya Goshti. But 'Goshti' is far more appropriate to the airing of different opinions on a given topic than to the making of music where the emphasis is on harmony. I would not labour the point but for the fact that Kaka Kalelkar rather patronisingly invited Samskrit to give up its god-like aloofness and become the language of the people. If she did that, he said, other languages might more readily borrow from her, as they had done in the past. But 'Samaroh' does not suggest that it is Samskrit that behaves like a stuck-up jade. It is the coiners of neologisms who go in for preciosity.

The discussion at the Forum on the requirements of language for mass communication showed some appreciation of this truth. There was general agreement that the writer must go in for the best word available presenting ideas simply, directly and effectively. The sense of the meeting was definitely against the etymological witch-hunt which has been the favourite game of our latter-day

Dravidians. But in their anxiety to make the meaning clear to the meanest intellect the popularisers who use the radio might easily fall into the opposite error. The Romantic reaction to the inflated poetic diction of the Eighteenth Century landed Wordsworth all too often in unmitigated bathos.

J. M. Synge listened to the unconsciously poetic speech of the Irish countryside hiding in a loft where he could hear without being seen. But it required the uncommon poetic sensibility of Synge to decant from that artless folk speech the lively turns of phrase and the lilts and cadences that bespoke the heart's harmony. Mushairas and Samarohs, festival weeks and play cavalcades, however carefully marshalled under the auspices of the A.I.R. or other institutionalised agency, can provide no short cut to a new and pulsating idiom. A language is built like a coral reef in the submerged depths of a people's consciousness. And the exploring writer acts not from a sense of public responsibility but under the imperious nagging of his own creative urge, as the coral insect does.

Dr. Keskar spoke with modest pride of the A.I.R. as the modern Maecenas. His Chief Executive Mr. Mathur, in expounding the "literary policy" of his organisation, showed that it was no less aware than other limbs of Government of its responsibilities in the fashionable modern role of social engineering. The A.I.R., he said, strove to exploit the capacity of our numerous languages to promote the unity of the country. He hoped, secondly, to narrow the gulf between the high-brows and the low-brows. And it aimed at securing the goodwill and co-operation of the literary world by appointing talented men of letters

to its programme staff.

All these are praiseworthy objectives. But one has grave doubts whether the A.I.R. or any other official bureau for that matter can successfully perform the office of *accoucheur* of genius. Writers are kittle cattle. Casual jamboorees such as the Radio Forum organises are hardly calculated to bring about that warm mutual interest and unclashed ease which it has been the traditional office of the Quartier Latin and Greenwich Village to perform for the tribe of writers and artists. Besides, our provincial literatures are still so undeveloped, derivative and given to posturing uneasily after exotic models that their practitioners will gain little by casual contact with others in a like predicament.

The naive debates at the last session of the Forum amply confirm the impression that a minimum of creative output—and creation is essentially a solitary and private act,—is necessary before there can be a genuine criticism or a professional consciousness. I do not grudge the struggling writer the stray job that he may land with luck in the padded offices of our radio stations. But if he has some little talent and is serious about his writing he will be well advised to steer clear of Siren Land. Tailoring is an honest craft, but literature is a seamless garment. As for propagating a cross between high-brow and low-brow, the result of such mixed mating would be not the unicorn of poetic inspiration but Minotaur.

VIGNESWARA

SWARAJYA

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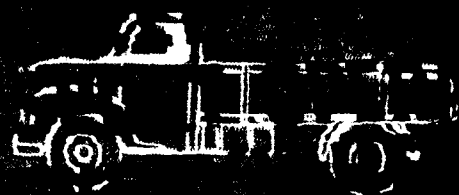
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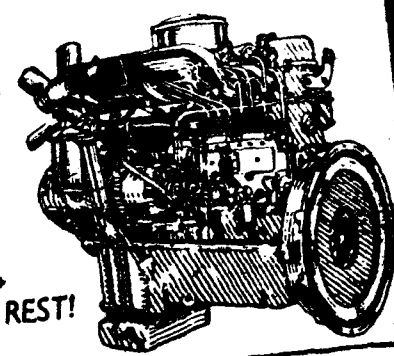
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. I. No. 40

SATURDAY, APRIL 13th 1957

15 Naye Paise

WHAT KERALA PORTENDS

Sri Namboodripad, the Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, has set to work with commendable expedition. He lost no time in selecting his team of Ministers. No time was necessary, because the obvious persons recommended by their past records were chosen. How different it all is in Madras State! Here the Chief Minister is not a novice in office as Sri Namboodripad is in Kerala. He is a veteran with more than ten years' experience in making and unmaking Ministers. Yet he is still picking and choosing his colleagues. Why? Presumably because, it is to be supposed, he had to avoid the simple, patriotic course of selecting the best men that were available, he had to make a mathematical placation of the various interests with an eye on his own stability by pooling the maximum number of votes. The representation of communal interests in the Ministry is very necessary when the leaders at the top have nothing else but communalism as their strong point and they have to retain themselves in their positions without any of the justifying assets like talent, education, character or vision. Thus formed, the Ministry consists of persons who regard themselves as champions of particular communities, and not representatives of the entire people as enjoined under the provisions of the Constitution. When communal representation is let in as the basis of Ministry-formation, it is the clever manipulator of the votes of a majority community that comes to exercise

sovereign power, playing at the guardianship of the minorities with dummies of his own choice elevated as their spokesmen. Reports have appeared in the Press of Ramiah and Lourdamma as likely members of Sri Kamaraj's Council of Ministers. These are totally cipher entities from an administrative standpoint. Then again, it has been stated in the newspapers that Sri Kamaraj is bent on catching a Lok Sabha member as his Brahmin Minister, as though the entire body of Congress party members returned to the State Assembly does not contain his peer. By contrast, the Communists of Kerala have set a resplendent example of non-communal politics by electing a Brahmin, belonging to an infinitesimal minority community, as their leader. The rise to the helm of one who cannot mobilise mass communal passion and the unreasoning hatreds it can spread, to his own political advantage, is itself a pledge of other higher incentives to hold the regime together and justify it. This achieved result of a non-communal outlook, and the further promise of it that can be looked forward to in the administration, bids fair to assure for Kerala in the days to come a juster and more beneficent administration than people are accustomed to in neighbouring States with communal-minded Congress Ministries. Amongst the patent evils of Congress communalism in office may be cited corruption, injustice, extravagance and inefficiency in

the multi-faceted process of exalting the second-rate to power and privilege for the gratification of hatred-charged communal passions. The elimination of these evils can confer on people, without additional outlay in money, benefits and blessings capable of revolutionising the administration and imparting to people a sense of partnership in it. Already the Kerala Ministry has struck the right psychological note by reducing their salaries to illustrate their conception of themselves as servants of the poor in a poverty-stricken country. This could be the prelude for a series of imaginative changes to galvanise the public mind. The Ministry, for example, can dispose of petitions and applications without delay. They can dispense with the pompous snobbery of having retinues of liveried servants. They can abandon the practice of unnecessary and luxurious travelling at public expense on trivial errands. They can be accessible to people at other than election times. They can prohibit the profligate wastage of food and substance in functions of honour got up for august visitors and V.I.Ps. They can see to it that distinguished State guests are not received in a manner inflicting on the public excessive discomfort. They can make a tradition of courtesy in the secretariat and other Government offices. They can see to it that existence is made possible to common people without having to pay bribes to get their business done. The opportunities for saving

SIDELIGHTS ::

What of the future of the press in India? Sri S. N. Ghosh, Editor of *The Pioneer*, is pessimistic about it. In a "Report from India" to the *International Press Institute Report* he writes:

"Working journalists, including editors, are now plain workmen as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act. Through industrial tribunals, which are quasi-judicial and quasi-administrative bodies, and by packing the Press Council, which is to be constituted soon, the Government, if it is so inclined, can turn the press from a watch-dog into a lap dog to be caressed and kicked without having recourse to any special legislation."

The conversion of journalists including editors into plain workmen has come about with a sort of cause-and-effect inevitability. There is in fact nothing to be worried about in the spread of workman consciousness as such. If it serves to link work with wage, it may also impel in the worker a sense of duty so as to be worthy of his hire. But the Indian press took a wrong turn when status came to be determined without relation to work. Journalism requires the leadership of a special class of independent thinkers and writers if it is to rise to the full potentiality of public and national service of which it is capable. This was ensured in England by owners who stood aloof from editorial management and entrusted absolute mastery over it to others, chosen carefully, as one would select an engineer to build a house. In India, a similar development failed to take place. Here the proprietors did their own engineering and appointed themselves editors of the papers they owned, irrespective of their qualifications for such a responsibility. Proprietorial invasion of editorship has cut the ground under merit over a vast range of employment and condemned it to subordinate status permanently. It also deprived the staff of suitable guidance. Often, when they looked for leadership they were confronted with the attitude of a retail salesman. Whether in

politics or in journalism, smooth and harmonious progress conducive to efficiency and the manifold blessings of efficiency is possible only when no hindrances are created to curb the rise to power and responsibility of persons of merit and character. The enthronement of the second-rate in supersession of their superiors is always a cause of discontent and revolt, and many of the maladies nowadays witnessed in the Indian press, including its loss of the sense of mission which Sri S. N. Ghosh deplors, are due to this cause, as indeed every major disease of our body politic also is.

Sri R. V. Krishna Ayyar made out in a speech in Triplicane the other day a formidable list of election delinquencies. His own wife, he said, with name and address complete, was shown in the printed voters' list as someone else's wife. Many names, previously included in the lists disappeared suddenly and mysteriously from the final rolls. He suggested a series of modifications in existing practice, such as cutting down the duration of election campaigns, which will undoubtedly reduce the scale of corruption, but his most important suggestion was one that had been made in this journal also, that Ministers should demit office during the elections. It might well be that the accidental absence of Ministers in Kerala was one of the reasons that enabled the Opposition in that State, to win. This point, it may be hoped, will be better understood by the Congress now as it now occupies the position of the Opposition in Kerala with the ambition of capturing power once again at the polls.

One of the anomalies that have come to light in the recent elections was in respect of double-member constituencies. The present practice is to club together the ballot boxes for the general seat and the reserved seat on the same table. This is apt to lead to much confusion in the case of

illiterate voters who constitute the vast majority. Ordinarily, the general seat candidate is more influential and better known and carries the reserved seat candidate on his shoulders. On the other hand, the reserved seat candidate is better placed from the communal standpoint. The tribes or the scheduled castes to which he belongs rally round him and give him stronger backing and often they vote only for him, wasting their vote for the general seat under the idea that the chances of their candidate are thereby doubled. Thus it happens that while the party candidate for a general seat contributes to the success of his running mate for the reserved seat, quite the reverse happens in the other case. We therefore come across the anomaly, as in the case of Sri V. V. Giri in the Parvatipuram double member constituency, that a reserved seat candidate wins solely with the help of a general seat candidate who is himself defeated.

The remedy lies in separating the balloting for each seat instead of clubbing the ballot boxes for more than one seat together. There is indeed a very good case for not mixing up the State and the Central elections. The issues in the State elections are local and regional, whereas in the Central elections they ought to be broader and national. The practice of organising both sets of elections together has the result of returning persons of narrower outlook, often on tides of communal passion, to the Central legislature. It also encourages pacts and bargains and manoeuvrings not only between candidates of the same party but also at times of different parties, that tend to the intensification of corrupt practices.

SARA

Characteristic Word

In science there is one word which the whole world owes to England, the word for the fundamental process of all modern scientific investigation, and that is the word 'experimental' introduced by Francis Bacon—which has been called 'the greatest and most characteristic word which English has contributed to human thought'.

J. ISAACS,
Professor of English,
London University.

FRANKNESS, COUNTER-FRANKNESS

By GARGYA

THE Union Finance Minister in presenting his impost-free Budget the other day told Parliament in effect that the country's Five Year Planners were putting their hands deeper and deeper into a central till that seemed to get emptier and emptier. Of course, he did not use language that was so bleak and bald. But he reeled off figures that showed that we have a largish plan (one is frightened of making him wrathful by calling the plan ambitious); that our resources therefore were not exactly materialising in the manner expected; that in substance we were spending beyond our means in this financial year at the rate of one crore a day; which is a figure of speech for the 365 crores of uncovered deficit. After all, we should not take him literally like the young travelling salesman who was in love. He was impetuous in his ardour and found the girl he was engaged to was encouraging a handsome young doctor. The traveller had to do a week's travelling out of town. Quietly he bought and deposited seven apples at his betrothed's table. When she asked him what it was about, he reminded her: "An apple a day keeps the doctor away." Let us not therefore concentrate our thoughts on how one crore of Nasik press paper per day keeps Plan critics at bay.

After all, our Union Finance Minister is a plain-spoken and straight-shooting parliamentarian and it is just as well that he told us of his brazen programme of spending beyond means in a methodical manner.

The spot of trouble really is the way he is peeved and ties himself into knots when somebody says the same thing in a different way—particularly when the person saying it sits across on the Opposition benches. For instance, he was emitting tongues of flame when Mr. Kilachand Devichand tried to translate the same facts into different language. Mr.

Krishnamachari talked about licences, how they were issued to the wrong people and were made wrong use of and so forth. He wound up his over-wrought and not quite relevant pronouncement by threatening to sink or swim with the Plan targets and seemed to concentrate with needless acerbity on sinking. One feels that this sort of thing is far from desirable, with a foreign press wideawake for obiter dicta from the high and the mighty of New Delhi and hungering to splash bright ideas as they emerge on the floor of Parliament, to get a lot of grist for their mill, when there are verbal eruptions like these. The country does not, after all the trouble it has been through, with the world's most expensive elections to hoist Congress into office, want the Congress or Mr. Krishnamachari to commit political hari-kari.

There is no harm in the country sharing Mr. Krishnamachari's thoughts—even if it chooses to express it in less elegant language. The Union Finance Minister is forthright and one feels sure he believes in the virtue of this sterling quality, sufficiently to appreciate it in others and in Opposition benches too. By and large, those who start by saying they believe in frankness very often break down when the lethal hose of frankness is turned on them. Surely Mr. Krishnamachari does not belong to this un-objective and fragile species.

We are all agreed that the country's economy is bursting at the seams. The fixed income class has reached the limit of its capacity for endurance—battling against high living costs all its waking hours—in fact too occupied with this battle to feel amused about the savings it is asked to put by, in periodical appeals made during Savings weeks and fortnights. Meantime the Second Five Year Plan is being served up to the country at breakfast, lunch and dinner. The Second Plan was to

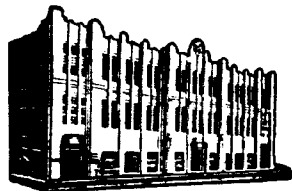
cost us Rs. 4,800 crores and we are now told it will be Rs. 5,300 crores, at the end of the period, thanks to higher cost of schemes. The money for the Plan is to be found in (1) revenue surpluses at the Centre and States, including railway profits, (2) borrowing programmes, (3) small savings, (4) external loans, gifts and credits, (5) deficit financing and (6) internal resources to be raised in a hitherto unspecified manner.

Well, we have it fairly clear there are no revenue surpluses either at the Centre or in the States on the scale estimated. The borrowing programmes have not been able to get us near the targets. The small savings schemes have not made the headway they were expected to—namely Rs. 100 crores a year. External aid has fallen considerably short of estimates. Our own foreign balances have shrunk alarmingly. The British team of economists that visited us recently made anxious appeals at closed meetings of Indians, that we may kindly not draw so fast on our Bank of England balances. We are thus now thrown back on deficit financing, that is, created money.

The country's economy has been worn to a frazzle by the heavy doses of inflation to which she has been treated these fifteen years. Neither England nor America which were directly involved in World War Two was exposed to the same fierce gusts of inflation as India has had to stand up to—and yet public opinion in both these countries is vociferous about the hardships of inflation, if magazine articles and financial jargonese in these countries are any indication.

India is a country that has debauched its currency to a dismaying degree for over a decade and a half and she is going to be presently tied to the chariot wheels of deficit financing. The volume of created money originally planned to be injected into our monetary system was by no means small. Now that other sources of finance are tapering off, the Nasik press becomes our sole if disconcerting standby. Direct taxation has reached a limit when a fur-

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ther addition to the existing imposts can but make for diminishing returns and destruction of incentive. Would Government take the risks of added taxes on individual or corporate incomes? One wonders. Excises and customs have in the last few years either made for higher prices or reduced consumption in a country whose besetting trouble has been under-consumption. God knows, this under-consumption has often created the 'pleasant optical illusion of over-production. On the taxation front therefore there is very little for the Finance Minister to draw upon. Some of the Kaldor proposals may figure in the May budget — like the expenditure tax and the annual tax on total wealth. These may afford doctrinal satisfaction to the party in power, that the well-to-do are made to pay, but will add little to a depleted exchequer in its present emergency.

Thus we have to depend on created money for implementing our Plan to a disturbing extent. Alternatively can we make a selection of the more urgent and important schemes and put them through? The Prime Minister often says the Plan is flexible. I should think this is inevitable, the way we are circumstanced. The common man, who was so sedulously wooed during the election season, wants to know if he has lost the right to say what he is found to be saying in eating places, buses, trams and commuting trains and private gatherings: "We have made many sacrifices in this long era of inflation. There is little for us to throw away, to cut out. We are toeing the bare bread line already. Do you want to eat into the meagre buying power of our already thread-bare incomes by further doses of inflation in the name of the Second Plan? Can you not stretch the Plan period beyond 1960, instead of drowning the country in an inundation of Nasik paper? Wherefore the sanctity about a five year period of economic development, which puts the fixed income classes in economic lethal chambers? Needless hardships, fiscal and monetary, eat into the vitals of corporate and individual

staying power and abolish incentives."

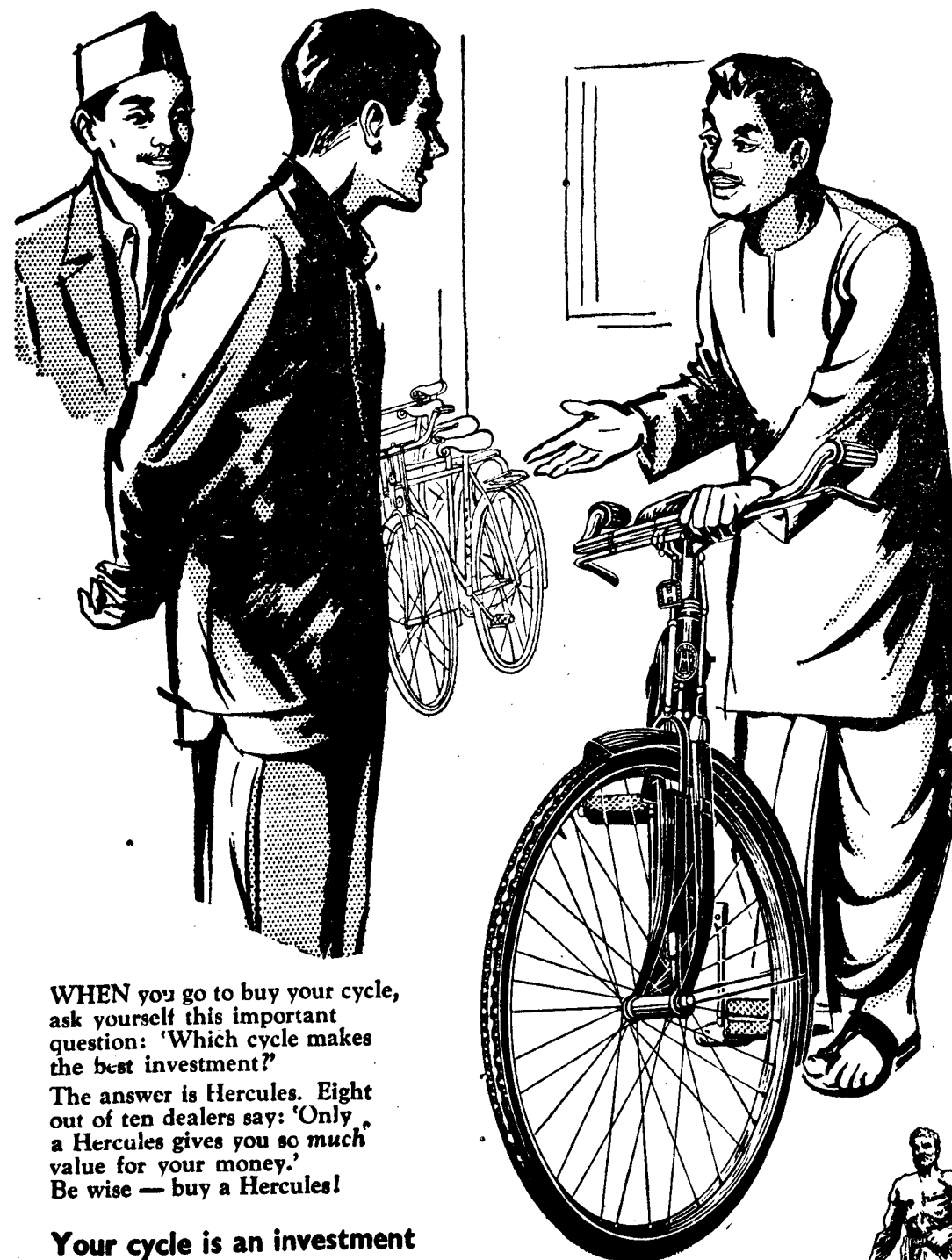
The Union Finance Minister can assess the magnitude of the suffering caused by steadily mounting inflationary spirals before he launches on his programme of deficit financing. He said he could easily camouflage his financial operation by calling upon institutions to fork out the money — 365 crores. With due respect, what are the Institutions? State Bank of India? No, their available resources, after allowing for their commitments, won't be a fraction of the required amount. The Life Insurance Corporation? Well, 365 crores of credit to Government will certainly paralyse them. Reserve Bank? Well. What is the Reserve Bank? It is the treasury's ante-chamber or alternative till, through which Government feed the Nasik paper to the public. Wherefore the camouflage, to the possibilities of which the Finance Minister referred?

The country wants no camouflage. It has been fed on grim realities for 10 years now. Economic contradictions such as heavier production on the one hand and higher prices for prolifically produced goods on the other, monetary inflation holding the field, alongside of incredibly tight money — these are all things which have made people weary and suspicious of tall claims that the valve will presently open which will suffocate the citizen of Bharat with milk and honey. The common man would appreciate a respite from the baleful chase of higher prices by not so fast-rising — wages. He wants to balance his home budget with his take-home-pay. The Government has a Nasik press with which to obtain the resources it wants, (though this has the effect of stealing from the people's precious savings by a diminution of the buying power of the rupee) while the common man has no similar means of augmenting his resources. He feels he will not be particularly guilty of impertinence if he told Government: "Pray slow down your pace. I have slowed down my spending pace,

(Continued on page 15)

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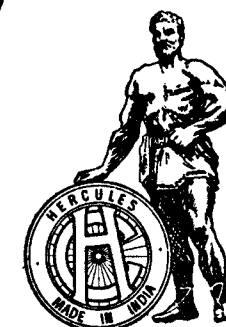
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RUSSIANS, CHINESE, JAPANESE, INDIANS

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

THE mysterious orient begins a few hundred miles to the east of wherever one happens to be.

This was so even before politicians invented the metaphysical geography that puts Bangkok west of Bucharest, India somewhere to the east of the Philippines but well to the west of Czechoslovakia, and the northern half of Korea an immeasurable distance east of the south. These transpositions — like the current confusion between right and left and right and wrong — have made the peoples of the world even stranger to each other than they were before the aeroplane made it easy to bring them together. For the Londoner today the East begins half-way down Unter den Linden, where the Brandenburger Tor bisects Berlin. To the Muscovite, who has an old-fashioned tendency to treat east and west as purely geographical expressions, mystery begins on the other side of the Urals, though it is spread rather thinly over the tundra and forests of Siberia, and thickens only at the air-junction at Irkutsk, where the lines from Vladivostok and Peking converge. In the clear blue light of Peking, mystery dissolves as quickly as the morning mists over the Western Hills, and the sense of strangeness shifts eastwards towards the Japanese Sea. To the Japanese, looking still further eastwards across the Pacific, there are no people in the world as unfathomable as the Americans, whose indiscriminating generosity extends from chocolate and chewing gum to the distribution of increasingly terrifying doses of atomic radiation.

I have never been to America. But in the last few years I have seen most of the world that lies between London and Yokohama, and much of it more than once. Here in Madras, where I have been for the last three months, people tell me — as I have occasionally been told elsewhere — that human nature is the same all over the world.

So it is. Luckily this does not mean, as some people seem to think, that we are all alike. Belief in the brotherhood of man ought not to lead to the dreary corollary that the human family is made up of an indefinitely multiplied series of identical twins. But if we are ever to tone down our quarrels to the level of ordinary family bickering it is certainly time that we started to try to understand each other better. Generalisations are always dangerous, but they are also useful, if only because of the stimulus that one can sometimes give to other people's thoughts by being wrong oneself. I can write only of the Russians, Chinese, Indians and Japanese whom I have met, watched, listened to, argued with, criticised, learned to like and dislike, respect, pity, admire and love. They have been of all the sorts that make a world, from politicians and statesmen who never forget that making — or unmaking — is precisely what they themselves are doing, to writers and artists who seldom emerge from their dreams, and ordinary men and women who are important, as some of them have begun to discover, through the very fact of their ordinariness.

The Chinese are the simplest people I have ever met, the Russians the most naive, Indians — despite their complexity — the easiest to understand, and the Japanese the strangest.

Simplicity is not, as most people seem to think, a youthful quality, but the product of mature intelligence skilfully applied to the elimination of everything in life that is inessential. As a western barbarian, it took me some time to find out that the Chinese really are as simple as they seem, and that their air of graceful candour and apparently natural and unfeigned courtesy did not hide complexities beyond the reach of normal understanding. It is because many foreign visitors never do discover this that the Chinese

still get top marks as the most mysterious of mysterious orientals. In fact, one has only to look at Chinese culture to see that simplicity is its keynote. The language is monosyllabic, and almost without grammar. Painting, literature, music and the bewildering beauty of Chinese classical opera achieve their effects by means which in any other country would seem stark and poverty-stricken. But this economy, which is practised in life as well as in art, has nothing in common with western puritanism. The Chinese love beauty, and they neither despise nor condemn decoration, though they keep it in its place, which is among the small things of life, such as food and drink and domestic ornamentation. Simplicity in big things is as much, or perhaps more, a matter of taste than of morality, and because the Chinese are so naturally endowed with moderation they are more often charmed than repelled by the excesses of other people.

It is this, quite apart from current ideological and strategic considerations, that makes both Russians and Indians, in their different ways, so enchanting to the Chinese. To the Russians, who however long they may have lived are nearly all very young people, excess in everything is a measure of vitality, and vitality is the test of virtue. They eat and drink enormously, and, when they can afford it, cram their houses with pictures, furniture and bric-a-brac of an exuberant ugliness that has certainly not been equalled anywhere since the death of Queen Victoria. They will work uncomplainingly and for longer hours than even the Germans, but when they idle they are all Oblomovs, motionless spirits of embodied laziness. And they are just as extravagant in their feelings as they are in their conduct.

It is the greatest mistake to imagine that the Russian soul was liquidated along with the capitalist system. It is true that only a minority of people go to church or, apparently, believe in God, but in no country except India is the soul so much a subject of everyday conversation. People who know you fairly well will, as often as not, when they ask after your

health also enquire: "How is your mood?" Like Indians they will also, when meeting you casually and for the first time, ask whether you are married, divorced or widowed, how many children you have or why you have none, what is your opinion of Pandit Nehru, whether you agree with them that Galsworthy is the greatest English novelist since Dickens, and if you think there is going to be a war. The only personal question that the Chinese ask of strangers is their age, and it is possible to know people fairly well and for a long time without learning anything about their domestic lives. The Russians, on the other hand, not only want to know everything: they are even more eager to tell than to listen. When Mrs. Khrushchev, watching her husband at a Kremlin party, murmured to me: "You know, my husband loves to talk," she was not only summing him up with wifely neatness but, perhaps

without knowing it, drawing my attention to his typically Russian character.

Of course Russians, like other people, sometimes talk to conceal their thoughts, but their characters are too direct to enable them to do this very well. They have no aptitude for cynicism, and when they say something that is untrue they usually persuade themselves to believe it first. This is why they make good friends and allies, but bad diplomats. When they believe a thing whole-heartedly they think it captious, prejudiced and unreasonable of other people not to believe it, too. They are too young to be tolerant, or to have much appreciation of the value of tolerance in other people. They want to be right, and most of the time they are quite sure that they are.

The Japanese are not really sure about anything. When I went to Japan last year I myself was not sure, during the first three weeks

of a visit that lasted only a month, whether I was really there. The people conformed to everything that I had ever read about them. Their manners were exquisite though evidently designed to screen whatever feelings existed beneath the shining lacquered surface of smiles and bows and amiable agreement with everything one said. But this traditional politeness was set in a framework so American that the frame and the picture seemed constantly to be running into each other. Anti-American feeling was fairly widespread, and yet many of the people I met ate American food, wore American-style clothes, talked with American accents, and thought that the literature of the English language began with Dreiser and ended with Hemingway, and that the architecture of the world had reached its peak in the buildings designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

Beneath were other layers that

April 13, 1957

were just as foreign, legacies of the days when the Japanese were learning to imitate the patterns of British industrialism, German imperialism and — far further back — Chinese art, philosophy and religion. In fact, the Japanese talent for imitation seemed to have spread into every corner and every aspect of life. The only thing in Japan that was unmistakably Japanese was its art.

It was only after this somewhat prolonged glimpse of the obvious that I put two and two together and realised that the Japanese are no harder than other people to understand if one recognises that they are, above all else, artists. Of all the kinds of people in the world artists are, outside of their art, the most insecure, the least sure of themselves as people. They fall in love with their subjects, and while their creative passions are at work nothing else exists. When their work is finished they themselves are often almost finished, too, and they become weak and colourless as jellyfishes, floating on the tide of life until the next inspiration seizes them. In the past the Japanese have created images of themselves as a great industrial power, as an imperialist and military power, and as a people humbled by defeat. Now, though they are far too polite to say so, they see themselves as leaders in the campaign to save humanity from destruction.

These generalisations have been rash enough. Indians, even more than other people, like to do their own generalising. India, as some of them tell me, has everything. So it has.

This is why Russians find India and Indians to be irresistible. The Russian passion for extravagance has its roots not merely in the poverty in which the Russian people have lived throughout most of their history, but in the harshness of a climate where winter can last for seven or eight months, and in the vast, flat emptiness of a landscape so monotonous that a molehill on the skyline can quite easily be mistaken for a mountain. India, in contrast, is, in spite of its poverty, essentially a country of profusion. Nature has not, as in northern countries, to be coaxed

SWARAJYA

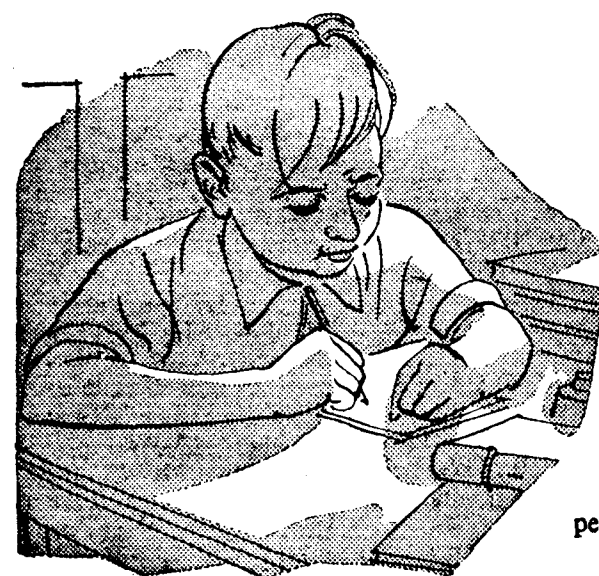
13

and encouraged, but curbed: and it is this prodigality, even more than the influence of the world's longest continuous historical tradition, that explains the Indian's immoderate love of moderation. Simplicity is not, as it is in China, the expression of an attitude to life so deeply ingrained as to be almost unconscious. Nor is it, like the more stylised simplicity of the Japanese, the result of the application of artistic genius to extreme poverty of the means of expression. To compare a Japanese flower arrangement with an Indian garland is to sum up a whole world of difference. In Tokyo a dead twig and a single chrysanthemum can be used to say as much as can be said in Madras by several hundred crushed roses and marigolds tied up with tinsel.

There is much that is beautiful, as well as a good deal that is ugly, in the elaboration of Indian art and patterns of living. And because of its intense vitality, which the Chinese admire and the Russians worship, India has always been able to embrace elements from other countries without any loss of identity. British rule did not — with a few dismal exceptions — succeed in turning Indians into imitation Englishmen in the way in which the American occupation has, in a fraction of the time, produced a whole generation of Americanised Japanese. It is inconceivable that the sari will ever go the way of the kimono, which today is seen on the Ginza hardly more often than collars and ties in Mount Road.

In fact, Mount Road, I have been repeatedly told, is a perfect symbol of Indian tolerance, because

anybody can be seen there wearing anything. This is true, and it is also true that Indian tolerance is a fine thing — but only as long as it is not used as a label to disguise indifference and laziness. Real tolerance, which springs from respect and understanding, is just as difficult to achieve as real simplicity, and is almost as rare in India as it is everywhere else. But it does exist, and because it is perhaps the quality that the world most needs today it ought to be cultivated more than it is. In the give-and-take of cultures India has, in the past, been more often the taker than the giver, and though Indians are personally even more generous than most other people, they are apt to forget that the maxim that it is more blessed to give than to receive has an application in the world of ideas. In the last year the Chinese have begun to make a deliberate effort to practise tolerance, and differences of opinion on philosophy and religion and in science and art are no longer frowned on, but officially encouraged. The Russians and Americans, who are really much more alike than either can just now bear to admit, have still to recover from a compulsive necessity to be right about everything. The Japanese, for all their apparent delicacy, are as didactic and self-willed as most artists, and much more ready to assert than to argue. This, in short, seems to be as good a moment as is ever likely to arise for Indians to turn the normal pattern of human conduct into reverse and to begin, now that they have the world for an audience, to preach what they like to believe that they practise.



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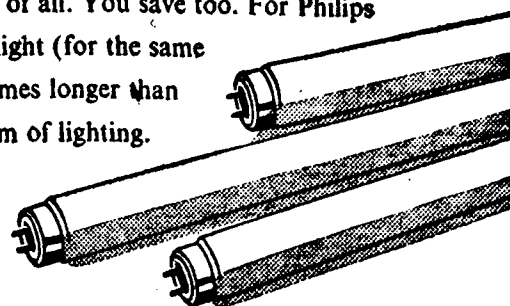
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. I. No. 41

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1957 3 - MAY 1957

15 Naye Paise

THE FORT OF POWER

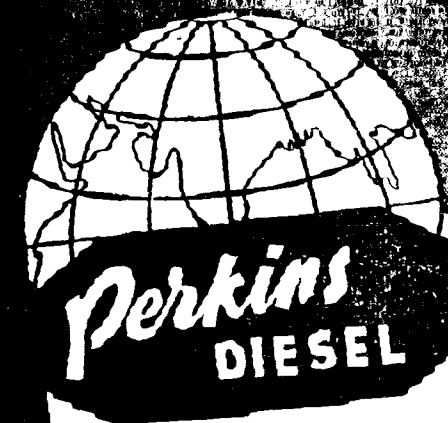
HALF the members of the Madras Ministry are new-comers. Of these Sri R. Venkataraman is the only one whose appointment is justified by his past experience and record. There is reasonable ground for the expectation that he would make a good Minister. On the other hand, the circumstances connected with his selection do not reveal any respect for constitutional propriety or ordinary political decency on the part of the Madras Chief Minister and the Congress High Command. It was only last month that Sri Venkataraman stood as a Congress candidate for election to the Lok Sabha. Standing as a candidate for election is an implied pledge of service, if elected, in the legislature concerned, for the normal term of five years, unless prevented by some unavoidable or unforeseen contingency. Resignation, after election, even before registering attendance for a single day, reflects irresponsibility on the part of all concerned. It is a bad augury for the implementation of Congress election pledges. It is also a sad reflection on the way in which Congress candidates were chosen for the Madras legislature that not all the combined total of the Congress membership could suffice for the needs of government in the State and an outsider from the Central legislature had to be imported to fill a Minister's post. Sri Venkataraman's appointment is a slap in the face of the entire body of non-official Congress legislators who are thereby told, as it were, that not one of

them is fit for elevation to Ministerial responsibility.

If the appointment could be fitted into any scheme indicating an exacting conception of the qualifications of Ministers, it would deserve to be greeted with welcome, notwithstanding the improprieties illustrated by it, referred to above. But such unfortunately is not the case. We of course extend our good wishes to the new Ministry including the other three new Ministers appointed by Sri Kamaraj, but it must be said in advance justification of possible failings that these latter might reveal in office, that they certainly do not belong to the class of tried public men from which a wise party leader would choose his Ministers. Sri Kakkan has no doubt been President of the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee, an office that Sri Kamaraj himself filled with conspicuous success before he exchanged it for the Chief Ministership. But the exchange was not accompanied by abandonment of the responsibility formally renounced. Sri Kamaraj, after resigning the Presidentship of the Congress organisation in the State, continued to retain his hold on it unrelaxed, and Sri Kakkan was the instrument he chose to achieve his purpose. It was a choice doubly consummate as it could (and was) turned to valuable propaganda as a glorious symbol of the Chief Minister's democratic and non-communal homage to the Harijans. Actually Sri Kakkan was not the independent leader of the Congress organisation

elevated to that position on his own merit and holding it on his own strength in the party. He was the nominee of another leader operating through him and not capable of surviving for a minute without that leader's support and patronage. Our public life is full of these dummy figures without any intrinsic influence or importance of their own, but enjoying tremendous, ostentatious, publicised prominence as alleged heads of powerful political organisations controlled through them by masters remaining in the background. The Congress President himself at this moment could never dream of rising to that august distinction, let alone adorning it for a second year, if the full energy of the Prime Minister's unrivalled influence had not been exerted in his favour, quelling and discouraging every possible competitor.

The strategy of wielding influence through controlled, or at any rate wholly dependent dummies, devoid of any inherent strength of their own, hitherto obtaining in arrangements connected with the Congress party organisation, has now been carried further into the Congress arrangements for running the administration. This is the true significance of Sri Kakkan's transfer from the party organisation to the Ministry. Presently, no doubt, another equally convenient lieutenant of the Chief Minister will be found to take Sri Kakkan's vacated post; he will be groomed to requisite stature by means of concentrated limelight, for eventual employment at the



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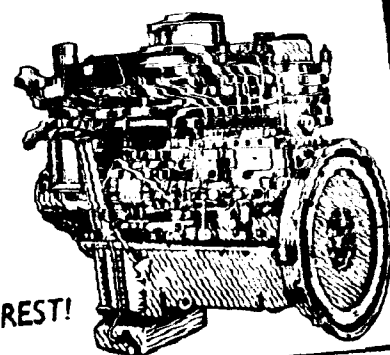
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

UNLEGISLATED TAXATION

Sir,—Even while our Finance Minister was kindly presenting a No-New-Tax Budget, the Post and Telegraph Department raised the prices of cards by 7/16 nP, covers by ½ nP, inland letters by ¾ nP, and so on under the pretext of changing over into the Naya Paisa era. Thus the public are taxed by about ½ nP for every 4½ nP in the card, ½ nP for every 12½ nP in the cover and ¾ nP for every 6½ nP in each extra word of an ordinary telegram. The revenues of the P. & T. Department are increased to a negligible extent. Could not the Department adjust commission rates and the pricing of postal articles so that its revenues are maintained without being reduced or raised?

Now all other public and private concerns (including your paper) have followed in the footsteps of the P. & T. Department fixing their own prices and rounding off the naya paise to their own advantage, of course putting before the public their own difficulties and reasons. Even the price of one cup of coffee is converted into 13 nP from annas 2 and the price of one iddili has been raised to 7 nP from one anna.

Thus the financial year 1957 has begun with no new legislated tax but all are taxed, especially the middle and poor classes of people, under our Socialistic pattern of society.

T. P. SUBBARAMAN.

Tiruvanaikoil.

PEOPLE'S VERDICT?

Sir,—The ruling party's post-election manoeuvres in most of the States to perpetuate their power, and thwart what little Opposition there exists, do not conduce to sound democratic traditions. Many of the 'Independents' are already walking into the Congress parlour. Even members of responsible Opposition parties are being systematically tempted to desert their camps. The most distressing case comes from Orissa, where no less than eleven members from a single Opposition party have, it is claimed, been "converted" to Congress, the ex-Chief of the State

setting up a fine tradition by refusing to disclose their names!

With such foul play running riot in most of the States, the doyen of our democracy in Delhi, solemnly tells us that "the people's verdict will be honoured."

Madras.

W. S. KRISHNAN

CONSUMER, PRICE—BITTEN

Sir,—The official conversion table is intended to be followed and not flouted by anyone, much less by a limb of the Government like the Post Office. Is it any wonder that private parties should copy this shining example? If the P. and T. Department cannot afford to lose Rs. 40 lakhs, it stands to reason that others can ill afford their loss—not to speak of the already price-bitten consumer.

The Fourth Estate, another pillar of democracy, for its part preaches homilies to others but like the proverbial Gowli lizard it has also fallen into the gutter.

N. V. SUBRAMANIAM.

Chingleput.

NAYA PAISA MUDDLE

Sir,—Consequent on the introduction of decimal coinage, the seller is fixing up prices in a way advantageous to himself. The buyer is not in a position to question him. The buyer has ignored the Government's conversion table because the Government themselves are guilty of doing so.

Here in Vijayawada, all the big hotels have come to an agreement to increase the prices uniformly. They too have chosen the auspicious All Fool's Day for it. As a result of these new coins, who is the loser? Not the businessmen, not the Government, but the poor, over-burdened middle-class man. The increase in dearness allowance which, in some parts of the country, the Government have granted with one hand just on the eve of the elections, has, even before the election fever has subsided, been taken away with the other hand in this manner.

SATHYA NARAIN ANDAVILLI.
Vijayawada.

(ii)

Sir,—The laundrywallas of Bombay are demanding a 25 per cent increase in their charges. The price of Government milk has also been increased. An all-round increase in the prices of all commodities is oppressing the ordinary citizens. What steps is our Government going to take to check these unhealthy tendencies? Will it be able to control the forces that it has released?

Bombay.

C. R. NATARAJAN.

(iii)

Sir,—Taking advantage of the change-over to the new decimal coinage system the business community concentrate their attention now on increasing the prices in all spheres affecting the normal life of middle and low class people. It is not too late even now for the Government to abandon this cursed decimal coinage system as our elder statesman C.R. has rightly urged.

N. S. RAJAGOPALAN.

Srirangam.

IN DEFENCE OF D. K. AID

Sir,—Apropos your editorial "Victory without honour" (SWARAJYA, March 16), it was the Congress that was backed by Dravida Kazhagam and not D.K. by the Congress. How can D.K.'s help bring about moral bankruptcy of the Congress? There are knowing men who feel that in the recent elections less stress was laid on communalism than in the last, and probably D.K.'s support to the Congress was somewhat responsible for this.

You state that several Kazhagamites were included in the Congress list of candidates. A Kazhagamite who burnt the National Flag may yet change and qualify for admission into the Congress fold. Many people with more serious crimes on their heads have done so in the past.

You yourself admit that "without the active and continuous support of the Centre no State Government in India can now survive." Why then doubt "if in the coming days the Congress in the State can be held together with any measure of loyalty to its past, or continuity with its old traditions."

As for corruption in the elec-

tions, the first thing to consider is whether the charges about corruption are based on proof or on mere gossip. Can it be said by anybody that the Congress candidates had a monopoly of extra-electioneering expenditure?

You say that Sri T.T.K. "who had no roots in Congress history" seeks Sri Kamaraj's help on the one hand and resorts to excessive Socialism on the other. Which Finance Minister before T.T.K. had roots in the Congress history? And which of them was less guilty of excessive Socialism? It may safely be asserted that the malady, if any, is not personal in the present set-up but inherent in the office itself.

N. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.

Tiruchi.

FATE OF A LIBRARY

Sir,—The reading public of Tuticorin are dissatisfied with the state of affairs that has come over the local library authority.

The present library was being run to the satisfaction of the public by the Tuticorin Municipality, until three years ago, when its management was taken over by the Government. This transfer has meant the end of the usefulness of the institution.

The library is now uncared for, and languishing for elementary attention. It was housed, after coming into Government hands, in a dark and ill-ventilated upstairs portion of a dry-fish godown. The stench that issues from the building is simply nauseating. The shifting of the library to a better building has been urged on the authorities times without number, but it has all fallen on deaf ears.

Worse than this is the utter poverty of the library in books. The municipality, when it relinquished its control of the library, retained quite a large and valuable part of the original stock of books. The Government have neglected to add to the stock of books, with the result that nothing but old, out-of-date, and torn books now greet the visitors.

This is a town where colleges and high schools are fast springing up. Commercial, economical and technological activities are growing by leaps and bounds in and around this town.

It is hoped that the authorities concerned will look into the matter and do justice to the crying needs of this locality.

S. S. LAKSHMANAN &
S. KRISHNASWAMI.

Tuticorin.

SUPERSEDED MUNICIPALITIES PREFERRED

Sir,—In most of the municipalities of Andhra, the existence of groups and parties gives rise to hatred and rivalry inevitably resulting in the ruin of the town. The two big towns of Guntur and Vijayawada had suffered a lot in this way for several years and the Government, recognizing the folly of continuing the municipal councils, decided, nine months ago, to supersede them.

Since then the special officers appointed by the Government have been rendering excellent service to the towns with developments and improvements. It is an indisputable fact that Guntur has improved remarkably under the special officer. Now it would appear the Government have decided to run elections in these two municipalities. As people are expecting some real benefit under the Second Five Year Plan, they would greatly appreciate postponement of the elections by one more year at least.

K. BRAHMANANDA RAO.

Guntur.

Frankness, Counter-Frankness
(Continued from page 6)

because my means are limited and also on your advice contained in savings posters. My spending may cause some inflation. Your spending will cause super-inflation when you do it with currency that has not had time to dry its patented ink as it emerges from the press. If it is the people's plan as the Second Plan is now claimed, let people's wishes and convenience be consulted and the term of the Plan extended. Little prestige can accrue from an achievement that makes the country bankrupt of buying power. Let us not miss our main objective — the largest happiness of the largest number of people in India. The Plan is an instrument and a means, not an end in itself. Let it not be a jauggernaut that by its accelerated momentum crushes under its wheels the very people that drag it.

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(Retired Principal and Professor of
Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras).

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SIDELIGHTS :

The American Ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, took the city by storm last week with parties, meetings and press conferences that received the widest publicity. Yet he gave nothing away. He has a chiselled, delicate face of refinement and sensitiveness which heightens the effect of the agreeableness and engaging candour that distinguish his manner. But he has also the diplomat's gift, the result of years of training and discipline, of using words generously without conveying information of much importance. Non-committalness protects him like an invincible armour of steel.

Kashmir was the burning topic of the moment when the Ambassador arrived. With inspired prescience he put it on the shelf at one stroke by saying

"I think, with Mr. Jarring having been here and in Pakistan and having had confidential negotiations and talks with your Prime Minister and government officials, and not having made any report as yet to the United Nations, it is not appropriate for me to discuss the Kashmir issue."

After that, resisting the importunity of every pertinacious pressman, he stuck to his declared intention of avoiding any discussion on the Kashmir issue with the uncompromising rigidity of a devotee to duty who felt apparently that propriety must be maintained at any cost. I recollect well the way that Mr. George Allen, a predecessor of Mr. Bunker at the American Embassy had of achieving intimate personal pleasantness with the Indians he met. It was built around admiration for Mr. Thimmayya whom he considered India's greatest soldier, in language that thrilled and excited the listener. Repeatedly he would say that Thimmayya had done a job in Korea which no one else in the world could have done; that India could be proud of Thimmayya; and he was proud of Thimmayya himself. For my part I was so immensely overwhelmed in the exhilaration of joy over Thimmayya's greatness as

a national possession that all troublesome inquisitiveness over other issues involving Indo-American relations perished with it. It must have been so, I have no doubt, with everyone else confronting Mr. Allen as a representative of the Indian press.

Mr. Chester Bowles was another of Mr. Bunker's predecessors as Ambassador. He had a remarkable talent for transcending his American-ness, casting it off even, and putting himself at ease on a common human level with whomsoever he talked to, reducing distinctions and differences to unimportance. Anyone ever present at a press conference of President Eisenhower cannot fail to notice his genius for relaxed handling of the most strenuous situations. A similar genius belongs to Chester Bowles, and perhaps it will take him one day to the White House. With the most intense faith in the great human values of equality, peace and freedom, he combines a complete lack of defensive personal inhibitions. Nothing unnerves him because he meets difficulties not by pretending ignorance of them or asserting a superiority of self proof against their destructive power, but by receiving them without concealment or fear and travelling along with them to discover how to overcome them. He wins confidence with his capacity to spread the faith in others that he has nothing to hide. It was not surprising therefore that with the sunshine of his genial sympathy and broad human understanding he dispelled the mists of dark suspicion that filled the Indian estimate of American intentions when he arrived. Indo-American relations reached their peak of goodwill and friendship during his tenure of office in India.

With Kashmir taken out of the discussion, American military aid to Pakistan and nuclear test explosions figured prominently in the questions addressed to Mr. Bunker at his own invitation by reporters at his press conferences. One of

the questions anticipated Mr. Chester Bowles's apprehension published a few hours later that the arming of Pakistan by the United States did little service to peace but only started an armament race among the nations of Asia. Mr. Bunker's replies conveyed no reassurance. Again and again he rehashed President Eisenhower's pledge that the use of American aid for other than defence purposes would not be countenanced, but when instances in the past and present of aggression which the President could do nothing to foresee and prevent were indicated, the Ambassador almost felt aggrieved as much as to say, how can anybody distrust the word of the President of the United States? The Madras press left Mr. Bunker with its curiosity and thirst for knowledge on every topic wholly unsatisfied, though on his side it was done with exemplary application and patience and an exquisite politeness that could scarcely be improved upon.

On Tamil New Year's Day prizes were distributed to winners in the short story competition organised by Ananda Vikatan. One thousand rupees were given away as the first prize. A prize of equal value was awarded the next day at the silver jubilee celebration of the great Tamil monthly, *Kalai Magal*. At the first of these functions, in his speech welcoming guests, Sri S. S. Vasan recounted in reminiscential mood the early tribulations of his career as publisher, his exertions at railway stations to sell the *Vikatan* and the story of how he came across the late R. Krishnamurthi, later to become celebrated throughout the Tamil-speaking world as *Kalki*, for the first time. In those days, we were told, a fee of five rupees was with difficulty paid for a short story even if it was a masterpiece. The great stride made since then is reflected in the rise in the value of writer's work two-hundred-fold, and also in the fact that not less than 3,000 competitors had entered the lists for the *Ananda Vikatan* prizes. Even little children in the kindergarten delighted in writing short

(Continued on page 15)

SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The best minds of the world are agitated over the consequences of the totalitarian and a-moral hold of Science on the fate of man. I read reproduced in a recent issue of the *American Review* a thought-provoking article of Dr. I. I. Rabi written in 1956 in the *Atlantic*. Dr. Rabi is a Nobel prize nuclear physicist and chairman of the Advisory Committee of the U.S.A. Atomic Energy Commission. With these qualifications, he is entitled to the most serious attention when he raises his voice against what is being done with science and suggests a remedy. The knowledge and techniques developed through science, he deplores, have been used for the destruction of life and the degradation of spirit, instead of serving to elevate the spirit and for the amelioration of life. "Technological warfare, biological warfare, psychological warfare, brain-washing, all make use of science with frightening results." Those who are in the know have kept silence over the fact but none the less do they deplore it, that the defence departments of 'advanced' States have been transferred completely from the soldier to the hands of the technology wizards. There has been a total revolution in the affairs of soldiers, wherein there is no longer glory and heroism but just technology and heartlessness.

Every one agrees that science has failed humanity and we must seek elsewhere for hope and salvation. But while this is admitted by all people in America some people believe that while we may be seeking an escape from the total tyranny of technology it will not do to lose in the armaments race and they must do all in their power to keep ahead of the Russians in technology—a contradictory attitude that the stern law of cause and effect will not allow to bear any fruit.

It is not easy to turn the hardened technologists into compassionate men. The age when any discipline can be utilised for the shaping of the mind is during the period when boys and girls are

being educated. It is there that we must find and apply the corrective to science to make each addition to knowledge an addition unto wisdom. "Knowledge without wisdom is dry, almost unfit for human consumption and dangerous in application." From this emphatic premise Dr. Rabi proceeds to examine whether by cutting out or reducing the place of science in the colleges and putting in its place, Greek, Roman (or let us add, Sanskrit or Tamil) classics our aim can be realised, viz., that of balancing the disciplines and producing an integrated mind. Dr. Rabi thinks that it would be ineffectual, besides being a symptom of pure anti-intellectualism which can only hasten the very destruction which people rightly fear. Pouring a little of this and a little of that into the student's mind in certain proportions that issue out of mediation between the contending departments of the universities, hoping that these ingredients will combine through some mysterious alchemy, will not do in Dr. Rabi's opinion. The ingredients will according to him remain most often well separated in the compartmentalized mind or may form an indigestible precipitate which is not only useless but positively harmful until Time the healer washes it all away.

This incisive and convincing analysis is followed up in Dr. Rabi's article with a suggestion which is just as mechanical and unpromising a solution as the one he has so effectively condemned. He proposes that the teachers of science must undergo a course in humanities and the professors of languages and history passed through a course in science. The hope is that some alchemy will work out an integration in the mature minds of the university professors and thereafter integrated wisdom will flow from teacher to student. It is possible and may be tried but it seems to me the true remedy is something else.

The one catalytic agent that will work the alchemy is religion.

The time-honoured disciplines associated with the various traditional religions will shape the mind to transform all knowledge into the wisdom that forms the stuff of the humanities. Let the growing child be not neglected in this respect and let religion be not looked upon as either superstition or an outdated mode but find its proper place in school and college, and all science will become the same stuff as the humanities and even richer.

Eighteen leading atom scientists of Western Germany have publicly declared their refusal to work in any way in the production of atomic weapons. These eminent scientists of a nation that has learnt wisdom through suffering have pointed out that the effects of atomic weapons are not sufficiently known. "Every single tactical atom bomb or grenade (these are now the favourites of the War departments of nuclear Powers as providing a graduated attack that may avoid total destruction) has an effect similar to that of the first atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima. There is no known natural limit to the possibilities of development for strategic nuclear weapons. We know of no technical possibility of protecting the population against the danger of being exterminated by H-bombs."

Other eminent scientists have expressed similar opinions. Dr. Oppenheimer led the way in this movement of resistance to Science Unlimited. There is no question that a great malady holds the world in its mortal grip. The souls of the men of science have begun to rebel against their own handiwork. Not until religion is reinstated on her lawful throne in the schools of the young and in the hearts of the educated, shall we have leaders and rulers of men who will serve humanity and not be prisoners of their own inventions.

The Essence of Freedom

I think the essence of freedom really is not the absence of control, but the acceptance of the essential laws of life—the essential laws of oneself. These are the laws without which one cannot express oneself, without which one cannot be one's changing self, or one's greatest self.

—Colonel Laurens Van Der Post.

helm of affairs to contribute, in pre-ordained fashion, to the further impregnability of the fort of power and its central figure.

In a minor way Sri Ramiah fulfils the same tradition as Sri Kakkan does, but the palm for unredeemed insignificance without an iota of even dimly perceptible qualification belongs, of all the Ministers, to Srimati Lourdam-mal. A Minister is a ruler for the time being, and the people of Madras would like to know from the Chief Minister by what magic intuition he arrived at this particular one as the most apt ruler to be set over them to guide their destinies and look after their welfare. To exalt to the Ministry which deserves to be manned with the pick of talent from the renowned great, persons altogether unknown to the public, is to degrade it in that proportion. This is the drama now being enacted in Madras State with the blessings presumably of the Congress High Command from Delhi.

Bad Law and Bad Medicine

When some Labour members in the British Parliament raised the question of the legality of test explosions and the walling off of 'danger zones' during the tests, the Minister of Supply replied that he was not competent to reply in such matters of law—which was true enough in more senses than one—but that there is a "convention" that danger areas have been declared and such declarations have "never been regarded before as an infraction of the high seas". A reference to legal dictionaries will show what a "convention" is and that the Supply Minister's claim is entirely without foundation. Impositions by force and by causing extreme fear of danger to life, however often repeated, cannot result in a "convention" the fundamental essence of which is agreement. Nor can the practice of the nuclear powers during the last ten years become law without agreement on the part of the majority of the nations of the world who are

NUCLEAR TOTALITARIANISM

BY C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The "heartening" news has been received by a newspaper in London that America has leapt five years ahead of Russia because it is now in a position to fire a long-range rocket over inter-continental space with a hydrogen-bomb war-head. 'Heartening' it may be to the British newspaper, but not to sane men and women in areas below the flying rocket's passage in space. Even American technologists working under orders of the Pentagon may make mistakes in the course of their tests during this cold war, not to speak of activities during a period when it arrives of greater hurry and necessary inadvertance.

The nuclear powers have their plans. But are the rest of humanity to live under a constant dread of total destruction from missiles passing over their heads and humbly submit to this new domination of totalitarian nuclearism? In days of yore according to Hindu mythology the mountains had wings and flew over the heads of men hither and thither and Indra the chief of the gods led a fierce campaign against the menace of these lawless mountains and with his thunderbolt struck them down clipping their wings and reduced them to their present civil condition. The present menace of long range rockets with A and H warheads darting over the heads of nations who are not

in the quarrel calls for a more indignant and more terrible saviour-avenger.

Once as a young man at law, I was told that nation-rights included in international law all space over-head straight up to the skies. What has happened to all those cobwebs of public law? And what has happened to the publicists whose reputation was once so great and who spent their days spinning these webs of law? Or must we wait for an "accident" to take place for a cause of action to arise? The damage will be so comprehensive then that there will be no one to lodge a complaint and no one to try the action.

What has happened to the mind of the scientists that they have sold themselves body and soul to the war-offices? We read the statements of some men of science pleading that the additional pollution is each time not much. Our hats off to the men of science of Germany. Is it too late for others of their tribe to follow a good example? The time is now—it is not too early by a day—that the rights of man in the truest sense of the term must be asserted and the proud Powers clipped of their wings and made to settle down to immobile grandeur like the post-Indra mountains. Can India find any one else to undertake this mission? I fear the task is hers and hers alone.

suffering what has been imposed at the point of death without any corresponding advantage of any sort, not even an imagined sense of security through a show of the power of retaliation.

We were seriously told the other day to make up for the dangerous strontium poisoning that is steadily going on, by drinking more milk and imbibing other dairy products! Truly both medical and legal doctrines are hitched on to

the military waggon in a manner that would be amusing were it not thoroughly dishonest and tragic. Some scientists appear to be ready not only to sell their souls for salaries and work for the steady and sure poisoning of the human race but also to give false testimony which is a vulgar crime not even relieved by the satanic splendour of bigger crimes.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



Sotto Voce

The Uncommercial Publisher

"Barabbas was a publisher", says the cynic of Fleet Street. Maybe: but then there are "publishers who are not publishers" just as there are biblia a-biblia. In a world where enthusiasm is suspect it does one's heart good to find hard-headed businessmen who devote their substance to propagating literature, both sacred and secular, though one might have thought that books were far from their beat. In India book-publishing is still rudimentary. A few booksellers are publishers on the side; they confine themselves mostly to school text-books and cribs. Paradoxically enough it is this state of the profession that has given the inspired amateurs their opportunity.

These uncommercial travellers cover a wide range. There are great philanthropic enterprises like the one at Gorakhpur. The Gita Press publications are a marvel of cheapness. They are brought out with loving meticulous care. I found that in my copy of the Bhagavatam the rare printer's slips had been tracked down and unobtrusively corrected by hand. Good paper, clear type, workman-like binding and lavishly produced illustrations often in colour (though I myself don't fancy these much) all go to give their publications a special cachet.

Here in Madras the pioneer in uncommercial publishing was Ganesh & Co., whose name conjures up the national beverage with its "sabeen odours from the spicy shore of Araby the blest." The founder of the firm was a great Devi-bhakta as well as a lover of fine books. And to this twin passion we owe the superb series of Sir John Woodroffe's translations from the Tantric and other classics of that school; the latest is the *de luxe* edition of the *Saundaryalahari*. But a popular price

could not well be combined with such opulence.

The desire to make good books, reasonably well got up, available to the reader who is not too abundantly endowed with this world's goods has led to quite a number of daring and unorthodox ventures being launched in recent years. Mr. M. Balasubramanyam, who joins in himself true culture with profound faith, brought out cheap and very serviceable editions of the sacred collects of the Saivite and Vaisnavite saints. Mr. Nilakantan, the enterprising director of B. G. Paul & Co., the educational publishers, has, as a devout disciple of H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi, done yeoman service to religion by taking in hand the well-edited and excellently turned out series of the Kamakoti Kosasthanam. The Tamil biography of His Holiness which the firm brought out for the Golden Jubilee Celebrations Committee is an example of what professional skill yoked to the spirit of service can do.

Mr. Rajam of Murray & Co., the auctioneers, has recently joined this select company and is forging ahead. Some of us have been dreaming for years of the equivalent in Tamil of the World's Classics and the Everyman's Library. Mr. Rajam began with a popular edition of the Divya Prabandhas, in a format which gave delight to hand and eye, at the democratic price of a rupee per volume. It showed a daring of which the commercial publisher is rarely capable. He proceeded to do the same thing for the Tiruvachakam. And now he has branched out into the field of secular literature and put on the market two of the "Five Great Poems" of ancient Tamil, excellently edited. All which shows that his love of his mother tongue

is equalled by his acumen and catholicity of outlook.

The *Silappadhikaram*, which along with the *Manimekhalai*, appropriately starts the series, was the work of a prince who renounced a throne and is known to posterity as Ilango-Adigal, "the sainted Heir-apparent". He was in the authentic tradition of the seer-poets: no true poem, as our fathers said, was made by other than a rishi. Ilango, like Valmiki, had unbounded charity for our tragic human condition and a connoisseur's delight in the breath-taking beauty of life, as well as a rock-like moral sense. In mating Aryan wisdom with the *joie de vivre* and the gracious humanity of the Tamil he showed an intellectual elan which reminds one of the great Renaissance figures like Pico della Mirandola. The songs he sows broadcast in his epic might have been sung to a guitar under Catalan skies.

But behind the jocund lay and triumphant scholarship you see the wise servant of Rta. His deathless verse shall testify, he says, to the Law (proclaimed in the Veda) that as a man sows, so shall he reap; but it shall show too that Destiny itself shall be powerless against a good woman's love. "Blest art thou, O Kaveri", he makes his Kovalan sing, "for though thy king (the victorious Chola) surrendered his heart to glorious Ganga of the North and the immortal Maiden (Kanya) of the South, his truancy has no power to turn thy love and loyalty sour." That is the accent not of petty provincialism. It is the immortal voice of India.

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THIS, OUR FREEDOM BANE OF THE SERVICES

The other day I had occasion to telephone to the local office of a foreign information service (not the U.S.I.S.) for facts about the working of a new institution in their country. Within two hours I got a neatly typed account of the latest developments, with all the background information I wanted. It was a revelation to me of how thoroughly the information service was organised, and, what is more, with what remarkable efficiency and expedition those who sought the information service's help were served.

In striking contrast it has been my experience in recent years to find that our official information departments are hopelessly ill-organised and it is seldom possible to obtain from them even the most elementary information. Not many may remember that it was Rajaji who first appointed a Minister for Information in a provincial Cabinet way back in 1937. It was something of a novelty then and many felt that it was almost a sinecure. Since then Information Ministers have figured in every Ministry at the Centre and in the States and there is a vast publicity and propaganda organization under their control. There are Directors of Information and Publicity in every State, but anybody who may have had occasion to seek their help would have discovered how it is impossible to obtain from them information about anything. Rarely are letters answered promptly. The leisurely replies you get are invariably in the same strain. "The information desired is not available". There is not even an expression of regret, much less is there any assurance that some effort will be made to secure the required information after enquiry.

Officers at the head of the

information department imagine that their primary job is to dole out official propaganda and not to provide all the factual information people may seek about government activities. The sedulous cultivation of Ministers is more important than the diligent discharge of one's duties. Nor is this surprising when we find Ministers themselves encouraging the idea that it is more important for an official to cultivate their favour, for his advancement than to do his work impartially and devotedly. It would be interesting to reckon up the number of man-hours wasted by senior officials of the Government in dancing attendance on Ministers during their tours, hours which ought to be spent on doing the public's work for which they are paid.

The bane of the services today is this fawning on ministerial favours for promotion and the presence of incompetent favourites holding sinecure posts. A young and conscientious official, who has been eating his heart out because of his powerlessness to prevent criminal waste of public funds through needless delays in passing orders and announcing decisions, told me that it was scandalous to see how little work was being turned out by government employees in the Secretariat and other offices. He confessed that barely two hours' honest work was being done by most officials including the senior staff. Files were being pushed around from department to department for the flimsiest of excuses and an order which could have been passed after five minutes of concentrated attention by a responsible officer gets delayed for months. And it is the public that pays the price for all these delays.

BHARADWAJA

Democracy Not Possible without Good Citizenship

PEACE does not mean merely prevention of war. It signifies good relations between human beings, countries and nations. Plato rightly declares that it is not walls but men who make a city. History teaches that the evils of the world are not so much the outcome of political machinery as of the men who run them.

The problem of peace is essentially related to human character. But few people realise this. This is because a complicated society enslaves the people to its own institutions. They attach importance to these, forgetting that organisations are created by men for their own benefit, and just as they are responsible for their creation, they are also responsible for their proper working.

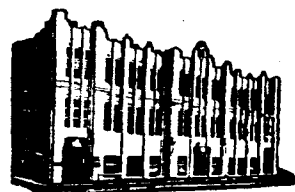
If institutions fail, it is more the fault of the people than the machinery. We lose sight of this fact and imagine that our salvation lies in machinery and in secular knowledge. We hear men talking of more science, more sociology or more votes as remedies for the evils of the present century.

A study of history belies this belief. Our scientific knowledge has increased phenomenally but morally we are where we were or rather we are more backward than we were in the previous centuries. We are not less greedy, less cruel and less false. The progress of science has brought a decline in the moral strength of the nations. The power politics of today is the direct outcome of this faith in might rather than in right. Anglo-French aggression in Egypt and Russian barbarism in Hungary reveal this.

The systematic extermination of the Jews, the persecution of Negroes, the horrors of the concentration camps in Hitler's Germany, the partition of India, — these show only an emptiness of mind, and the lack of firm principle which rules human conduct.

All this is proof positive of the necessity for insistence, on the

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training of character to bring in world peace. It is a pity that we still stick only to our educational curricula, fondly hoping that by making administrative changes or by studying more science, we will steer clear of the wilderness into which we seem to have been led.

Political power rests ultimately with the common people and therefore the success or failure of national efforts will depend on the quality and the work of the masses. Let us not imagine that an Alexander or a Napoleon could have done what they did without the heroism of the men who obeyed their bidding.

Democracy requires good citizenship more than any other form of Government. It was not the threat of material ruin that united Britain during the war, but something else; very probably it was the fierce love of personal liberty which the English prize so much. Britain has remained a democracy because the Englishman has acquired the qualities necessary for it. If we value democracy and want a democratic government then we must develop a democratic character. We must learn to understand and follow great ideals. We must worship the spirit of excellence in whatever we do and see and reject the mean and the drab.

In a similar manner nations should also be inspired with high ideals. The Governments of England and America, unfortunately, follow high ideals only within their own countries. They never use the same yardstick to measure the rest of humanity, and the colonial policy they follow is one of exploitation and subjugation. If the major powers view the rest of the world as they view themselves, with a humanitarian outlook, they certainly can bring about world unity and thereby world peace.

M. NARAYAN KINI

Importance of Economic Freedom

The Second Plan involves an outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores; its emphasis is on the development of basic heavy industries; it proposes to increase employment opportunities by many millions; it aims

at a sizable increase in the national income. You may ask "Where does Socialism come in this picture?" For that we will have to turn to a connected paper, the Industrial Policy Resolution.

Even this resolution appears innocuous at first sight. It divides industries into three groups, the first two being the closed preserve of the State and the third to be left in the hands of private enterprise. Every one wants this country to develop fast and any step taken by the State in that direction is heartily welcome. State in fact plays a very important role in the industrial field in our country. Look at the array of State-owned industries: Railways, Post & Telegraphs, Broadcasting, Reserve Bank, State Bank, Insurance Corporation, Air Lines, fertiliser factories, air craft factories, telephone industries, machine tools.... so runs the long list. In a country where private enterprise is not adequately alert, the State must necessarily step in to fill the gap in investment. But, imagine for a moment as to what will happen if this goes on at an accelerated rate. Is not political freedom closely tied up with economic freedom? The economic pundits say that all political differences are at bottom economic. Visualize a condition under which everything is owned and run by the State. All people become the servants of the Government and then who is to stand for election? Unless there is scope for free enterprise, elections lose their savour and content. It becomes the perpetuation of one government in power. Did not the Mahatma sound a note of warning when he said that "the concentration of power in the hands of the State would cause the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress."

The new streamlined engine of social change has got into motion. The bell has been rung; the semaphore has been lowered and the green flag is being waved. We may trust the driver; but the engine must have sufficient controls and brakes so that it may keep firm on its own track and may not run amuck.

C. RANGARAJAN.

INIQUITY OF NAYA PAISA POSTAL RATES

By V. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA

The object of introducing decimal coinage is said to be to simplify the method of calculation; but the Government have handled the change-over from the old system to the new in such a manner that it has resulted in chaos and confusion. An illiterate man, say a vegetable vendor, stands bewildered and confused when we try to explain the implications of the new system and simply refuses to accept payment in terms of the new coins. Even in stray cases where the new coin is accepted, a higher price is demanded.

Unfortunately it is the Postal Department that has given a wrong lead by increasing the rates while refixing the postal rates under the new coinage. The bad example set by this department has been copied by traders and merchants and consequently, the prices of newspapers, food-stuffs, vegetables, etc., have shot up.

In the conversion table published by the Government, the equivalent of 2 annas is shown as 12 nP; but the Postal Department has fixed the price of embossed envelopes and postage for letters on the first tola as 12 nP. Traders and merchants have followed suit with the result the price of a newspaper priced at 2 annas before, now costs 13 nP, coffee which was formerly sold at 2 annas a cup now costs 13 nP, and so on. If both Government and merchants alike begin to exploit a situation, what will be the fate of the middle classes who are already groaning under the burden of high prices and heavy indirect taxes?

The Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs says in his press communique that the department would have lost Rs. 40 lakhs if the price of the embossed envelope had been fixed at 12 nP. He has however diplomatically omitted to make any mention about the unwarranted increase in the rate of money order commission. If the

department would lose forty lakhs of rupees by a reduction of half nP in the price of the embossed envelope, what would be the profit that would accrue as a result of an increase of 2½ nP in the rate of M.O. commission? Here again, the Government would advance the argument that there is no overall increase in the rate of M.O. commission. It is true that the M.O. commission for remitting Rs. 100 was Re. 1-8 and that it has now been maintained at the same level. But, a poor man who had formerly to pay 2 annas for remitting a sum of Rs. 5 and below, has now to pay 15 nP (i.e., nearly half anna or 25 per cent more). In other words, the rich man who remits hundreds of rupees and who has his dealings in tens or hundreds of rupees, remains unaffected; but the poor man who can only send Rs. 5 and less, and who always has his dealings in fractions of a rupee, stands to lose. This is a wonderful way of ensuring the socialistic pattern of society!

The Director-General has also stated that he has got legal sanction for increase in the postal rates. Having an absolute majority, the present Government can legalise any action of theirs. What the public are concerned about is not legal sanction but moral justification.

The object of introducing the Naya Paisa system is professed to

be simplification of the mode of calculation but, here again, the Postal Department should be blamed for having created a lot of complications and confusions in the matter of reckoning the value of old postage stamps for prepayment of postage, in lieu of Naya Paisa stamps. For paying a postage of 13 nP, if it is prepaid in the shape of a single two anna stamp, the letter is treated as fully prepaid and not taxed on delivery. If, however, postage is prepaid by affixing two one anna stamps, the letter is treated as having been prepaid with 12 nP only and therefore taxed on delivery with double the deficiency, that is, 2 nP. In all probability, the Director-General would have invoked legal sanction for this also, but the method adopted by the postal authorities baffles even educated persons. How then can anybody expect an uneducated man to understand all these complications and prepay the correct amount of postage on his correspondence?

Another strange phenomenon is the payment of the price of the old postage stamps, embossed envelopes, etc., in old coins. An old embossed envelope is not issued for two annas even if the full amount is tendered in old coins and an additional naya paisa is demanded. This old envelope, if posted as it is, is treated as fully prepaid. The revised value in terms of naya paisa has not also been printed on the envelopes, postage stamps, etc. Then, where does the need arise for the payment of an additional naya paisa?

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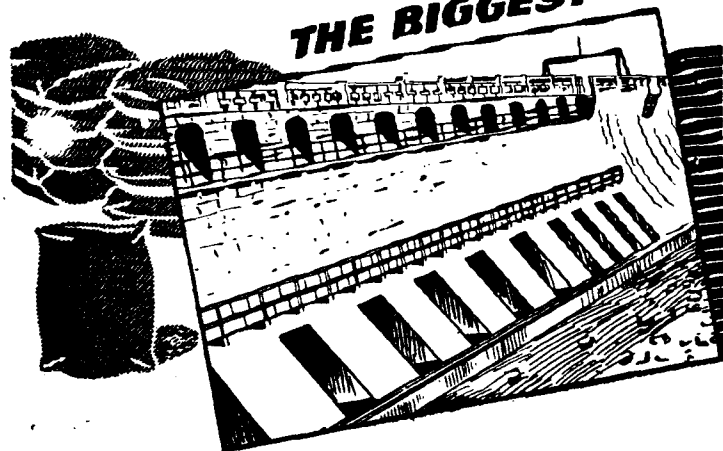
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Will the Director-General who talks about legal sanctions for his actions, be pleased to quote the law, or the section of the law, which authorises him to make such inconsistent conversations?

If a department with so much of man power and equipment causes chaos and confusion by its actions, how can we expect an illiterate fruit-vendor or vegetable-seller to understand the implications of the conversion tables, rounding off to the nearest nP, etc.? The ultimate sufferers are the members of the middle class who make their transactions in fractions of a rupee. The Prime Minister, commending the introduction of the new system of coinage, stated that nobody would lose on account of this change-over and that on the other hand there would be some gain in certain cases. How odd that he has not realised that when certain persons stand to gain, there would also be many who would lose and that the latter would always be the middle class.

All these confusions could have been avoided and the inconveniences minimised, had only the Government introduced a denomination of half naya paisa coins and worked out the equivalents of the old coins to the nearest half naya paisa. It is not yet too late and the Government can easily remedy the evils caused even now. Let them see that the following suggestions are considered and implemented urgently:

- (1) New half nP coins should be introduced and the equivalents of the old coins in terms of new coins should be worked out to the nearest half nP.
- (2) The value of postage and other articles of postal stationery should be refixed in terms of the new coinage at the exact equivalents as worked out above.
- (3) Payment for old postage stamps should be accepted in old coins at their exact face value.

MERRY ECCENTRICS OF THE CRAFT BOOK REVIEW

Claud Cockburn is one of those untypical Englishmen who are expected to do the unexpected. Born in middle class respectability, he had the advantage of an expensively conventional education. His college tutors as well as his indulgent parents would have liked to see him in the civil service but after a spell of hitch-hiking on the continent (with the help of a travelling fellowship) he seemed to get strange ideas into his still youthful head and began to talk of journalism as a career. The uncles who had his welfare at heart shook their heads dismally though they tended to relent somewhat on hearing that it was the doors of *The Times* that he was about to knock at. Not too bad, it was conceded, a little grudgingly, but "sheer journalism" all the same.

He gives quite amusing pictures of the old world atmosphere in which the editor and his assistants on the old Thunderer lived and had their being. Cockburn had acquired an early interest in foreign affairs which had been sharpened by his brief apprenticeship at the Berlin office of *The Times*. It was, naturally, the foreign room that he was interested in when he migrated to headquarters. Delightful was the first view of the musty office even to his usually unadmiring eyes. "In the foreign editorial room", he met at first sight "a sub-editor translating a passage of Plato's *Phoeda* into Chinese for a bet. Another sub-editor had declared it could not be done without losing a certain nuance of the original. He was dictating the Greek passage aloud from memory." A rather unusual sight, this, in a newspaper office. Some of the senior members of the staff had

- (1) *In Time of Trouble* (an Autobiography): by Claud Cockburn. Rupert Hart Davis, Soho Square, London, pp. 264, 21sh.
- (2) *My Life and Crimes*: by Reginald Reynolds. Jarrolds Publishers (London) Ltd., pp. 280.

specialised in subjects ranging from Chinese metaphysics to the grammar of the Polynesian languages and were engaged in writing theses and often contributed authoritative articles to the learned reviews. They barricaded themselves behind the imposing volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or some other equally heavy tomes that served the purpose, so that they could be effectively shielded from inquisitive visitors who might invade the precincts from time to time.

A restlessness of temperament and the wanderlust of a globe-trotter made the choice easy between a known job at the desk and an unknown assignment abroad. It was, however, not before a useful fortnight or so in which the recruit could get an insight into the workings of the office and the mental habits of the editor, reputedly unapproachable, and the sub-editors and correspondents, who seemed to treat each other as natural enemies like cats and dogs, that the author left for the new world in search of fresh woods and pastures new. "All foreign correspondents", observes this would-be foreign correspondent, "believe sub-editors to be malevolent troglodytes, happiest when casually massacring the most significant lines of an informed, well-balanced dispatch. Sub-editors believe foreign correspondents to be flibbertigibbets uselessly squandering enormous expense accounts, lazy and verbose and saved from making fools of themselves in print by the vigilance of the staff in the foreign room".

Among the other sidelights of his stay at the London office were the winning of a prize for the year's dullest headline in the paper for "small earthquake in Chile: Not many killed" and an irreverent parody of a typical *Times* despatch. Purporting to be about an 'incident' centering round a subversive revolutionary in Jerusalem, 2,000 years ago, the cable, which was replete with all

the well-known clichés, was obviously based on an off-the-record interview with Pontius Pilate. The fun of the whole thing was lost in the sense of outrage it evoked. It was regarded as 'blasphemy' on the hoary tradition of the institution. Of Geoffrey Dawson, the chief, more solid than brilliant, the young hopeful says that he could talk much without saying anything and seemed to be patting you on the shoulders while gently pushing you through the exit door after less than fifty seconds.

While all the old world is impressed, for one thing, by the speed and tempo of the new, Cockburn, on his arrival in New York, was obviously impressed with the American quality of slowness and sense of leisure. New York on a working day seemed to him less busy than Brighton on a holiday and everything wore a funny look in his humorous eyes. Louis Henrichs, his chief at the New York Bureau, had the reputation of having buttonholed a newly-arrived Rumanian diplomat in search of a millionairess bride for a lecture on Wall Street bulls and bears. Al Capone was tamely human and claimed that his business was run purely on American lines of free enterprise. An interview with this "political buffoon" was welcome but "no undue emphasis on crime" instructed the London office. And so it went on merrily for Cockburn who soon had independent charge of Washington. He did some bright dispatches including the one on the Labour Premier Ramsay MacDonald, who, about to land in U.S., was in two minds whether he sport a cloth cap in the Keir Hardie manner or make his first appearance in a decorous top hat. (The Home Office, which was expressly cabled to, plumped for the top hat.) He was, in fact, getting on famously as a full-fledged foreign correspondent.

It was all smooth sailing—too much so for an intrepid soul in search of trouble. Just when Cockburn had reason to feel comfortable, free from the wants and worries of day-to-day existence,

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Further information can be had from the Station Masters or from the Chief Commercial Superintendent, Southern Railway, Madras-3.

CHIEF COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT.

the bad old bug had bitten him—the bug of individual expression familiar to all scribes who must feel the urge sometime or other if they have something to say of their own and would like to say it in their own way, free and unfettered. *The Times* had, of course, never so much as asked him to give a slant to anything or write what he did not like to, though they had their style, tradition and policy, as all newspapers have. But somehow, he felt that his personality was not finding full expression in a huge organisation where he felt like a tiny cog in a machine. He therefore called it a day and bade goodbye to Printing House Square. “.....A newspaper”, it seemed to him, “is always a weapon in somebody's hands and I never could see why it should be shocking that the weapon should be used in what its owner conceived to be its best interests”. He does not mind whether others agree with him or not, when he goes on in an outspoken manner: “The hired journalist ought to realise that he is partly in the entertainment business and partly in the advertisement business..... The humbug and hypocrisy of the press begin only when newspapers pretend to be ‘impartial’ or ‘servants of the public’”. He takes inspiration from a German General who was running a small mimeographed broadsheet of information and comment, for starting his own weekly in London. He launches the venture with little money and less man-power. The smudgy rag (only in appearance) was brought forth on a duplicating machine in an old attic in Victoria Street. Its manager was a novelist friend of his who lent him a few pounds, but had a positive horror of business. The attractive secretary knew everything but typewriting or shorthand. The literary manager wanted the sheet to be ‘neat’; the editor wanted it ‘noticeable’. It attracted more than ordinary notice, though it started with just seven voluntary subscribers. It began to publish everything of importance that the bigger papers were afraid to publish, as the editor was free from the three fears—fear of libel, fear of misprint and fear of sack. Sensational

it was, without recking of sex and crime. Among its regular and ardent readers it counted King Edward VIII and Lord Mountbatten, Cripps and Strachey, Ramsay Macdonald and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The Editor of *The Week* believed that reader interest had become lower and lower in the bigger dailies. “You interest a million readers a little—but very few readers a lot”, observes the founder-editor of this small weekly that commanded a good hearing. It began to be talked about so much that even the then Prime Minister was agitated about its comments and it figured much in the abdication crisis. The editor was offered one lucrative correspondentship after another of leading American weeklies, but he had obviously no love for money as such, for soon he gave them all up when he was invited by Harry Pollitt to work for the *Daily Worker* in addition to his own journal on a fraction of the income he was getting from the American Press. He was about to feel at peace with himself when there was just enough trouble or promise of it. He was soon shocked by the “snobbery and red-tapism” he seemed to smell in the Communist paper which had oftentimes to wait an hour or two in going to press for the one-column ‘rigmarole’ of the leader-writer. Almost as bad as *The Times*!

No such worries as these enter into the calculations of Reginald Reynolds who is an uncommercial traveller in every sense of the term. He seems to hate a settled job and cannot work on it at a stretch for more than a few months (that too when he happens to be in dire need). He serves no master as he acknowledges none, the honest Quaker that he is. From commercial travelling (where he proved a notable failure) he turned to country farming. Like the air he bloweth where he listeth. And it was not an ill wind that blew him to India in the early thirties when he hit the headlines as the English youth who acted the errand boy between Gandhi and Irwin. He remained, ever since, a friend of Gandhi and a friend of India.

The eccentricity of Reynolds (which he chooses to describe as “Reginald's Sin”—a needlessly disturbing title) covers as wide a gamut as anybody else's. He is an aggressive vegetarian in a land of beef-eaters. He has had no regular profession, for the better part of his life till now, but he dabbled in freelance journalism off and on and he has written quite a few books—readable as well as original. His articles on topics like barbers and bedchambers have proved popular, especially in America. They were not merely interesting; they were considered authoritative enough to be included in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. His wife is the novelist Ethel Mannin who lives in her oak cottage in Wimbledon while he lives for the most part of every week in an old dug-out near enough to the British Museum in whose reading room he is found browsing day in and day out. They see each other only in the week-ends.

To his own natural oddities—Reynolds has, in the Gandhian manner, added the tendency to feel embarrassed by the generosity of friends and the hospitality of unknown hosts, while going out of his way to take kindly to persons who put themselves in the wrong with him. While he denies that this has anything to do with “the other cheek” philosophy of the Quakers or Gandhites, he seems to be more solicitous of the well-being of the burglar who makes away with his underclothes than for instance of his life-long friend and patron Lawrence Housman who had lavished his money and affection on him. Not unlike George Orwell (of whom he gives a fine estimate in this book) he often betrays a craving for hardship and suffering though he makes good use of them as he does of jail life.

Reynolds is a pacifist who would, when the mood catches him, do battle over an egg. But he, like Cockburn in his way, would rather live than die for a cause. English eccentrics both, they are more eccentric than English. Their laughter is not without the poignancy of tears.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

KERALA'S CONTRIBUTION

SIR,—The unique Communist party experiment in Kerala can be reasonably expected to work out a compromise between practice and precept acceptable to the common man provided the belligerents from outside the State like Sundarayya and Sriman Narayana avoid rubbing things on the wrong side too much and too often.

The Kerala Communists have undoubtedly delivered their first blow against the Congress after the Congress Governor's obvious misfire in raising the ceiling of higher officials' salaries from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,600 just three or four days before the Ministry took over the administration. Nothing could have been lost if he had left this task to the Communists themselves.

Our country is too poor to pay high salaries, and Rs. 500 is a very reasonable figure, taking all circumstances into consideration. Whatever clever reasoning might be employed by leading Congress dignitaries to smother their conscience in this and in the matter of total Prohibition, they will not be able to convince the masses that all the previous commitments of the Congress in these matters deserve drastic revision. Further opposition to such Gandhian principles and programmes could be persisted in only at great peril to the popularity of the great institution which has already suffered at the hands of its not very scrupulous high priests. It is an open secret that never before in the annals of the Congress money had assumed such a decisive role as now, in shaping the policies of the Congress party and its governments. Why bandy words with the Communists when they point out the beam in our eye?

The initiative gained by the Communists in Kerala will go on acquiring momentum unless Congressmen take the Red menace seriously, shed the power complex, correctly understand the psychological forces that impelled a very

electorate to throw in their lot with the Communists, even at a time when the Red cult is losing much of its redness in the country of its own birth. Congressmen in Kerala and elsewhere should at least now review their past, revalue their present and rectify their mistakes by honestly acknowledging them. The Kerala Government, if it succeeds, would be an object lesson for the Congress to copy. If it fails, even then it would have proved itself a precious laboratory to enable the Congress to save the rest of India from Communism. The wholesome economies that that Government would effect might also help the Congress to cut down the colossal waste in block development, P.W.D., women's welfare and other departments.

VENNELAKANTI RAGHAVIAH.

RAILWAY TIME TABLES

SIR,—The suggestion that Rohini made with reference to Railway time tables (SWARAJYA, 6th April) is well worth the attention of the Railway authorities. But instead of totally abstaining from publishing revised time tables, it would be better if the authorities publish the time tables alone, without the traditional paraphernalia of the rules and instructions to passengers. That would considerably reduce the loss incurred by the Railways. Guntur. D. LAXMAN RAO.

INDIA AND ISRAEL

SIR,—Sri C. R. Natarajan quoted the views of Gandhiji on the "Arab-Jew Conflict" (SWARAJYA, April 6) and suggested a drastic change in our foreign policy with regard to Israel. While the views of the Mahatma deserve serious consideration, it is pertinent to note that he expressed those views in 1938, that is, long before the creation of Israel as a State by the United Nations Organization. India is a member of the world organization and has recognised the territory of Israel that was granted under the United Nations. The policy of

any country should be based on facts and in the world of today it is a fact that the State of Israel exists and has been recognised by many countries. Israel is a member of the United Nations also. It is not quite clear, in the circumstances, how any action by India can help improve the present situation.

It is also pertinent to recall Gandhiji's views on the partition of the country and the creation of Pakistan. Did we not reconcile ourselves to the inevitable and recognise Pakistan? Rajahmundry. V. SUBBARAO.

TOTALITARIAN MENTALITY

SIR,—To some extent our experience has been that the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed in the Constitution, have often stood in the way of providing good governments in the States. Thus observed Sri T. T. Krishnamachari in the course of the debate on the interim budget for Kerala. These words are full of ominous significance, coming from a responsible Cabinet Minister. A few months ago Sri Krishnamachari staggered many thinking people by saying that the courts came in his way of dealing effectively with tax-evaders and if tax-proceedings are taken away from the purview of the courts he would bring the tax-dodgers to their knees. The Finance Minister's statements reveal a mentality which is disconcerting to the true democrat. The totalitarian mentality is slowly creeping into the Congress. Anything not to their liking is felt to be irksome and pronouncements are made which smack of dictatorship.

It is in this context that the lone voice of Rajaji's speaking words of wisdom and pleading for an effective Opposition becomes very important. Madurai. S. PADMANABHAN.

CYPRUS AND KASHMIR

SIR,—Questioned about the offer of safe conduct of Col. Grievass, Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus, is reported to have said, "Of course, the offer cannot remain in force indefinitely." I would like the British press and the powers-that-be in Britain who

choose to point at India with an accusing finger, to realise that the very same words are applicable to India's offer of plebiscite in Kashmir.

M. S. RAJAGOPALAN.

CRACKS IN OUR CONSCIENCE

SIR,—Miss Sita B. Bakthan misunderstood me when she said (SWARAJYA, 6th April) that I had equated Russia's action over Hungary with that of India's over Kashmir. Far from that.

While she concedes that what we did in Junagadh and Hyderabad amounts to aggression and justifies it on political and moral grounds, she is not prepared to apply the same arguments to Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. Is Pakistan wrong in committing aggression on Kashmir on much the same grounds? My point is, would not our foreign policy, based as it is on strict neutrality and judging the world issues on their merits, run counter to our stand on Kashmir?

We condemned Britain and Israel over Suez when their vital interests were involved; but we almost condoned the still continuing acts of aggression by Russia over Hungary. And we don't support nor do we seem to sympathize with certain unassailable and just claims of Israel against Nasser of Egypt, whose only avowed object is to wipe out Israel. If this is neutrality, anything is. Are our Western critics far from wrong when they point out cracks in our conscience and condemn our notion of neutrality?

As one who really wants Kashmir to remain in India, I only plead that we give up the double standard of judgment and morality and adopt a commendable compromise attitude in our stand on Kashmir and show the world that we practise what we preach and save the already precariously poised peace in the sub-continent.

A. RAJEEVA SHETTY.

THE CHIEF MINISTER'S RESPONSIBILITY

SIR,—Madras has had a unique misfortune in that she has had three Chief Ministers who did not participate in the proceedings of

the State legislature. It will rebound to the credit of the Ministry if the Chief Minister expounds to the legislature at least a few of the Government policies; as things are, he is personally indebted to his colleagues for discharging this essential responsibility of his.

Sri A. S. Kuppaswamy cites Article 164 of the Constitution to stress the responsibility of the Chief Minister to the Legislative Assembly. But Article 164 only says that "The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State." The Chief Minister is a Minister in the Council of Ministers, and should exercise his responsibility to the Legislative Assembly. May the Madras State not fall behind the standard set up for parliamentary democracy in the Constitution at least during the new set-up!

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.
Coimbatore.

UNFAIR IMPOST

SIR,—From time immemorial admission to the Museum and Connemara Public Library, Egmore, has been free. In the past, for the convenience of cyclists visiting these institutions, separate stands were made available and a watchman belonging to the Library was put in charge. This arrangement worked well. But all of a sudden a new stand has been constructed at the entrance to the Museum and cyclists are directed at present to keep their cycles in the new stand paying one anna per cycle. The cyclists should not be penalised like this. Arrangements should be made to post one of the staff to look after the cycles free of charge.

Scores of watchmen are idling their time inside the Museum and Library.

Chetpet.

D. SELVADASS.

Sidelights

(Continued from page 4)

stories nowadays, said an ecstatic reviewer at the meeting of the great change that had taken place. The catalytic treatment for jubilation without discrimination was supplied by Rajaji who pleaded for a little waiting to gain experience before one embarked on the adventure of story writing. Rajaji has the gift of putting things in proportion with the briefest compass of intensely thought-provoking words. He sent a gathering in holiday mood home immersed in serious thought.

SAKA.

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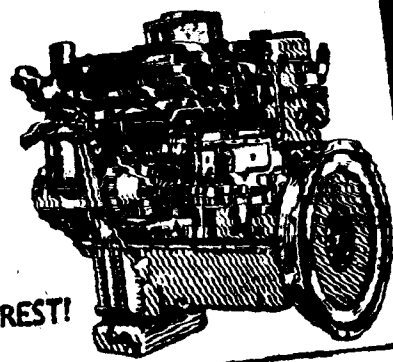
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao
Vol. I. No. 45 MADRAS SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1951
143681. 1 Naye Paise

THE BOMB MENACE

Ananda Vikatan has made the suggestion that the Government of India should hold a conference of Asian nations to condemn the nuclear tests, and armed with authority by the conference, Rajaji should be sent to the nuclear powers, Russia, America and the United Kingdom, as a messenger of peace to save humanity from the impending disease and mutilation that will be its lot if the tests are not forthwith stopped. The first voice to be raised in all the world against these bomb explosions was Rajaji's. He perceived the danger of radio-active pollution spreading from the scene of the explosions over practically the whole of the universe long before anyone else even dimly sensed it. Starting as a lone voice in a wilderness of apathy, indifference and non-comprehension, his protest, after a long duration of seeming futility, has now been rewarded with the attention and support of the world's leading intellectual figures. The most eminent scientists have endorsed it. The Prime Minister of India has appealed to the conscience of the dominant nations to stop the tests.

It is now realised except by a small minority with vested interests in the bomb, that atomic power and the experimental explosions bound up with its further development threaten everything of good that people are striving for in every country on the globe.

The threat is not one that can be localised in any way. Distance is no protection against it. Nor is the possession of atomic power itself capable of conferring any immunity. The poisoning of the air and the waters and the food that people eat through the radio-active pollution inseparable from the bomb explosions is intangible, all-pervasive, unpreventable and unlimited in time and space. The short-cut to destruction it opens up will find millions drawn into perdition long before the longed-for benefits of the scientific advancement of the atomic age can overtake them and confer on them any enjoyable blessings.

At this juncture of the world's destiny Rajaji stands at the cross-roads between safety and disaster as an inspired prophet endowed with a vision of things to come. Intelligence, experience, the detached wisdom of the religious spirit, and a character, matured in the rough and tumble of many years of energetic political activity into comprehension of the eternal things in life, have armed him with the power of using words to dispel illusions and fallacies, and if ever any one can bring the power-mad statesmen of the West to see reason, it is he and none else that one can think of. Ananda Vikatan's suggestion is apt and well timed and its adoption will be in the best national and international interests. We hope the entire Press

will endorse it vigorously and advocate prompt action in accordance with it by all concerned.

Another Toll of Evil

The Bhadrachalam boat disaster, which took a toll of 300 lives, is the biggest disaster of its kind in recent times. In the wake of consternation evoked by its magnitude, there have been dignant demands in the Press bringing the offenders to book. Spirited protests have also been made objecting to the non-judicial composition of the committee of enquiry announced by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister. There are certain calamities that are wholly accidental, something like an Act of God, which no preventive prudence, however meticulous, can foresee and avert. It is agreed almost by everybody that the Bhadrachalam tragedy does not fall into this category. It could have been prevented and would not have occurred if there had been less greed in evidence on the part of those in charge of the ferry arrangements. Why then was so much of disastrous greed permitted? Always, in cases of this kind, we come round to the universal cause of all governmental delinquencies, the enthronement of the second-rate in responsible positions in preference to the first-rate, mainly out of communal considerations. The

(Continued on Page 4)

77 Loyds Road, Madras-2

THIS, OUR FREEDOM FROM TOTEM TO LITERACY

Sri Ram Manohar Lohia is nothing if he is not original. To Indian politics, which runs in well-worn grooves, he supplies the disturbing element that stirs us out of our complacency. He has just threatened to move the courts for setting aside the last general elections in the country. Whether he will carry it out and whether he will win his case are more than we can say at present. One shudders to contemplate the unsettling effects of the success of his action. The first general elections cost the exchequer Rs. 10 crores. The second series should have cost us at least three-fourths that amount. And that, apart from the crores which must have been spent on the aggregate by all the candidates and all the parties. The nation has had to foot a pretty stiff bill to return more or less the same set of people—except in Kerala—to govern it for the next five years.

The victors have claimed that it is a striking vindication of Indian democracy in action. The vanquished, among whom Sri Lohia is one, have characterised the elections as a caricature of democracy. The truth, in most cases, lies in between these two extremes. But Sri Lohia is certainly right in one respect. The manner in which symbols were allocated for parties and candidates was such as to handicap the vast majority of contestants who did not belong to the four recognised "national" parties—the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Jan Sangh. Candidates of all other parties as well as Independents have laboured under the serious handicap of having to popularise their symbols only after they were allotted to them barely three weeks before the elections, while the "national" parties could start their election campaign long before nominations. That the method of allotting election symbols has placed candidates of the four major parties at an advantage over their rivals cannot be doubted. But whether the unfairness involved in this procedure is so egregious as to vitiate the

entire elections is a matter on which I hesitate to express an opinion.

It seems to me, however, that having raised the question of symbols, Sri Lohia would do well to take up an even more fundamental issue in the interests of the future of Indian democracy. The real question arising out of the manner in which the election campaigns of the various candidates were conducted in the recent elections is whether the entire system of voting for symbols—instead of for candidates recognised as such—is not reducing our democratic system to a form of crude exhibition of tribal loyalties. Anyone who had intelligently watched the election speeches and the posters and slogans issued by contesting candidates and the strange devices adopted to popularise rival symbols would have found to what absurd lengths candidates went to impress on the mass mind their respective symbols. Life-size figures of bullocks being taken round cities and villages, elephants and camels being marched through streets amidst cries glorifying these unfortunate pachyderms, slogans exhorting voters to vote for bullocks or a horse-rider or for a flower, can hardly be regarded as essays in the political education of the people. Months before the elections the Congress passed a resolution calling upon its members to treat the general elections as an opportunity for educating the voters in the programme and policies of the Congress. All that the vast majority of voters learnt by way of political education was to go and put their ballot papers in the bullock's ballot box. The voters learnt little about the respective merits of candidates or their programmes. Very often they did not even know the names of the candidates for whom they voted. In voting for symbols it seemed as if they were declaring their allegiance to some tribal totems and not consciously exercising their franchise in favour of political parties or candidates. And as the symbols had no direct or intelligent relation to any poli-

tical programme, the popularisation of the symbols could in no sense be regarded as educating the voters in politics.

The prevailing mass illiteracy is the sole ground for adopting the system of voting for symbols. Our faith in democracy and our claims to progress will stand self-condemned if before the third general elections we do not eliminate this barbarian relic. It is the elementary duty of the governments and political parties to see that the adult voting population of the country are made literate enough to read the names of candidates and to make a simple mark against the candidate of their choice on the ballot paper. Only then can we claim that there is some approach to true democracy. To redeem the electoral system from totemism is the first task. We have five years to accomplish it.

BHARADWAJA.

English

One Tuesday evening, in a New Delhi hutment, a child recited after shy hesitation some English verses she is learning at school.

John Drinkwater was there, and William Blake, and poets less well-known who write of nature and the world of childhood.

Listening, one guest thought as he has thought so often during a stay in India, how the English language is enriched and graced by the way Indian people speak it.

The child's earnestly precise voice rounded and completed each word, so that not a syllable was lost: and her intonation, a coupling of Indian and English cultures, was lovely indeed to hear.

In Vellore, last summer, the guest had heard four speakers at Rotary Club, talking in English, two of them extemporaneously. He realised then, too, that for clarity of idea and grace of expression, the Vellore five-minute speeches rarely could have been equalled in his own country.

India ought not to separate herself from this ancient tongue. She has too much to contribute to it. English is a foreign language with a past, but what of that? Past is past. English, as the educated Indian speaks it, belongs to India too.

JOHN E. FRAZER.



Sotto Voce

Kabuliwala Methods

Ordinance follows judgment almost as monotonously as night follows day. That is the sea-change that democracy and the rule of law suffer in our Socialist Punya-bhoomi. The Life Insurance Corporation sought to vary the terms and conditions of employees to their disadvantage, purporting to act under the authority of the Central Government. The Bombay High Court held that the sanction given by the Central Government was based on a "misunderstanding" of their powers and the Corporation was bound by such awards and negotiated settlements as had governed the service conditions in the different companies before insurance was nationalised. Promptly Delhi has issued an ordinance nullifying in effect the judgment of the Court.

Parliament is due to meet early in May and nothing would have been lost if the Government had waited till then and got the law amended in due form. They have their huge majority. And while for Joshua Jahveh made the sun stand in mid-heaven, our Swaraj Sirkar, more daring than the Omnipotent, can actually give its laws pre-natal validity. Why then, this unseemly haste? The Government wants to give itself a unilateral right to change the contract of service of men who find themselves in its employ, not by their choice, but by an act of State. Did not propriety require that it should hold its soul in patience till Parliament conferred on it the legal power it lacked?

So far as other employers are concerned, our Socialist Sirkar is ready to presume that they are always trying hard to undermine the legitimate rights of the employees. Almighty Jove requires little persuasion to launch his

thunderbolt, and his favourites know it. But what is sauce for the goose of the private sector is not apparently sauce for the gander of the public sector. If the insurance employee does not like the new terms offered him he knows he can take three months' pay and go, with freedom to starve or turn porter or pugilist, since the only job he knows is now exclusively within the Government's gift.

The Government as an industrial employer, though often a monopolist, is under no obligation to pay special compensation for loss of service. State Capitalism in fact allows itself quite a number of little indulgences. Thus the Government as industrialist is answerable to no share-holder for the exercise of reasonable prudence or diligence. Public Accounts Committees may shout till they are blue in the face about mismanagement which results in huge loss through speculation, ignorance or patronage. And State enterprises need neither pay taxes nor bother about huge capital depreciation which often masks the paper profits flaunted in the face of the public.

But Leviathan running amok works the greatest havoc when it comes charging along the track of the puny individual plodding his weary way through an ever-thickening jungle of regulations. It is here that the citizen needs most the protection of the courts and cannot be sure of getting it. Look at the case decided by the Supreme Court the other day. Income-tax arrears can be collected as arrears of revenue by the Collector of a District, under the Revenue Recovery Act. This near-centenarian law gives him not only power to order distraint of the defaulter's property; it also

provides that where the Collector suspects mala fides he can have the defaulter arrested and jailed. This outrageous provision has by a parity of reasoning been sought to be invoked against income-tax defaulters also.

The Madras High Court held that these provisions of the Income-tax and Revenue Recovery Acts were repugnant to the Constitution. For, said the Court, they deny the defaulter the right to know the grounds for his arrest and detention and to be heard in his defence. They thus fly in the face of the Fundamental Right secured by Article 22 of the Constitution. Unfortunately the Supreme Court took a different, and if one may say so with all due respect, a too conventional view of the matter. They held that imprisonment under these provisions of the law did not imply punishment for a criminal offence and such provisions would not therefore be ruled out under Article 22.

Their lordships take the breath away of a simple layman like me when they say that arrest and imprisonment here are "no more than a mode for recovery of the amount due". If that be so why should the section say that the Collector must be satisfied that the default is "wilful"? And surely "a mode of recovery" is not to be judged coldly by its utility alone: that would be to go back to the logic of the Inquisition. The judgment refers to the analogy of arrest for civil debt. That is an anachronism which in most civilized countries has been laughed out of Court by such immortal caricatures as Captain Shandon. But even in a civil decree execution has to be sanctioned by a judge; and "wilful default" of income-tax, however obvious to the enlightened conscience of the Collector or his factotum, might not appear in the same light to a judge whose duty was to do justice according to his lights and not to look upon himself as the local Atlas.

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A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

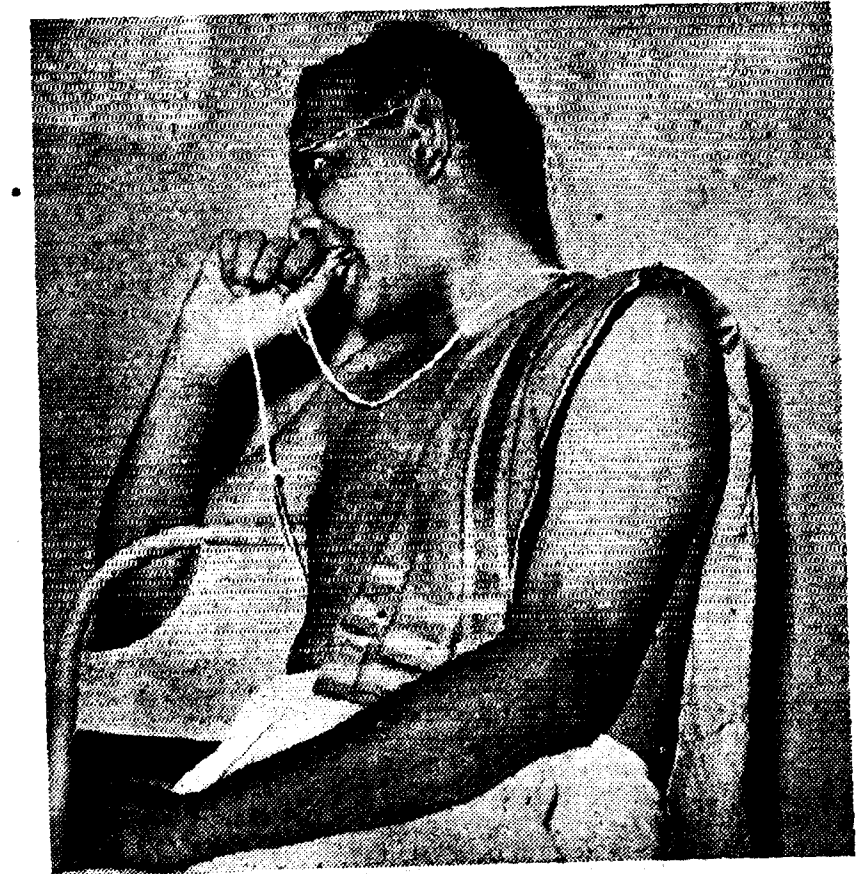
THE UNBEARABLE B

There he is, the blasted son of a
Brahmin!

Look at his smug, coarse mug,
his shameless parade of Brahmini-
cal tokens, his insufferable indif-
ference to the resentment of
others, and his insatiable appetite
for life! No wonder so many
people say 'Down with the Brah-
min!', and other things about him
that are equally incisive in senti-
ment and pithy in expression.

The Brahmin, of course, looks at
all this from a somewhat differ-
ent point of view, from the narrow,
self-centred perspective of 'those
hopelessly in the minority. The
other day a Brahmin lady provided
me with a name for the popular
feeling against her community—
she called it persecution. She
compared the Brahmins in Madras
State to the unfortunate and
talented Jews of Hitler's
Germany: both, she argued, were
the victims of persecution.

I could not let anything so
grotesquely untrue pass un-
challenged, and I pointed out the
shallowness and falsity of her
comparison at once. Jews in
Germany had really been perse-
cuted, subjected to the most
callous and inhuman govern-
mental oppression, hounded out of
their homes, tortured, deprived
and enslaved. There could be no
question of any community being
treated like that, or even being the
victim of discrimination, under our
democratic constitution. More-
over, in point of fact, the Brah-
mins in this State were not being
persecuted—only disliked. And
why wouldn't they be disliked?
It was nemesis of a kind, if she
followed me, a few generations
behindhand, it was true, but still
a sort of nemesis. Four or five
generations ago the Brahmins
were a most offensively exclusive
and 'superior' community, who
thought no end of themselves and
their precious intellect. Intellec-
tual snobbery being as ugly, cheap
and provocative as any other



species of snobbery, and com-
munal exclusiveness being even
more provocative, it was hardly
surprising that no one loved them.
So the children of the Brahmin
suffered now, not for the sins of
their father, but for those of their
great-great-grandfather.

You know the way women
argue! She wanted to know why,
if things were as I said they were,
her niece, who had better marks
than other applicants, had been
denied admission into a post-
graduate course. Unfortunately I
could not meet this with the usual
reply, that being ignorant of the
circumstances of the case, we
should not jump to conclusions—I
am afraid it is a fact that this
wretched girl did have better
marks than all her successful, non-
Brahmin rivals. Therefore I en-
tered upon a legalistic explanation.

It was well known, I pointed
out, that the law frowned upon
penal clauses, and similar unfair
and crippling conditions. If I
mortgaged my house to someone
for a thousand rupees, and the
deed stipulated interest at 6%
p.a. payable each month by the

5th of the month, with the proviso
that if interest was not paid by
the 5th, it would thereafter be
deemed to be at 12%, it was un-
likely that a court would sanction
this enhanced rate in the event and
probability of my default. Penal
clause, see? Highly objection-
able. But if the deed said that
interest would be at 12%, but that
payment at 6% would be accepted
in full quittance if payment was
made by the 5th, the mortgagee
would stand a much better chance
in court. No penal provision.
Only a relinquishing clause. Per-
fectly fair.

What had happened to Brah-
mins (and certain others) in this
State, I explained, was something
similar. It was not that Brahmins
(or Christians, or Muslims) were
being repressed, or suppressed, or
oppressed; in fact, there was no
discrimination against them at all.
It was just that certain other com-
munities had been specially
favoured. I left before that good
lady could see through this argu-
ment, and revert to the instance
of her Niece with the Best Marks,
after placating her by confessing

SIDELIGHTS :

To all appearances, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi in Andhra Pradesh has emerged stronger as a result of his unanimous election as Chief Minister. But it does not appear that faction and group politics, the bane of Andhra, have diminished in any way. With Sri Ramakrishna Rao gone out of the State as Governor of Kerala, the present Chief Minister is undoubtedly the most suitable that can be found for that place. Experience has hammered a sort of practical wisdom into him and he has been at pains, with conscientious deliberation, to rise to the full stature of the opportunity that has come to him. There is more of decisiveness now than previously. A certain laudable ambition to justify himself with outstanding achievements reflecting good to people, especially poor people, he always had. But he has laboured, and continues to labour still, under certain handicaps traceable to the peculiar, conglomerate composition of the State and its divisive forces, which impose on his administration uncertainty, wavering and disruption.

The opulent, nabobish inheritance of Hyderabad as State capital has not conduced to simplicity of living on the part of the Ministers. Their standards of life have been geared up not only into greater expensiveness but also into more lavish, even profligate snobbery. I have it on the authority of a knowledgeable Congress worker, a true Andhra in regional spirit, but brought up in the traditions of Gandhian simplicity, that he has a sense of alienness of soil when visiting Hyderabad, which he does not feel in Madras city where he is perfectly at home. Congress authority has contributed to this result with its indulgence in superfluities, too big houses, too ostentatiously extravagant entertainments and guest arrangements, excessive furniture, far too many and too imposing carpets, and so on. India is a country where nobody can continue to rule who does not

share the life of the poor who form the vast bulk of the population. Comprehending this basic fact at the core of national politics, Communists in Kerala are building up for themselves power and popular esteem with striking innovations exhibiting abstemiousness. Unmindful of the same basic fact, or ignoring it for the thrill of temporary excitements in indulgence of vanity and the show of superiority, the new leaders of Andhra Pradesh in charge of its government, buoyed up with the illusory security of a favourable and unassailable voting position in the legislature, have already begun to dig the grave of real power and influence for the Congress in the State.

The days are gone when people were captivated by spectacular habiliments. With classic simplicity of attire Sri Kamaraj Nadar in Madras, even without any intellectual equipment for leadership, has built for himself a quite serviceable reputation as a man of the people. Quite different is the impression made by Sri Gopala Reddi with his tailor-made versatility and quick change artistly in decorative decking of person as he flits, as on a stage, from scene to scene strutting with the vanity of a peacock to attract the attention of the multitude. Such superficial exhibitions of even enormously luxurious ways might be overlooked if side by side the spectacular actors have to their credit substantial executive drives conferring on people contentment and benefit in tangible forms. But this is just what is lacking, and in Andhra Pradesh the administration has gone awry with the hidden interference with its straight course by vote-wielders in the background in a position to pull strings and dictate to authority.

In or out of office, in former times, as for example in the days of Sri Prakasa, there was integrated leadership, respected as such and accepted even by mutually warring elements within the

State jurisdiction. But now the weight of personality has gone out of the ruling head and no potent force or principle as an integrating factor commanding respect has taken its place. The Chief Minister is at the mercy of leaders of faction threatening him all the time with dislodgement if their particular whims are not worked out into the scheme of things. This state of affairs is the secret cause of a continuous series of mysterious anomalies that have already in a short period torn to shreds governmental credit and justice. An order passed yesterday is reversed the next day. A defeated legislator is appointed to a high administrative post. Officers with excellent records have their services dispensed with to make room for meteoric promotion to wholly incompetent favourites low down in service records. These are the external results of an insidious process of influence-peddling which has converted Congress rule into the plaything of powerful private interests operating the political machine with hidden hands to their own good and the public detriment.

SARA.

Another Toll of Evil

(Continued from Page 1)

de-communalisation of the administration is the only thing that can save the situation by impelling supervisory officials to be on good behaviour and placing wrongdoers in peril of punishment taking them out of the umbrella of protective patronage at the hands of powerful communal god-fathers.

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April 27, 1957

B. C. G.—RAJAJI'S STAND VINDICATED

Two letters have been received by Sri C. Rajagopalachari this year from eminent medical authorities in America which deserve to be widely read. The first of the two letters is from Dr. J. A. Myers, M.D., of the School of Public Health, University of Minnesota. The text of this letter is given below:

Dear Mr. Rajagopalachari,

Thanks so much for the copies of your brochure entitled "B. C. G. Vaccination, why I oppose it." I am sending the brochure to a number of my friends. I cannot understand how any one could read your writings and then have any belief whatsoever in B.C.G.

I want you to know also how much I appreciate the copy of the November 25, 1956 issue of the *Hindustan Times* Sunday magazine containing your speech entitled "Basic error of B.C.G." This is an exceedingly fine article, and I do hope it has been widely read and accepted.

It would please me greatly if you would write from time to time, as I would like to be informed about tuberculosis work in your country.

With my very best wishes to you for 1957 and always,

Sincerely yours,
J. A. MYERS, M.D.

The second letter is from Dr. Seymour M. Farber, Chief, Tuberculosis and Chest Service, San Francisco Hospital, University of California. He writes:

Recently I was fortunate enough to get hold of a copy of your booklet entitled "B.C.G. Vaccination—Why I Oppose It." I have read this with great interest and feel that you are to be congratulated for a splendid piece of work.

Over a period of years I have also opposed B.C.G. for many of the reasons you list, and then for certain scientific reasons which have come to my attention in the work I have done.

I am quite amazed at the tremendous insight and thoughtfulness you have shown. Your approach to the entire problem is quite new to me in many respects and, therefore,

very refreshing. I intend to use the material in your pamphlet and quotations from it in my teaching to the medical students in the University of California and in post-graduate education at that institution.

I happen to be in charge of the Tuberculosis and Chest Service for the University of California Medical School at the San Francisco Hospital. In addition, I am the Director of post-graduate medical education for the University of California Medical Centre. In these capacities it is always my desire to further the basic truth in all of the various approaches of the large field of medicine. This is not always easy in view of the enthusiasms of well meaning physicians and workers in the field of medical sciences.

I have never had the pleasure of visiting your country, although I have had many students from your country who have studied on my Chest Service. During September 1958, I will be at the international meeting of the American College of Chest Physicians to be held in Tokyo. Either before or following that meeting I am planning to visit India. I was elected Vice-President of the Chest Physicians and in that capacity I strongly expressed a desire to hold an international meeting in your part of the world.

One of my interests was to hold several symposia in B.C.G. since efforts have been directed from various organizations to spread the use of it in countries such as yours. I personally have felt that there should be an expression from physicians in this country who feel that B.C.G. should not be used.

Again I want to congratulate you for the splendid work you have done. I am looking forward to the privilege of having an opportunity of discussing it with you personally.

Religion by hook or crook

Our statesmen must get a religion by hook or crook; and as we are committed to Adult Suffrage it must be a religion capable of vulgarization. The driving force of an undeluded popular consent is indispensable, and will be impossible until the statesmen can appeal to the vital instincts of the people in terms of a common religion.—Bernard Shaw in *Back to Methuselah*.

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In sharp contrast, its walls have heard the rumble of political discontent, veterans like Sir Surendranath Banerjee expressing their disapproval of official measures in memorable orations. Famous sons of Calcutta, like Rabindranath Tagore and Sir J. C. Bose, have been presented civic addresses in the Hall, and fiery patriots have filled their hearers with national zeal.

Adjacent to the Town Hall is the High Court of Calcutta, completed in 1872 on the site of the old Supreme Court, which was created in 1774, with Sir Elijah Impey as the first Chief Justice. Many historic cases have been heard by the High Court, such as the Bhawal Sanyasi case, which made legal history by being the longest on record. Highly valuable records, such as those on Nand Kumar's trial, are preserved in the High Court. The Judges' Library has a portrait of Sir Robert

Chambers, who succeeded Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice, and was a friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Portraits of Sir Elijah Impey and other famous Chief Justices adorn other rooms in the building.

Straddling the northern face of Dalhousie Square are Writers' Buildings, reminder of the days when clerks of the East India Company were called 'writers'. Completed in 1780, for providing residential accommodation for junior writers of the Company, the buildings became the property of Richard Barwell, a member of the Bengal Council and Warren Hastings's friend. They were converted into a trust property for Barwell's children, and were rented to the Company on leases of five years. There were 19 suites, and rent was 200 Arcot rupees for each.

In 1836, Lord Bentinck abolished the 'chummary' system for writers, and let the rooms out to

private individuals and business houses. Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1877 to 1882, reconditioned the buildings and made them the headquarters of the provincial Government, a role that they still fulfil.

Calcutta's first Writers' Buildings was a mud and thatch structure, built in 1690, of which there is no trace. The second Writers' Buildings were set up in 1716, in the old Fort William, whose site is now occupied by the General Post Office and the Eastern Railway headquarters in Fairlie Place. The present buildings, therefore, are the third Writers' Buildings.

At the corner of Park Street and Chowringhee is the Asiatic Society, parent of similar societies not only in India, but throughout the world. Founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones, a Puisne Judge of the old Supreme Court, the Society is the second oldest

literary and scientific society in the East. The world's knowledge of Indian languages, literature, archaeology, numismatics, mathematics, religions, and astronomy is derived entirely from the Society's extensive researches in the last century, when it constituted the main scientific and cultural window to the West.

Warren Hastings was the Society's patron almost from its birth, and when he relinquished office as Governor-General of India, it became customary for his successors, up to Lord Bentinck, to follow suit. Hastings was offered even the Presidency of the Society, but he refused this honour, as he believed that his official duties left him little time for an office that required considerable scholarship. Despite the truth of this fact, three subsequent Governors-General, Sir John Shore, the Marquis of Hastings, and Lord Hardinge, distinguished the roll of Presidents.

The world should always remain grateful to the Society for the work of its four Sanskrit scholars, Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, and Horace Hayman Wilson.

The Indian Museum is an offshoot of the Asiatic Society. Founded in 1814, it is a monument to the labour of some of the most outstanding scientists and scholars of the past 150 years. The Museum owes much to the researches of John McLelland, Edward Blyth, John Anderson, F.R.S., James Wood-Mason, and Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Alcock, F.R.S. Many of Blyth's contributions to British journals were used by Darwin, and the importance of his views was not equalled by any zoologist, other than Darwin.

No building in the world tells the story of India's chequered past so completely as does the stately Victoria Memorial. Conceived by Lord Curzon, built at the cost of a crore of rupees, and opened in 1921 by the Prince of Wales, now the Duke of Windsor, the Victoria Memorial is the result of the best architectural talent of Britain, the sculptural genius of Italy, and the skilled workmanship of India.

The 3,500 exhibits, comprising paintings, sculptures, manuscripts,

weapons of war, medals and coins, are housed in 25 galleries. They constitute a record in marble and in canvas of the history of modern India from the inception of Moghul rule. For obvious reasons, it was not practicable to span the entire gamut of Indian history from the time of the Aryan incursion. Not only is the Victoria Memorial a fascinating gallery of national history, but it is also an art gallery of unrivalled loveliness in this country.

Belvedere, which now houses the National Library, is believed to have been built in 1700 by Prince Azim-us-shan, grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb and Governor of Bengal and Bihar. Along with the villages of Gopalmagar and Zeerut, this building was leased in 1778 by Warren Hastings to Captain Tolly, an engineer of the East India Company. In 1780, Tolly bought the house, but when he died, it was sold and resold many times. In 1854, it was bought to serve as the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. When the capital was transferred to Delhi in 1912, the Governor of Bengal transferred his official residence to what is now Raj Bhavan, and Belvedere became the residence of the Viceroy of India, when he came to Calcutta. Phillip Francis is said to have been taken to this house when he was wounded in a duel with Warren Hastings on the 17th August, 1780.

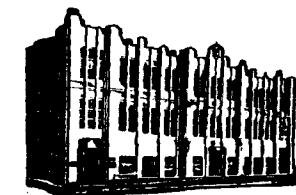
Plaques proclaim the houses once tenanted by Clavering and Monson, members of Warren Hastings's Executive Council; by Sir Elijah Impey, first Chief Justice of the old Supreme Court; and by Warren Hastings himself.

Charnock, who founded the city in 1690, is buried in a mausoleum in St. John's Church, and other illustrious figures of that fabulous past lie buried in the Park Street cemetery.

Hastings House is now the Institute of Education for Women. On the Maidan, there are numerous monuments, like the Ochterlony Monument, and statues, which are of interest to the student of history.

Traversing Calcutta's streets is like skimming the pages of a book on Indian history.

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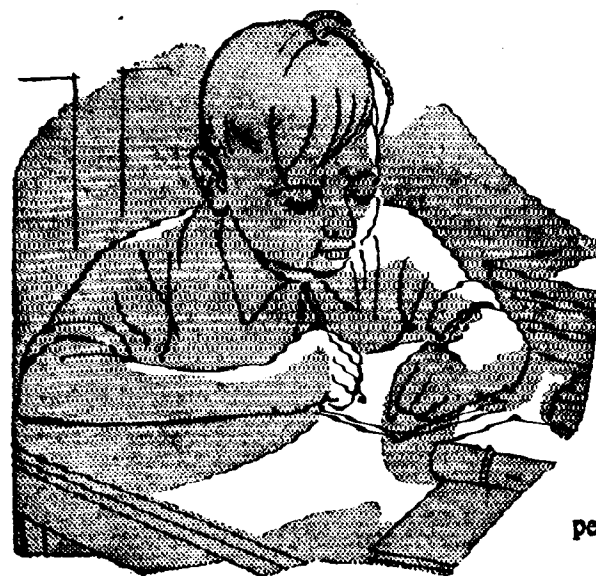
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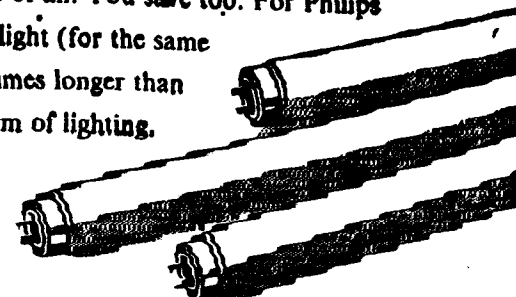
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that even I could never understand the iniquity of the monstrous term 'non-Brahmin', all the rest of the world banded against a miserable minority (I believe the Bs themselves invented the term, but no matter!)

After all, why should the Brahmins want equality of opportunity with other minority communities in the matter of admission to educational courses and appointment to government posts? Why can't they find fresh fields and pastures new?

But that is just what they seem to be doing. Deprived of their usual vocation for schoolmastering and clerical work, more and more Brahmins are taking to other vocations, even to trade. I wonder if those who say 'Down with the B!' are alive to the potential menace of this.

I would also advise them, if I may, to be more selective in the choice of their anti-B slogans. The current one, 'Paarpaan ozhiga!' ('May the Brahmin perish!') is

highly unsuitable though forceful in feeling, as a moment's reflection would show. Only the hated Bs, among Tamilians, find it easy to pronounce the 'zh' sound. The rest, especially the illiterate who most often give voice to the war-cry, pronounce it as if it were a 'l' on which the tongue dwelt against the roof of the mouth. 'Paarpaan oliga!' they say, which wouldn't do at all, for what that means, if it means anything at all, is: 'May the Brahmin shine!', 'May the B be illustrious!'.

Then again there was the sad mix up over the Ramayana, some-time ago. A certain section of Brahmin-haters, the better to give expression to their feelings, took to deriding Rama (the manifestation of Vishnu so sacred to so many Brahmins) and adopted Ravana (the enemy of Rama) as their god. And considering that in the Puranas Rama was no Brahmin, being a Kshatriya, while Ravana was a rather powerful Brahmin . . .

Towards Saner Thinking

RECENTLY, an elderly, professional gentleman, an M.A., told me with regret that there was social, economic and temperamental accord between his 'graduate' grand-daughter and a prospective groom, high up in business, but that certain planets stood in the way of the alliance. I felt so sad that facetiousness seemed the only way out. So I suggested that, in the absence of Einstein, the next best mathematician should be consulted about the degree of improper peeping possible amongst planets, scattered far, far away.

More seriously, I suggested that social, economic and temperamental suitability ought to be given priority, as they were known factors. I even hinted that one or both of the horoscopes could have been faultily cast. He recognised the slight leg-pull and replied sadly, "You know I don't believe in these things much and can give statistical justification for my lack of implicit faith in astrology; but if something goes wrong after the marriage, people would blame it on me entirely." I sympathised with him—and the numberless

others in his predicament.

One thinks that, perhaps, it is best to let things be, and let nature and circumstances mould the pattern for the future. The question is not entirely objective. While discussing omens, a friend supported himself with: "But what do you say to foreign returned surgeons not commencing serious operations during *Rahukalam*?"

"Perhaps they are right in yielding to the traditional susceptibilities of their patients," I suggested.

"And what about certain European businessmen of Madras being guided by *Rahukalam*?"

"I can only compliment good old Rahu who, not being appeased with Sun and Moon, has swallowed up these hard-boiled financiers also."

"No good trying to be funny."

"I am not being funny. Talking about *Rahukalam*, consider this experience of mine. I once set out to attend to four jobs involving money. A friend hesitatingly suggested that it was *Rahukalam*. I assured him that, happily, such considerations did not worry me.

When I returned, he eagerly asked me what degree of success I had had. I replied that I would put it down at 50 per cent. I had to make two payments and two collections. I managed to find the two parties whom I had to pay and not the other two. My friend exclaimed, gloatingly, 'Then it is a case of cent per cent failure—as expected.'"

Thus it is clear that the objective omen as well as our own outlook have to be interpreted. My friend felt that every time money goes out of our pockets, it is a misfortune, minor or major.

Recently I saw at least half-a-dozen references in Tamil story magazines to the proverbial statement:

When the month of Thai comes on
Happier days will surely dawn

for the 'girl' whose groom has not yet shown up. Some of the stories have been honest enough to mention that five or six Thai's have falsified the proverb so far. It is true that the drowning man clutches at a straw, but will it not be a pity if the drowning man were to pray, "Oh Lord, send me a straw."

Latterly the hold of astrology has grown so much that newspapers and magazines have found it worthwhile to allot a good deal of precious space to day-to-day prognostications applicable to individual readers even in minor matters.

It is better, perhaps, not to know coming evil; and coming good will be doubly welcome when it is a surprise. As for being prepared for evil, I know one gentleman who, with faith, spread his resources over the predicted number of years left for him. Unfortunately he outlived the prognosticated date of his death by five years and suffered in body and mind.

The North, whatever the reason, is freer from the hold of the prophets. I wish that our teachers, writers, preachers and other thought-salesman ponder over this and try, by degrees, to bias their output suitably, so that we may hope for a healthy change in the course of a decade or two.

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

HISTORIC CALCUTTA

By CHARLES NEWTON

THE history of Calcutta is virtually the history of modern India. It was in and around this city that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the French, and the British struggled for supremacy; it was from this city that British dominion spread throughout India; and it was in this city that the seed of India's intellectual and political regeneration was sown, resulting in the country's independence.

Few cities are so steeped in history, a fact amply substantiated by Calcutta's principal buildings.

Fort William owes its origin to the depredations of Sheva Singh's brigands, who terrorized Bengal between 1690 and 1700. The addition of two bastions to the Fort provoked the wrath of Siraj-ud-Dowlah, Nawab of Bengal, who marched on Calcutta in 1756, and seized the Fort. Its capture gave birth to the story of the Black Hole, which is discounted by modern historians. Early in 1757, Clive and Watson brought reinforcements from Madras, and forced the Nawab's garrison to evacuate.

Inside the Fort are the house in which Lord Clive lived, the old Government House, the Granary Barrack built by Warren Hastings after the famine of 1770, the residences of Lords Kitchener and Birdwood, and the spot where Maharaja Nanda Kumar was executed.

A short distance away is Raj Bhavan, completed in 1803 and best described by Lord Curzon in these words: 'Here Wellesley must have dictated many a haughty reply to the exasperating censures of the Directors in London; here Lord William Bentinck threshed out with Macaulay the new scheme of Western education which has revolutionized India and has had more momentous consequences than any decision of Indian policy during the past century; here Lord Auckland bent his head over the agonizing news from Kabul; here Lord Dalhousie penned those masterly minutes which have been the model and the despair of his successors; here

Canning sat, surrounded by piles of boxes which he was too unbusinesslike to open, declining to believe in the Mutiny until the storm was upon him or to disband his own bodyguard though the danger was at his gates, but inflexible in his policy of mercy, while almost within hearing excited crowds of his fellow countrymen in the Town Hall were clamouring for his recall; here John Lawrence worked in a costume as untidy as when he was a Deputy Commissioner on the frontier; here Lord Dufferin turned his polished phrases; and here Lords Lansdowne and Roberts planned the strategy of another Afghan Campaign'.

The Town Hall, completed in 1813, on the site of Mr. Justice Hyde's bungalow, is the birthplace of Calcutta's municipal government. After the passage of the Indian High Court Act in 1861, the Calcutta High Court was created in 1862, with Sir Barnes Peacock as the first Chief Justice. For ten years, the High Court met in the Town Hall, and was transferred in 1872, when its permanent home was completed. A ghastly crime marred the High Court's career, when Mr. Justice Norman was murdered on the steps of the Town Hall in 1871. From 1921 to 1932, the Hall was the meeting place of the Bengal Legislative Council. For many years, the Town Hall was also a superb portrait gallery, and, from the artistic and historical standpoint, compared with some of the finest in the world. It had about

60 oil portraits of famous Indians and Europeans, the most famous being that of Warren Hastings, to which Macaulay refers in his Essay. Describing the impeachment, he says of Hastings: "On his forehead was written as legibly as over the portrait in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, 'Mens aequa arduis'" (a calm mind in danger). When the Town Hall was requisitioned during the War the paintings were transferred to the Victoria Memorial.

Many famous civic receptions and public meetings have been held at the Town Hall in the past 100 years. Splendid balls were a regular feature of its early days.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONGRATS TO C. M.

Sir,—In your esteemed editorial entitled "What Kerala Portends" you have criticised Sri Kamaraj for being "bent on catching a Lok Sabha member as his Brahmin Minister, as though the entire body of Congress party members returned to the State Assembly does not contain his peer." The biographical notes published about the Ministers indicate that the person chosen is indeed without a peer in academic and political attainments, and in the record of service in the national and international sphere. One should have expected a fearless critic like you to congratulate Sri Kamaraj on his vision, judgment and daring in disproving that the Congress under his leadership is but a Khadi-clad Dravida Kazhagam. Whatever his errors of commission and omission in the composition of his Ministry, please grudge not his due on this score.

Ramnad.

M. RAJAH

LEGISLATURE AND
OPPOSITION

Sir,—Elated by success, the majority party in power is likely to go headlong or remiss in its duties; and a powerful and intelligent opposition is therefore necessary to keep the party in the right path. To this end, all the minor parties or as many of them as possible should form themselves into a united opposition and appoint a committee consisting of the best of the representatives of each minority party with an intelligent and well-informed person as secretary functioning with a regular office. It shall be the duty of this committee to scrutinise every act of commission and omission of the majority party—be it in the sphere of general administration or legislation—and expose the defects or irregularities, noticed, during the course of debates and through well-thought-out interpellations or resolutions and the press, besides bringing them to the notice of the electorate during periodical meetings. To enable the committee to function properly, it should be provided with

adequate finance by means of regular contributions made by members of minority parties. It is hoped that the minority parties will give due consideration to this suggestion and do the needful to bring the united opposition into existence without delay.

SEARCH LIGHT

THE KERALA ANOMALY

Sir,—When the Kerala Assembly meets on the 27th instant, the Congress party finds itself in the anomalous position of opposing a speech to be delivered by the Governor, who happens to be an ex-Congress Chief Minister. This problem did not crop up during the last P.S.P. Ministry in Travancore-Cochin, as it was formed with the active support of the Congress party. The present situation is, therefore, an entirely new one calling for serious thinking.

A partial solution to the problem might lie in appointing non-party men as Governors of States, thus bringing an atmosphere of impartiality to the office of the Governor. Incidentally this puts an end to the practice of offering Governorship to defeated Ministers and other troublemakers of the ruling party, instances of which have been quite a few during the past ten years.

Cuddapah. K. T. RAMACHAR

SUBVERSIVE ACTS

Sir,—Sri N. Ramaswami Ayyar's letter in defence of D.K. aid (SWARAJYA, April 13) makes astonishing reading. It is passing strange how a citizen of Sri Ramaswami Ayyar's standing who is also in charge of an educational institution, can hold a brief for the subversive activities of the Dravida Kazhagam.

Among the acts to be abhorred that stand to the credit of the D.K. are the breaking of images, the destroying of holy books and the burning of the National Flag. The tragic deterioration of morale in schools and public life caused by these detestable acts, is presenting a problem to teachers, parents and administrators who

are interested in building up a Welfare State based on fundamental values of patriotism, citizenship and morals.

The attempt to justify such acts of unabashed vandalism is extremely unfortunate. It is devoutly hoped that responsible citizens who have a stake in the progress and welfare of the body politic, will not countenance, by word or suggestion, acts calculated to bring God, Culture and Country into contempt.

It is needless to add that in any State or society that respects law and order, burning of the National Flag or abetting such burning is invariably treated as "treason of the highest magnitude".

K. PANCHAPAGESAN

FACTS ARE STUBBORN

Sir,—I wonder how you could admit for publication the article by Sri C. R. Natarajan on the Untouchables of Christianity. I followed the happenings in and around Israel and often wondered from where came the strength of mind of these 1½ million people (Israelis) in an area not exceeding 15,000 square miles, holding, so to speak, the whole world at bay.

The Jews are a race who had been longing for two thousand years to go back to their land, taken from them.

Gandhi would have been the first to change his mind and verdict, as he did so often, in fairness to changed facts and trends. He would have gone to Israel to see things for himself. None of our Indian V.I.P.s. ever went there, though almost every second month they pass via Beyrouth, Cairo, Damascus. Why is this, and why did India recognise Israel almost immediately after its creation? Do they withdraw now for 'political reasons'? Is *pancha shila* limited to a few 'selected' countries only?

Like you I am against aggression of any kind, but why did Israel attack Egypt? They attacked because all the dictators around them proclaimed day and night that Israel must be destroyed and they were all at war with Israel, etc.

As for the poor Arabs, well, they have the right to live, most certainly; and they have rivers and

harbours and an area of say seven million square miles to develop in all directions but they did not do so. It is easier to blame the other side.

Fanaticism and sentimentality are dangerous in the racial, religious and political fields.

As you fight against corruption, fight as well against the corruption of the mind.

Probably the only time Stalin was right was when he said that facts are stubborn.

Madras.

W. WOLFF

EVENING TURN DUTY

Sir,—Lower division clerks, steno-typists, typists, attenders and peons are put to special work after office hours which, for want of a better expression, has come to be known traditionally as 'evening turn'.

Although beyond doubt this serves a very useful purpose in the interest of administration, it places an additional burden upon the already oppressed N.G.Os. The poor N.G.Os. have to wait till the last gazetted officer leaves the office—sometimes at about 9 p.m. There will be no transport facilities at that hour, and even if there are, the cost involved will tax the modest purse of the ill-paid N.G.O. heavily.

It is desirable that extra remuneration is given for evening turn duty or it is abolished altogether.

ONE AFFECTED

AN APPEAL FOR RELIGION
IN SCHOOLS

DAZZLED as we are by the achievements of science and technology and ever pre-occupied with successive plans for material prosperity, one wonders whether the age-old spiritual values of honest conscientious work, mutual respect and consideration and faith in living divine presence are not being squeezed out. If so, we shall be not only squeezing out of our lives that equipoise and spiritual strength that are more valuable than material prosperity but even endangering our structure of prosperity itself whose execution and maintenance rest ultimately on moral foundations. The remedy, many feel, is a reorientation of the education of our child-

ren so as to emphasise such neglected values.

The problem bristles with difficulties, but certain broad principles are clear, and given the will to achieve and mutual give and take, its solution should not be impossible. Firstly, such spiritual atmosphere as may be created in the school will have to fit in with the home background of the child and should therefore relate to his or her native religion and should be created by men of the same faith who believe in it. Secondly, in consonance with the spirit of the age, it should be broad-based, stressing the fundamentals like faith in the divine, respect for truth, reverence to elders, mutual helpfulness, and brought home to each through stories relating to heroes and saints of his particular faith. A mere course of moral instruction ignoring the rich associations built up through the ages would be too abstract and tenuous to achieve the purpose in view. Thirdly, it should be sufficiently tolerant to enable the child later to live in mutual respect and co-operation with those professing other religions. One hour a week, roughly, should suffice, if necessary outside the class hours, and the extra cost should be next to nothing. At the earlier stages, (age 5 to 11), the approach is emotional. Later the approach will be more intellectual and will gradually include some knowledge of the great religions with their different emphasis, and of religious experience in relation to other experiences of the human race.

The success of the plan depends on the recognition of the needs of the spirit in addition to those of the body and the mind, and also that children of other faiths are entitled to be brought up in their faith at least at the earlier stages, and should be given necessary facilities even in denominational schools. Is it too much to expect that in these enlightened days, such a liberal attitude could be found in men of all faiths?

DR. A. NARASINGA RAO

THE WORD 'EXPERIMENTAL'

Anent the word 'experimental' in the quote from J. Isacs, in SWARAJYA of April 13th, 1957, an extraordinary instance of the use of this word, which came to my knowledge four decades ago, may interest your readers.

Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University wrote to Sir Harcourt Butler, then Education Minister of the Government of India, requesting that Mr. (now Sir) C. V. Raman—then in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service—who had already published several original scientific papers in the Philosophical Magazine, might be allowed two years' leave of absence without pay so that he might join the Palit Research Professor's Chair of Physics of the Calcutta University. Sir Harcourt curtly replied to Sir Ashutosh that "Government cannot allow C. V. Raman, one of their ablest officers, to be an 'experimental' Professor"; and so Raman had to resign his Government job. C. S. AYYAR

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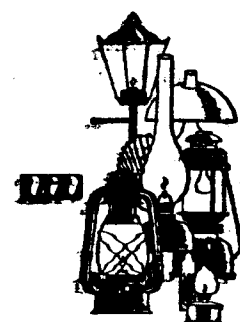
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FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By SUMANT S. BANKESHWAR

The results of the recent general election in India have shattered the hopes of all lovers of democracy who had hoped that a strong democratic opposition would emerge in our Parliament.

The Congress has not only polled a larger number of votes than in 1951 but has also won more seats. It has secured 46.5 per cent of the total number of votes cast against 45 per cent at the previous general election.

The national democratic opposition is weakened further this time. The P.S.P. has not only lost two seats but its vote has also declined from 16.4 per cent to 10 per cent.

While the national democratic opposition is weakened, the Communist Party of India has not only gained three more seats than in 1951 and increased its vote from 4.4 per cent to 9.8 per cent but has emerged as the biggest opposition party in the Parliament besides capturing power in Kerala.

The election of eminent persons like Messrs. M. R. Masani (Ind), Barrister Nath Pai (PSP) and Atal Behari Bajpai (Jan Sangh) will, however, compensate to a certain extent the loss suffered by the national democratic opposition. Another welcome sign is that Jan Sangh, a patriotic and democratic party, has increased its vote from 3.1 per cent to 5.7 per cent and has also gained 2 seats more than in 1951. But neither the Jan Sangh nor the Communist Party has increased its vote at the expense of the Congress which has itself increased its vote from 45 per cent to 46.5 per cent!

The Hindu Maha Sabha, Rama Rajya Parishad, and all other rightist parties have been completely eclipsed by the Jan Sangh while all splinter leftist parties have been swept off by the Communist party.

The PSP also will be wiped out from the political arena of India sooner or later. There is hardly any fundamental difference between the Congress and the PSP. The PSP is only a party of dissident, expelled and frustrated

Congressmen pulled hither and thither by the rival attractions of Gandhism, Nationalism and Marxism and is in a state of utter confusion. It is a house divided against itself. It is a party of leaders without followers. Each leader has got his own conception of Socialism.

The Congress, the Communist Party and the Jan Sangh are the only three All-India parties which have got a definite set of principles and a distinct programme fundamentally different from each other and so all other parties and splinter groups will be eclipsed by these three before long. Among these three All India parties, Jan Sangh is the only party which is financially bankrupt. Both the Congress and the Communist party have got huge funds at their command; the former gets crores of rupees from the business magnates who readily contribute to its election funds in order to save their own skin while the Communist party annually gets huge funds from Russia. In these circumstances when wealth and affluence are ranged against it, it is doubtful whether Jan Sangh can succeed in winning over our illiterate electorate whose votes can be easily bought for money, and when Congress and the Communist party are the only parties which can afford to bribe the illiterate voters who constitute the majority of our electorate. Elections in India will continue to be decided by the weight of money power so long as the mass illiteracy is not wiped out and the masses are not trained regarding their rights, duties and responsibilities as the citizens of free India. The Indian experiment in parliamentary democracy is bound to end in failure so long as the elections are decided by money bags. Is it worth while wasting crores of rupees over the general elections when the results are foregone conclusions—with the monopoly of money remaining in the hands of the Congress (which is moving more and more towards totalitarianism) and the Communist

of democracy? The various group leaders who control a large number of illiterate voters and receive bribes from the contesting candidates are the only beneficiaries of the general elections. Some candidates also make fortunes by making a farce of first filing their nomination for the Assembly or Parliament and then withdrawing in favour of the candidates who bribe them most.

It is doubtful whether the gigantic experiment in parliamentary democracy will succeed in a country like India with a majority of the electorate illiterate. They can neither understand the manifesto of a party nor the issues on which it is contesting for the election which is the only medium in a democracy through which people can express their will once in five years. Either they vote on communal or caste basis, or for money. If the prevailing atmosphere in India continues further, the chances for democracy are very dim. The success or failure of democracy in India will determine the future of democracy in Asia.

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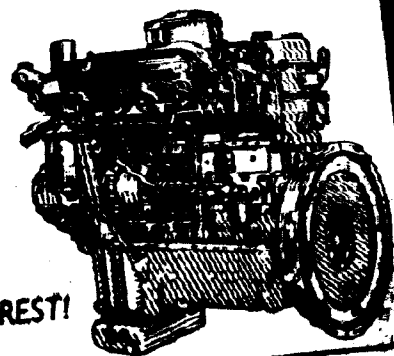
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

25 MAY 1957

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SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1957

15 Naye Paise

OUR VOTE - CATCHING GOVERNMENT

The propaganda machinery of the Government is very serviceable for reassuring people that there is no cause for alarm when ever things get disquieting. Some years ago, when starvation was rife, the late Mr. Hayles brought to light several cases of starvation deaths in the columns of *The Mail*. The Government countered by saying that the deaths were due to some other causes, or they quoted from the reports of the district officers to disprove the allegations. There was perpetual contention between the Editor and the Government as to who was to be believed, the reporter or the district officer; and great guardian that he was of the integrity of the Press, Mr. Hayles never for a moment conceded that the interested investigations of subordinate officials naturally inclined to please their superiors with whitewashing reports, could equal in honesty and reliability and credit-worthiness. Editors of the stamp of Mr. Hayles, unbending to authority in matters touching the freedom of the Press, are rare in the country but he was the author of a tradition which is precious the tradition of not putting too much faith in complacent official accounts but testing them with independent investigations on occasions of distress and disaster.

Now that the food situation has deteriorated, there is the usual spate of official propaganda to emphasise that there is no cause for alarm. This propaganda has to be written down as one-sided,

interested and unreliable. Nor will it dispose of the distress that people are experiencing everywhere as a result of the ruling high prices of foodstuffs. To some extent high prices are due to trade enterprise. Formerly merchants were content with a small percentage of profit on goods sold and looked to quantitative out-turn of business for building big fortunes. But the get-rich-quick methods that came into vogue in the war period have unsettled the old traditions of marginal profit and of the probity associated with it, in trade and commerce. Now-a-days most types of retail business have ceased to be service of the community and become profiteering adventure, speculative and merciless. Without actual necessity, it has become customary for merchants to enhance prices if a plausible pretext for doing so can be discovered and exploited.

Apart from this, the food situation itself has been made precarious by the unwise, spectacular legislation of recent time, fashioned with an eye on votes and without regard to the psychological factors involved in cultivation and food production. Rajaji touched on this subject at Nellore last week in an address to the Bench and the Bar there. As he pointed out, the cumulative effect of recent enactments in the States of the South has been to orphan the land, prime giver of food to eat, of the active interest of the owners and to dispossess them of the sentiment that has come down from immemorial ages, that own-

ership of land is not only valuable for its content as property but also as an index of social distinction. While blessing other forms of property-holding as permissible, the Congress Government has singled out ownership of land for special attack. The language used in legislatures and other forums of public discussion is such as to leave the impression that the possession of land beyond a certain limit is almost a misdemeanour or an offence. On account of the national policy of dispossessing landlords, the property value of land has declined and it has become an unsaleable asset. Those to whom the land is sought to be transferred, mainly for the reason that they have more votes than the landlords, do not have the means or the finance for utilising it properly. Even as tenants, the law now gives them a larger share and so less work will suffice for maintenance of customary income. From both ends, the incentives to industry are destroyed and the result is seen in the deteriorating value of land, loss of joy in its possession as an honoured heritage, transfer of vast tracts to persons without adequate means and a general sense of uncertainty, insecurity and drift. Large numbers of land-lovers with a cherished stake in land inherited from ancestors dating back many generations are being unsettled and thrown into other less hazardous occupations, while their successors, most of whom have only the land and nothing else, have to reckon with

the hard reality that as a saleable product it has ceased to have any importance or attraction.

Rajaji spoke words of sage wisdom in warning the Government against innovations conceived for the sake of vote-catching. An outlook devoted to vote-catching replaces numerical strength on the sovereign altar that ought to be reserved by wise rulers for justice. It is tantamount to the acknowledgement of might over right as the higher principle. It is not surprising that the vote-catching proclivities of Congress reformers should have sharpened the appetites of numerically strong communities for more and more of advantage and privilege, while simultaneously filling those defective in numerical strength with helplessness and dread. The energy that has to be put into land to create plenty for all will not be forthcoming unless the present depredatory policies of the Government are exchanged for safer, sounder and more reasonable ones.

Vulgarising Virtue

The Congress Reform Committee in Madras, and some of the Ministers in Andhra Pradesh, have taken on hand the habilitation of political sufferers. If the aim of the proposed rehabilitation is to secure the favour of experienced political workers with some measure of local influence which may prove useful in elections, that aim might be fulfilled. But none of the would-be benefactors of the political sufferers care to be so plain and straight-forward or confess an aim setting them down so clearly in the public eye as selfish and self-interested. They profess altruistically to be deeply concerned over a body of men that had served the country truly and well when the call came. If there is any honesty in this profession the entire method, or rather the only method so far attempted, of rehabilitation will have to be drastically altered. It will do no good to a political sufferer who is not an agriculturist to get a grant of land. All that he can do with the land is to sell it to someone else who can

Commonwealth and Christmas Island

It is not possible to deal in an isolated syllogism what one's duty on any issue is. In the ultimate analysis what an individual should do in regard to a government whose some act he greatly disapproves, or what a member-state should do in regard to the Commonwealth or treaty of alliance under similar circumstances, depends on the verdict of conscience, and this again should depend on a balance of considerations and cannot be an isolated conclusion on one question torn from its complicated context.

If the non-co-operation that is dictated by reason upon any particular issue would produce other consequences that are harmful and unwanted, and these outweigh the moral advantages of the intended non-co-operation, everything being appraised on strict moral evaluations and not based only on material values, it may often be desirable to abstain from the non-co-operation that is called for upon one particular issue. All human decisions have to be the result of complex appraisements. The greatness of Gandhi (and contrariwise the many errors of some of his followers) consisted in correct and speedy all-round appraisement in any given situation, avoiding rash doctrinairism as well as Hamletian hesitancy and drift.

For example, and speaking for myself, I recommended leaving the Commonwealth

over the issue of the British invasion of Egypt. That advice was rejected by the Prime Minister of India—may be, on an all round consideration just as I have set forth above. But even I who recommended an offer to break on the Egypt issue would not recommend it as some others did on the Kashmir resolution sponsored by Britain in the U.N. While a break over the Egypt issue would have been entirely unselfish and of high moral potency, the latter would be vitiated by the fact of its being entirely self-regarding in an inferior sense and fail to have a good moral effect.

Again I recommend it without any doubt on the issue of Britain's obstinate refusal to listen to the Japanese appeal to halt the test explosion proposed to be done in Christmas Island. The fact that the Commonwealth tie is held in great value both by Britain and India gives reality to the sacrifice involved and potency to the sanction. I have tried to explain this to British friends. But our vision is warped by economic entanglements. We are planning microscopic economic progress under the shadow of impending wholesale destruction or progressive and certain biological injury against which we are prevented from taking effective action on account of economic obligations arising out of such planning.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

make use of it, for 'as good a price as he can get. Some of the so-called political sufferers are extremely wealthy men and the distress provision of land grant has enabled them to pick and choose the best lands and add substantially to their riches. It is absurd to promote the prosperity of the already rich in this way under guise of relieving the distress of patriots that had suffered. Relief

should have some relation to need. If the Government are really capable of a grateful attitude towards those who had distinguished themselves in the nation's freedom fight, let them find for such of those as are capable, work suitable to their talent and capacity; and if they are already doing such work, let them encourage them in every way possible. Indiscrimi-

(Continued on Page 9)



Sotto Voce

A Lord of Laughter

But for the lumbago coming upon me like a thunderclap and hitting me below the belt (or, to be prosaically precise, where the belt should be, if I had one), I should have been present at Gokhale Hall on Sunday when they met to do honour to Vikatam Ramaswami Sastrigal, the doyen of our laughter-makers. He is an inspired jester whose lightest impromptu coruscate against a background of sophisticated tradition. "Vikatam", like the Harikatha, is an eclectic art which burgeoned late, ripened quickly and now seems to have gone to seed, all within two generations. And, like the Harikatha again, it is a typical Tanjore product, though it has drawn on many sources.

Ramaswami Sastrigal hails from Tiruvisanallore, Shaji's royal gift to the children of the Muses on the banks of the Kaveri. One of his distant ancestors was Ramabhadra Dikshita, the poet who revelled in singing the praises of Sri Rama. And in his native village he keeps green the memory of another famous figure of an earlier age, the sainted Ayyaval, who proclaimed with all the resources of a powerful intellect and a passionate heart the redemptive power of the Lord's Name. No wonder that his art has the iridescent sheen of music and metaphysics as well as of meiosis and mime.

Vikatam — it is difficult to discover who coined the singularly suggestive word — is the art of giving a gentle twist which invests otherwise straightforward sentiments with a discreetly comic air. It is a melange of many ingredients whose individual flavours are not submerged but contrapuntally arranged in a complex harmony. Neither the old vaudeville nor the modern music-hall of the West

has anything comparable to show. A great comic like George Robey achieves what is in effect a triumph of personality. But, like the Charlie Chaplin of the silent film, his subtle appeal is to the spectator's subconscious superiority. Bergson's definition of laughter truly applies to the product of these popular entertainers.

But Ramaswami Sastrigal, as I said, is a one-man orchestra; he sounds the entire gamut of the risible, and yet stands outside his art. Parody is the primary technique he employs. Now parody in the West occupies an even lower place in the Valhalla of the arts than humour. If Chaucer could not be included in the company of the elect, much less could W. M. Praed hope to gain admittance to the ante-chamber. But parody, in a master's hand, can be creative criticism; such, for example, is Ramaswami Sastrigal's consummate reproduction of the technique, the mannerism and the idiosyncratic style of many a top-rung musician. Only Nannilam Brahman, that misleadingly stolid provider of recherche fun was his peer in this respect.

A host of imitators have acquired from Sastrigal the entire bag of tricks of the ventriloquist and can reproduce the cries of the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. They can mimic the very pith and accent of regional types. Others, uninhibited by his delicacy, specialise in risqué anecdotes. Even clowning of the kind which second-hand imitations of the Marx brothers or of Chinese opera have popularised, is finding a clientele among the semi-educated. But Ramaswami Sastrigal is still *non pareil* in his power of comic invention; and such perfection of virtuosity as you find in his playing "ghatam" with his

lips, would be impossible without an almost yogic concentration.

Hasya, in Indian aesthetic, is no poor relation of the other rasas, though dramatic convention confined it more or less to "women and persons of the inferior type". It has none of that slightly disreputable air with which the bustling West clothes the vagabond humour. True, the Vidushakas of classical drama are mostly harmless butts or naive stooges of their royal friends. If they make us laugh at all—they rarely make us smile—it is at them we laugh rather than with them. But Indian humour, at its best, refuses to be professionalised or to be screened off from the more sober concerns of life. It has an elfin charm which is as far removed from broad farce as from savage satire.

It bubbles and gurgles in the recesses of the spirit. It does not seem out of place in solemn or even tragic situations. When Dasaratha insists on Kaikeyi allowing Rama to carry with him into exile a quantity of jewellery, Rama, who could jest even with Surpanakha without cruelty, tells his father with a wan smile, "Why haggle about the halter, father, after having given away the elephant?" That great psychologist, the author of the *Natya Sastra*, derived *hasya* from *srin-gara*: "it mimics the primary sentiment", he said. Unlike that insufferable prig, Shakespeare's Henry V, Kalidasa's Dushyanta does not tick off his 'vayasya' after his spree. We neither put a fool's cap on the King's head nor send Aristophanes to victual at the servants' table.

VIGNESWARA

Stabiliser

Our devotion to tradition in this country (England) is a great blessing; it makes us one of the steadiest people in the world a people not easily stampeded into changes for the sake of change—a people who believe in gradualness. Politically, there is no doubt that this quality has had mostly good results.—From a B.B.C. talk.

SIDELIGHTS ::

There should be no age limit for the retirement of artists. For age does not diminish their skill, it only enhances and perfects it. In certain arts, music for example, there is a limit of years beyond which the human voice which is the vehicle of the art, will not retain its power. Retirement is then forced on the artist not by age but by failure of the instrument indispensable for the play of the art. In the rare and fortunate cases where the potency of the voice is not lost by age, the artist can go on practising his art as long as he lives or cares.

There are other arts, like painting and sculpture, that depend not on the voice but on eye-sight and the magic sensitiveness of vision and fingers. The artist's life span lasts longer in these arts as vision and skill become part of one's being like a second nature and cannot be cast off. Painters and sculptors rarely suffer deterioration with advancing years unless it comes as the result of weird innovations destructive of naturalness that so often seize on ambitious experimenters, luring them into phantasy under the mistaken idea that it is originality. Once this hurdle is crossed the artist is safe and goes on accumulating merit and not merely idiosyncracies.

The influence of the longevity of authors on literature, with special reference to English literature, is beautifully explained by Frank Swinnerton in an article published in this issue of SWARAJYA. A similar influence is exerted by artists also, even more than by writers. A young artist, like a young writer, "inevitably attacks his seniors as old-fashioned and, having reached reluctant middle age, has occasion to lick his own wounds." But when he has acquired experience and fame and become accepted as part of the history of the art of which he is master, he gets beyond the battle, he is of no school or class or group and he rises to the distinction of being able "to bless and protect any rising talent that comes his

way." And as Swinnerton says of writers, the established artist blessed with longevity helps to maintain tradition through the ages by realising that "novelty is the least of the virtues."

Longevity of artistic achievement is a fertiliser of talent and deserves to be cherished if only for that reason. The genius of the artist does not flourish under harness or the duress of official regulations, and needs full freedom for flowering. The genius that has blossomed into sovereign mastery of a great art is rare to find, he is but one in a million. But when good fortune throws one such in our way, he should be preserved as a national treasure, released from all rules and controls, and respectfully invited to go on in uninhibited pursuit of his inspirations for as long as the spark of the creative urge glows in his consciousness.

The news published in *The Mail* the other day that Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury is shortly to retire from the Madras School of Arts comes upon one therefore as a shock. Roy Chowdhury strides the world of art in India like a giant. He towers over all contemporaries as an artist and craftsman of multiple proficiencies. He is great with many unique and dissimilar gifts not ordinarily found together. He is a gardener, inventor, furniture-designer, musician, wrestler, hunter, to mention only some of his accomplishments. Even in the limited field of art where specialisation is the rule, he is endowed with a comprehensive versatility. He is an accomplished painter, a superb draftsman. He has unexcelled skill in composition. With a single dash of the pencil he is able to achieve a marvellous perfection of line not possible for another even with the most meticulous deliberation and care. It is as a sculptor that he is at his best. Here he has scaled a peak of distinction as high as any within the scope of human endeavour in any part of the world. He has

put India on the pinnacle of leadership in art among the nations of the world. His sculpture is not merely reproductive but inventive. It combines faithfulness to nature and anatomical accuracy with the sweep of the imagination. Special mention may be made of three of his masterpieces, *Winter*, *Triumph of Labour* and *Martyrs Memorial*. Looking at *Winter*, one feels that it is the extracted essence of human misery turned into bronze. *Triumph of Labour* is the deification of manual labour and the exaltation of its power. Roy Chowdhury's special preference is for the strong, the rugged and the tempestuous, and in depicting human flesh under the strain of hard labour, personifying, as it were, terrific energy, and turning the whole thing into bronze, he is *non-pareil*. And yet in the *Martyrs Memorial* he has performed the unprecedented feat of combining the very highest tempo of action with the inertness of nearest-to-death condition, concretising just that fraction of a second when a mortally wounded man lies suspended on the threshold between life and death.

Martyrs Memorial is India's tribute to the heroes of the war of freedom. It was unveiled by the President last year at Patna. It is a gigantic masterpiece that not only celebrates symbolically the most worthwhile moment in our nation's recent history, it also carves the memory of the sculptor who made it eternally in the imperishable scroll of fame. The Principal of the Madras School of Arts has brought the School unimaginable glory with the lustre of his unsurpassed artistic achievements. This Titan has a heart as gentle as a mother's. He has no sense of high and low. His comprehension of the dignity due to man makes him a beloved benefactor of everyone whose labour he uses. He does not need to teach. His very presence is an inspiration to students of art. To such a man as this retirement will only mean greater conquests in wider fields. Sympathy is due to the people of the State ruled by a Government capable of letting him go.

SAKA

CIGARETTES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THERE is a 10 billion dollar business in America devoted to make Americans buy more of the products that they don't really need. Likewise do advertising agencies in all other countries including our own who are all aiming at "progress" and increased standards of living among those who can afford it. The function of advertising is to seduce people, to make them dissatisfied with their present way of life, to make them desire something more. "Advertising and its help-mate the instalment plan are the two most fearsome social inventions of man since the discovery of gunpowder" writes some one in an American magazine. Of course this is exaggeration, for we know there have been other and worse inventions since gunpowder which the writer has ignored. But his condemnation of advertising has a great deal of truth all the same. Among the ugliest advertisements disfiguring Madras, for instance, the cigarette publicity is perhaps one of the worst.

Medical authorities are puzzled by the alarming increase of cancer in Western countries during the last 50 years. Evidence is emerging that much of it may be traced to the food that is eaten. As a result of a symposium recently held in Rome attended by 52 cancer experts from 21 countries, it was announced that a number of food additives used in Western countries as dyes, thickeners, sweeteners, flavourings and preservatives were actually or potentially capable of producing cancer in people. The conference issued a warning that this menace to public health called for attention. In an article in the *New Leader* (America) from which I have quoted the above, an alarmingly large mass of facts are given which I shall not reproduce. But they all show that the best rule to follow is the Hindu Brahman rule—which is now being increasingly disregarded by that very community—namely, not to eat anything that

has not been cooked at home and served hot and to treat all sold food as taboo, tinned or untinned. The plain scientific fact appears to be that one cannot 'preserve' foodstuffs without adding what is poison in varying degrees.

If any one expects the government scientific departments to help by investigation and publicity and official action, one would wait for the impossible. The Federal Food and Drug Act service in America (and we may not expect their opposite numbers in other countries to be more active or better equipped or better paid for their work) has, we are informed, "a 25-year backlog of research! And new or relatively unknown synthetics are being added to canned baked and packaged foods so rapidly that the prospect of testing them all is truly frightening." The safest course is, as stated, to avoid all food that is not cooked and served at once.

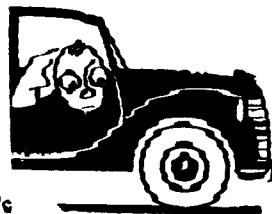
Writing about CANCER, one naturally turns to the subject of cigarettes. Seeing the growing strength and unanimity of scientific opinion on the connection between cancer and cigarette-smoking, the manufacturers and others interested in the trade have started telling the habitual smoker through skilfully drafted advertisements that it is quite safe to smoke 'filter-tipped' cigarettes. They play on the addict's well-known desire to justify his habit though he knows that it is harmful. They understand his eagerness to believe every fake testimonial or false medical claim that helps to anesthetize his fears. According to the findings of the American Medical Association, "there is no evidence that the reduction of nicotine and tar by present-type filters has any physiological significance". Asked whether filters help, Dr. Alton Ochsner the eminent cancer surgeon of New Orleans answered: "Yes—to sell cigarettes"! In appraising the protective value of filtration, there are two elements to be

taken into account: the percentage of poison so eliminated and the quality of the tobacco used. About 40 per cent elimination may be a partial solution of the danger according to Dr. Wynder's article in the *British Medical Journal*, provided that the tobacco selection cut or packing is not altered in such a way as to yield increasingly more tar. Inferior tobaccos are being increasingly used in filter cigarettes so that they satisfy the addict's taste while pleasing him with a psychological salve about 'filtration'.

'Conclusive' proof may never come of the rôle exactly played by smoking in the spread of lung cancer. But enough is known for enlightened men to take action. If the benefit of the doubt is ever to be given to the cigarette trade and not to wisdom on the part of the people whose health is our concern, science will never be of help. Nothing can be 'conclusively' proved but nothing but good could come from cigarette abstinence. There are other ways of amusing oneself than by making our mouths a poison laboratory. Professor E. A. Graham, international cancer authority, believes that the evidence against cigarette-smoking is stronger than the proof that vaccination protects against smallpox. Vaccination-minded people may note this. Eisenhower's heart consultant has said: "Tobacco is a noxious weed and an unnecessary source of irritation to people's stomachs, lungs, blood pressure and cardiac rhythm". American-admirers may note this.

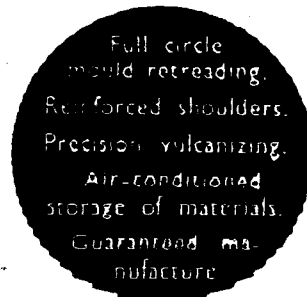
Adult smokers may not care, but youth should be warned and save themselves from becoming addicted without their realising it to what they may not later be able to give up. The best rule is the Brahman rule not to go near alcohol or tobacco and eat only what is cooked at home and served hot. Get relaxation and enjoyment through honest physical play and mental interests, reading and listening. A great deal can be got that way which will build one up in body and mind and not lay a foundation for incurable ailments.

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MADRAS

REGIMENTATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

By GEORGE YAMADA

SOMEONE has given me a copy of the March Reader's Digest. I never look at the RD without realising that its function is to brainwash a docile uncritical mass by administering it ideological conformity in sugar-coated capsules. RD has, since some years back, exported its saccharine optimism to all parts of the globe in several foreign language editions.

It is ironical that the article that I have been asked to read merely confirms the pessimism generally induced by that ineffable package of sunshine. My friend, who innocently regards this pulp as the veritable truth according to the gospel of free enterprise, made in USA, apparently also preaches the glad tidings of eternal optimism and endless happy endings, for he is an insurance salesman. The article I am supposed to waft joyously about is titled, "He's giving the Indians a Chance"; the author is James Daniel. The editorial blurb reads, "The enlightened policies of a warm-hearted country banker, appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, have for the first time offered Indians a future, not as wards of the Government but as full-fledged, self-respecting citizens".

Now I happen to know something about the internal policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs presently headed by Glenn Emmons, the banker from Gallup, New Mexico. I know that if he is nothing else, Glenn Emmons is a shrewd politician who knows 'how to get there'. He also is apt at keeping silent when it would embarrass him to do otherwise. His interest in the plight of the North American Indian is not unmixed with some of that characteristic patronizing attitude of the fabulous Anglo-Saxon North American. The author of this apology for Emmons and the Indian Bureau cannot himself but betray this cultural manifes-

tation, expressed by this astonishing species in his luxurious racial neurosis, a complex of superiority, bred of fantastic cultural isolation. So I was not disappointed to see the Glenn Emmons regime of the Indian Bureau white-washed and eulogized by one of his professional apologists. The chief service of Glenn Emmons to the Red Man is to attempt to lure him into the orbit and under the control of a single national mass culture. Is this so different from the policies of his predecessors?

But, really, what a disservice this is: In his misdirected optimism, the white North American cannot even conceive the magnitude of this disservice. He wants us all to think alike, feel alike, speak alike, eat the same breakfast food and watch the same TV program. If I accuse him of culturecide—extermination of culture—if I tell him that cultural homogeneity is hardly a virtue per se, he is offended and even enraged. He cannot vision that a nation all thinking alike, dressing alike, eating alike, and reading the same syndicated press releases cannot help but soon become a nation of morons. What is so exceptional, what is so appealing about a standardized man and a common denominator mass culture? What its salesmen and promoters fail to comprehend is that cultural diversity enriches a

national culture, giving it a heritage of originality and a priceless source of vitality. So he would make all the indigenous Americans into his inane image. He would put us all on the assembly line to derive a predictable mental emotional product, all alike, standard, that is to say, an innocuous conformist. Let us see how the "warm-hearted country banker" really treats the "self-respecting" Indian who doesn't desire to become a full fledged tax-paying citizen.

I am acquainted with some products of this process of acculturation, the nostrum prescribed by the Indian Bureau to solve the "Indian problem". I know Indians who have been brainwashed in federal Indian schools, who have attempted but failed to make the grade on the white man's terms, partly because of the latter's ingrained racial neuroses expressed in condescension or hostility. Back on their "reservations" they are used by the Indian Bureau as collaborators to undermine the struggle of the authentic Indians to preserve their autochthonous culture. On their "reservations", these brainwashed puppets merely echo the commands handed down by their mentors, the Bureau, and create trouble for the traditional Indians whose moral and ethical values the Indian policy of the United States is attempting to erase. As a professional meddler in the affairs of the nation's 400,000 Indians, Glenn Emmons would be "giving the Indians a chance" if he saw the wisdom of leaving them alone, and go back to banking in Gallup.

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FANATICISM VS. LIBERALISM

By Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI

"MISTAKEN enthusiasm for any cause, generally religion," is the meaning given in the dictionary for fanaticism. Who is to judge whether the cause espoused by one is laudable and worth enthusing on or not? The answer to this can only come from two agencies, one from one's own inner self or conscience and the other from the public. Erration and wrong premises may lead a single individual or a group of persons away from correct reasoning, and land him or them in a wrong course of action. As opinions even amongst knowledgeable persons may differ radically, the forcing of views of persons of a particular line of thought on all others may be deemed to be coercion which may be resisted by struggles varying from a wordy type to physical violence. The crucifixion of Christ was the culmination of fanaticism in a particular group of persons and the crisis could have been averted if a little tolerance had been exhibited on either side and forcing of pace had not been attempted. The iniquities of the Inquisition could have been averted if there had been some toleration and less of fanaticism. May be the fanaticism was the mask virtue assumed to cover many discreditable motives.

In the irresistible march of events there comes a stage when the rank and file get so infected with unreasoning frenzy and fanaticism, that calls for a little toleration even by the very leaders themselves who created the Frankenstein go unheeded. The leaders become helpless and pathetic creatures of circumstances. Islam, a democratic religion in theory, preaching universal brotherhood and peace as its name implies, had been led into paths of militancy by people amongst them who were not able to sift essentials from a mass of non-essentials. What a change there would have been in history if some tolerance had been practised by its adherents? Nothing

resulted from the wars of the Crusades except the trail of brigandage and other iniquities prompted by the baser side of human nature. Earlier, Buddhism, be it said to its credit, was the only proselytising religion which had not shed a drop of blood.

Even in social and political spheres fanaticism leaves a trail of misery and unhappiness in its wake. If we wish to avoid the evils of fanaticism, we have to follow the liberal line of thought and action laid down by that great patriot, Gokhale. Gradualness, as against precipitate and direct action, was the keynote of his political philosophy. Spread of enlightenment and education was insisted upon by him even before constitutional advance. Hindu-Muslim unity occupied his special attention and he worked wholeheartedly for its fulfilment. With great reasonableness he appealed more to the intellect and reason than emotion. He never mixed up religion and spirituality with politics. He was all for constitutional agitation and dreaded any mass action which, for one thing, is unpredictable as to the course it may take and, for another, is uncontrollable at the psychological moment. May not the present indiscipline and corruption prevalent in the country be the aftermath of the psychology engendered by those who guided people's actions in the recent past?

Gokhale who essayed to lead people, largely uneducated, along paths of social reform and constitutional advance, aroused opposition in people who, while conservative in social matters and averse to constructive social reform, did not hesitate to be radical and to resort to violence and direct action in the field of politics. The attitude of Tilak and his group who belonged to the latter category savoured of fanaticism. History might have been different with less of suffer-

THE RAPE OF NEUTRAL TERRITORY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE guided missile, so often referred to in the news, is at present of military importance as a defence against enemy air-craft and between "conventional" forces in ground warfare. These missiles have ranges of a hundred miles or less. But it will not be long before the nuclear powers will have ballistic missiles with ranges upto 1500 miles. The problems surrounding the successful designing of intercontinental missiles with a range of 5500 miles are being rapidly tackled. These weapons will be armed with thermo-nuclear warheads equal to ten million tons of TNT. When such weapons are held by opposing powers in significant numbers, war will wear a face the like of which has not been conceived or is conceivable in ancient or modern mythology. Plans of

ing, had there been a little more of liberalism in Tilak.

Satyagraha is a form of subtle coercion born of the fanatical belief that one's own ideology is correct and that others should submit to it. It was a great pity that at the very time when he could have cried halt to this, C. R. Das was gathered to his forbears.

Whilst it is not denied that some may have subscribed to satyagraha because of sincere inner conviction of its efficacy, it cannot be concealed that many who had not acquired the moral fervour necessary to appreciate the high principles of the author of satyagraha, paid but lip sympathy and agreed to conform to form and appearance. When once the central figure was out of the stage, the many divergent elements, whose hypocrisy and indiscipline were kept loosely and temporarily under check, fell apart. Gandhiji himself must have had a shrewd suspicion of things to come, when he pleaded for the dissolution of the Con-

war on the basis of such weapons are being discussed realistically. It is admitted that allowance would have to be made for "unforeseeable accidents and mistakes of battle, the chances of weather, the errors of pilotage and all the other human failures which battle inevitably entails". These contemplated exchanges of intercontinental ballistic missiles with a 5500 mile range, or even of the smaller range missiles, "would not be free from chance and accident".

Such being the case, it may perhaps be worth while contemplating whether the peoples of the world in between the combatant Powers, living in the 5500 miles or something less of space-range, have no rights at all in the matter. Must they perish for the

gress as a political party. While it is possible for all to rise to high moral heights for a short period, it is given only to a few to remain there all the time. It is not given to all to remain in that state permanently. Knowledge of human nature hardly ever enters into the calculations of fanatics. Had not the simmering counter-fanaticism roused by the author of satyagraha cost his very life?

Look at the latest fanatical move. The enthusiastic protagonist of the Bhoqdan movement, who is tipped for future all-India leadership, wishes to force university students to partake in it. Is one's dread of the future of this country under such auspices unjustified?

While fanaticism by itself is harmful, fanaticism with an aura of virtuosity is still more harmful. Gradualness in execution and liberalism in outlook will alone convert the present looseness in this vast country with its diversity of languages and caste denominations into steadfast

failures and accidents definitely admitted as inescapable? Is it a mere question of technological advance? Must men and women and children who do not figure in the cause of war submit to death, disaster and annihilation because technologists have solved the problems of long-range ballistic transit for their missiles, and their great achievements cannot be allowed to go in vain? Are all peaceful humans below the path of these missiles reduced to the position of birds and beasts whose affairs do not count?

I remember the fury and indignation and ridicule aroused by Emperor William's claim to take his army through Belgium to attack France. He was amazed because perhaps he foresaw how the technologists of a later age of civilization simply abolished difficulties of the type he faced multiplied a hundred-fold. Neutral spaces of continental dimensions are proposed to be raped without a voice raised against the idea.

unity. Any forcing of pace due to impatience will only lead to struggles hampering uniform progress. While yet it is not too late, is it not wisdom to replace fanaticism, the very antithesis of democracy, by liberalism?

Vulgarising Virtue

(Continued from Page 2)

nate squandering of land without regard to the recipient's capacity to put it to good use is mere propaganda and no more. We wish, however, the Government will desist from vulgarising patriotism by seeking to make it cheaply marketable. There are too many privileged classes already eating into the substance available for fair distribution to all without favour thrown into it. Real public spirit at this moment lies in eschewing special treatment on sectional considerations, and in this too, one may be sure that the choice spirits that bore themselves well in the past, will set the right example now.

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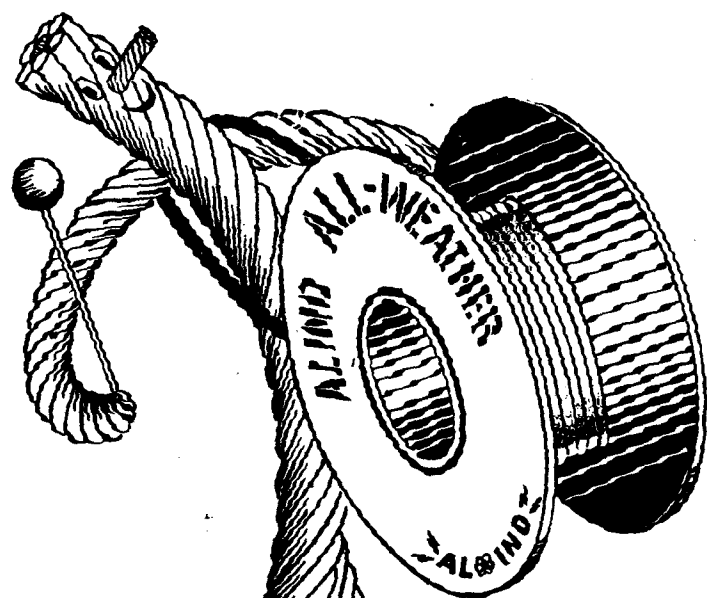
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LONGEVITY OF BRITISH LITERARY GENIUSES

By FRANK SWINNERTON

FOR their own purpose, historians are bound to divide British authors into ages, or groups, or classes. They speak of the Elizabethans and the Victorians, the wits, romantics, novelists, essayists, or poets; and many students are led to believe that English literature is like a modern architect's wooden bricks or an economist's diagrams of production and consumption, imports and exports. Historians oversimplify; students are mistaken.

For one thing, genius has never been amenable to critical or historical rules. For another, English literature, whatever the superficial appearances, shows a continuity which runs without violence from Chaucer to Dylan Thomas. It rests partly upon the British temperament, which unites poetic imagination with earthy good humour, and partly upon the happy accident of longevity in certain distinguished writers. These writers, by observing, absorbing, and at last outliving many current fashions, show fashions to be, not great revolutionary movements, but facets or details in a general magnificence of thought and emotion.

British literary geniuses do not, in fact, die young. Chatterton, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Rupert Brooke, and Wilfred Owen did so; but they were rare exceptions. Far more of the leading British writers have tended, since 1600, to live longer and longer, so that while Shakespeare, John Donne, and Ben Jonson died, like Dickens and Thackeray, before the age of 60, our moderns have remained young until they were over that age, some of them until they were 90. When men live long, they link past, present and future.

So it is that even a great poet represents but a part of unending tradition. Shakespeare, who was 10 years senior to Ben Jonson, caused his own theatrical company to produce Jonson's first celebrated play, *Every Man in*

His *Humour*, and personally played a part in it. Jonson, while scoffing in *Bartholomew Fair* at "these pretenders to wit, your Three Cranes, Mitrep and Mermaid men!" lived almost to the outbreak of the Civil War in England (when John Milton was 28), leaving the legend of his presence in certain famous London taverns so strong that, while sitting in one of them, Goldsmith, more than a hundred years later, could vividly dream himself back into the magic world of Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth. In turn, Mary Lamb, sister of the great Elia, as a child had one thrilling glimpse of Goldsmith himself, walking in the Temple shortly before his death in 1774.

Dryden, who was born not long after Ben Jonson's death, lived until the year 1700, when those literary aristocrats Addison, Congreve, and Swift strolled within a stone's throw of his house in Soho, and laughed together in St. James's Park and Pall Mall. These men were known, in turn, to a junior, Alexander Pope; and in 1773 Horace Walpole, though born too late to meet the others, refused to admit genius in Goldsmith or Samuel Johnson because, he explained, "I have seen Pope, and lived with Gray".

Walpole had seen Pope. He survived until the end of the 18th century, and might have seen Coleridge, Jane Austen, and Sir Walter Scott—even, as babies,

Keats and Carlyle. His friends, the Misses Berry, clamoured to be portrayed in a novel by Dickens. Wordsworth, who was Scott's senior by five years, and had been a boy of 14 when Dr. Johnson died, was among the first to praise Tennyson, and was still alive when Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot had made the English novel as celebrated as English plum pudding. Indeed, *The Prelude* was published in the same year as the later parts of *David Copperfield*.

So we come to modern times, when George Meredith, as a publishers' reader, "discovered" the work of his juniors and entertained them at Box Hill, and when Thomas Hardy, besides greeting and encouraging the young poets of the first World War, hailed Charlotte Mew as one of the best writers of the age. Bernard Shaw, Eden Phillpotts, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, Hilaire Belloc, Walter de la Mare, and Somerset Maugham continue the story to this day; and there are



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May 4, 1957

many living now who have talked familiarly with every one of them.

The consequence of this overlapping of the generations is that whereas a young writer inevitably attacks his seniors as old-fashioned, and, having reached reluctant middle-age, has occasion to lick his own wounds, he is required by the example of history, when old, to bless and protect any rising talent that comes in his way. He is beyond the battle, is of no school or class or group, but has become an accepted part of literary history. In benign mood he will extend the moral of something once well said by Robert Louis Stevenson:

Sainte-Beuve, as he grew older, came to regard all experience as a single great book: . . . and it seemed all one to him whether you should read in Chapter XX, which is the differential calculus, or in Chapter XXXIX, which is hearing the band play in the gardens.

In other words, he accepts the fact that a new thing will either soon be forgotten or outlive novelty, neglect, re-discovery, and over-familiarity in a field in which, after a hundred years, novelty is the least of the virtues. Thus is tradition maintained through the ages.

Election Tolls

The fact that the Congress party had extracted heavy tolls for its election expenses from the capitalists of the country is openly admitted and even defended.

This is bound to have an adverse effect on the relationship of the Government and organised labour, on the one hand, and the I.N.T.U.C. (Congress) and labour, on the other hand.

Though there are labour courts in the country, the existing legislation demands that only with the consent of the Government, a dispute between the employees and the employer can be referred to a court unlike a civil suit wherein the aggrieved can have direct access to the judiciary. The Government have to judge the merits of the issues involved unbiassedly when labour presents a case for recognition of a dispute. With

IMMEDIATE MORATORIUM ON NUCLEAR TESTS

NORMAN THOMAS'S DEMAND

The American veteran Socialist leader Mr. Norman Thomas has demanded an immediate moratorium on all tests involving nuclear explosions as the only way of ending the race to death now going on in the world. This demand is expressed in a letter to the *New York Times*. The letter, in part, is reproduced below:

In my rather long life nothing has ever seemed to me more important for the peace of the world and the health of mankind than an immediate moratorium on all tests involving nuclear explosions. Without it I come close to despair of achieving in time that universal, controlled disarmament which is the price of man's escape from annihilation.

With a monitored moratorium on nuclear tests, as the American Federation of Scientists has pointed out, we shall have a genuine and meaningful beginning of disarmament. We shall have gained time and a better atmosphere for further agreement and we shall have saved mankind from the grave peril of ever-increasing radioactive fallout. It is a kind of madness which says that because scientists disagree on the precise degree of danger we are perfectly safe in going ahead.

The matter of a moratorium on tests has been talked about by both Russian and American spokesmen. But they have acted like men far more anxious to put each other in the hole than to get a working agreement.

I have found abroad in Europe and Asia a great suspicion of American "atom diplomacy." Even Khrushchev may honestly fear what certain Russian people wishing peace have learned to fear — namely, the ring of American bases around Russia and our strenuous

Ministry whose hands are tainted by the use (or abuse!) of their influence for collection of funds for continuing in power, at the helm of affairs in the Government, how far can there be a judicial outlook on the part of the Government?

(Continued on Page 13)

uous efforts to produce not only nuclear bombs but intercontinental ballistic missiles as the ultimate in destruction.

Some positive, even dramatic, act must break the niggling diplomacy of endless disarmament discussions. It must arouse the American people out of their apathy or fatalism concerning the race to death.

What other people think is becoming ever more evident. The Pope has again expressed sympathy with opposition to further tests of nuclear weapons. The greatest scientists of Germany will have none of atomic experimentation—this at the moment when their Chancellor, following the British lead, is turning away from ground defense to demand from America atomic weapons.

The Japanese Government has repeatedly and vigorously protested both to Russia and now to Great Britain on nuclear tests. There is still an effort which may be successful in England and Japan to try direct action against nuclear experiments by sending a ship into the prohibited area in the Pacific in which the British are about to experiment. Bertrand Russell is one of the distinguished members of the Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War.

I could pile up further proof that the nations will not agree that it is only Russia which practices atom diplomacy. By no means do they hold only Russians responsible for continuance of a struggle to perfect weapons of annihilation by processes involving unknown risk to the future of the race even if the "balance of terror" should — as is wildly improbable — indefinitely prevent race suicide in a third world war.

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U. N. Becoming Ineffective

The problem of Korea figured prominently in the initial work of the U.N., but in the face of the opposition of the U.S. to North Korea, nothing could be done. Kashmir was destined for a similar fate. The West utilised the Kashmir issue as an opportunity for getting its own back on India for its outspoken statements on the Suez debacle. Mr. Noon was greatly encouraged and assured the members that India had planned a coup for 28th January. The UNCIP recommended total and large-scale disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces, total withdrawal of the Pakistan Army and at a subsequent stage—when that had been achieved—the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian forces. The resolution introduced by the Four Powers complicated matters still further by seeking to send a U.N. force to a peaceful country in flagrant violation of the Charter. When that was vetoed, the resolution sending Mr. Jarring to India and Pakistan to examine with the Governments of the two countries any proposals which, in his opinion, would help in the settlement of the Kashmir problem, was adopted. India's stand on Kashmir is clear and there has been no change, in it at any stage of the proceedings. One fails therefore to understand the Jarring Mission. It is making confusion worse confounded.

The series of resolutions on Algeria provide an interesting study. The Asian-African resolution was rendered ineffective when the two operative paragraphs were rejected. But the political committee approved of the first paragraph referring to the situation of unrest and strife in Algeria. Even the offensive resolution expressing the hope that France and the Algerian people would negotiate to bring a peaceful settlement of the present difficulties failed to be passed. Finally the committee approved of a resolution which expressed the hope that a peaceful and democratic solution would be found in Algeria. None of these resolutions mean anything. That a group of

diplomats from the nations of the world should put forward such vague and useless resolutions and discuss them seriously for days on end strikes one as ridiculous. The words "in harmony with the principles of the Charter" were discussed for an hour. The most comic part of the proceedings is the behaviour of the French delegation. It walks out of the Assembly on the mere mention of Algeria and has to be cajoled back.

The U.N.O. is an absolutely ineffective body for solving the political problems of the world and it is time this fact is recognised and this show of passing resolutions is called off. The U.N.O. could do better if it concentrates its attention on the subsidiary bodies like the F.A.O. and the UNESCO which are doing some good in their own way.

T. S. BALARAMAN.

Election Tolls

(Continued from Page 12)

The case is equally so with regard to the leaders of the I.N.T.U.C. who have depended heavily on the millowners and big entrepreneurs for their elections and their leadership of the labour can be trusted only at the peril of the labour's interests. The automatic consequence of this would be complete loss of faith in I.N.T.U.C. leadership, of which signs have been already evident during the elections themselves.

The alternative for labour is to rely upon the Communists. The Congress has thus played into the hands of the Communists, by its reliance more upon funds than its reliance more upon funds than energetic workers, and that too funds from undesirable sources. I am writing this with a heavy heart, as an active and energetic I.N.T.U.C. worker. It is high time that the leaders of the I.N.T.U.C. realise the blunder they have committed, without getting into a sense of complacency about the continuance of the Congress in power, at the Centre or in the States, except one or two.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

QUITE A WHITE ELEPHANT

Sir,—We are pouring our spleen on the Western powers, chiefly the United States, for backing Pakistan's demand for an immediate plebiscite in Kashmir. We have advanced two reasons for not being able to meet the Pak demand: (1) that Pakistan has violated the U.N. resolution calling upon her to withdraw her troops from Kashmir as a prior condition to the holding of a plebiscite; and (2) that we fear a plebiscite at this stage will inevitably rouse communal passions and might lead to communal massacres. If the first plea is sincere, it naturally follows that we are even now not averse to holding a plebiscite provided Pakistan withdraws her forces from the Azad Kashmir area. Are we? Of course, it can be argued with justification that even if the first of India's objections to a plebiscite is met, she cannot afford to plunge peaceful Kashmir in terrible communal riots. While this argument is very sound, it was no less so years ago when it was put forward by our Opposition leaders. How did it escape Mr. Nehru that a plebiscite at any stage was bound to unsettle conditions because the very root of the problem lay in Pakistan's claim to Kashmir on the only ground that the State's population was predominantly Muslim?

In the early years of the problem, Mr. Nehru, fully availing himself of his party's parliamentary majority, slighted Opposition suggestions. Result: India, with no aggressive aims against any country and standing for peace and freedom of all nations, is gravely misunderstood the world over. Foreigners have been frankly surprised that India should back out of her promise to hold a plebiscite. Even Mr. Chester Bowles, unquestionably the most popular living American with us, has felt sincerely inhibited in defending our position regarding Kashmir. Part of Kashmir, which our politicians never tire of calling part of India

—which indeed it is—has already been lost to Pakistan. At the same time, we dare not treat that part of Kashmir which is staying with us on a par with other Indian States. In tourist-paradise Kashmir food is cheaper than in the other parts of refugee-ridden India. Quite a white elephant, Kashmir!

The very least the Prime Minister can do is not to jeer at his right wing political critics who are definitely endowed with greater political vision and sagacity.

Calcutta.

R. MANI.

TOO FREQUENT CHANGES

Sir,—Ever since English was made the second language in our secondary schools its standard has gone down. There is nothing wrong in giving English the second place in schools but it is really unfortunate that the good standard that we had been maintaining should be pulled down deliberately in the course of say, ten years. In recent years, as a consequence of frequent changes in the syllabus and the method of setting question papers, English has received a set-back. An advanced country like England does not make changes often just for the fun of it. It is essential to realise that frequent changes at the secondary school stage will do more harm than good to our pupils.

R. SRINIVASAN, B.A., B.T.
Cuddalore.

NAYA PAISA AND THE PRESS

Sir,—If the Government judge the reaction of the Indian public to the naya paisa system through press reports, they will be thoroughly mistaken. The reason is not far to seek. Making naya paisa the excuse, many papers have increased their rates. Papers that were selling at one anna are now selling at 8 naye paise. Some papers that were selling at 2 annas are now selling at 15 naye paise. Some weeklies that were previously selling at 4 annas have

increased their rates and are now selling at 30 naye paise. Why should the press that stands to gain by the windfall of unearned and unjustified profit because of naya paisa, support the campaign against it, however much it may hurt the poor?

The fight against the naya paisa system is not a fight against the decimal currency. We do want the decimal system. Only it should be done in a much simpler way by adopting Rajaji's method of building from below instead of from above. That would have resulted in no confusion whatsoever in money transactions. It would have done away with the necessity for conversion tables. Some argue that foreign exchange will be affected if we adopt this alternative system. When we devalued our rupee in 1949 no hue and cry as at present was raised. Everything was calm and foreign currencies adjusted themselves to the change. I don't see why the same thing cannot happen if instead of dividing the rupee into hundred parts, we created a new rupee which will consist of 100 pice.

Bombay.

C. R. NATARAJAN.

WORLD CONSCIENCE

Sir,—We are apt to think that force is subdued only by superior force. But now a world conscience is being slowly developed. The news that a peace ship is to sail for the Christmas Island to offer a kind of satyagraha against the British bomb test is reminiscent of the episode in the Mahabharata of the sages Narada and Vyasa interposing themselves between the missiles of Aswathama and Arjuna. Desirous of the well-being of the world and knowing that the missile Brahma Sira discharges thunder and meteors and causes devastation, they request Arjuna to withdraw his missile. In the words of Bhavabhuti, these missiles were intended for the good of the world, having been fashioned by Brahma and others after thousands of years of experiment. The Narasimha energy that issued out of the atom to destroy power-drunk Hiranya, should be

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voked to Lakshmi as of yore and made to subserve the good of humanity even now.

K. VARADACHARIAR.

Kumbakonam.

A DANGEROUS READING INDEED!

Sir,—The elections clearly demonstrate that the intelligentsia in general are not behind the Congress; and that it is only the illiterate yet corrupt masses that contribute to the victory of the Congress. And this is definitely a pointer to show which way our democracy moves. A dangerous reading indeed!

G. V. RAMANAMURTI

INCIVILITY ON BUSES

Sir,—On several occasions I have witnessed conductors and drivers of the Madras State Transport behaving indifferently towards the public. Civility is indispensable for all who have close touch with the public. May I request the authorities concerned to impress the need for civility and suavity on State Transport employees?

K. NEELAKANDAN.

Madras.

UNFAIR

Sir,—The Government of Madras have recently passed orders imposing a cut in consumption of electricity on all consumers except those in Madras. It is understandable if the cut is common for all areas in the State. But it is most unjust and improper to treat the moffussil at a lower level than the city of Madras. No wonder people prefer to throng in the already crowded city.

A reasonable flat minimum for domestic concerns whether in the city or moffussil should be the order of the day.

M. K. SRINIVASAN.

Kancheepuram.

MISAPPREHENSION?

Sir,—You are perhaps under the misapprehension that all your readers are graduates or holders of Honours degree in literature. Yours is the only magazine which is in the reach of an ordinary man like me so far as its cost is concerned and yours is the only magazine which necessitates

the use of a dictionary very often. I at times doubt whether some of the words used by you are understood even by those who have English as the mother-tongue. My dear Johnson, will you please try to stop writing this atomic English and help so many who have got a great regard for you and liking for your magazine.

Punganur.

SARMA (Jr.)

Insulated Aluminium Cables: New Plant in Kerala

A plant for the manufacture of insulated aluminium cables for H.S.O.S. (House Service Overhead Systems) applications and building wires has been set up by the Aluminium Industries Limited. It was formally switched into commission by Shri K. P. Shreedharan Nayar, Chairman, Kerala Electricity Board, on April 26.

The plant which is at present equipped for an approximate annual output of 3 to 5 million yards of covered aluminium conductor (equated in terms of single core) is capable of considerable expansion in future years.

The house service cable which will be sold under the trade name of 'ALIND ALL-WEATHER' will have a conductor of high conductivity aluminium, and an insulation of polyethylene, familiarly known as polythene, a tough, flexible plastic material with a slightly "waxy" feel.

The building wire (which will be sold under the trade name of 'ALIND GENERAL') will be a polythene-insulated, poly-vinyl-chloride-sheathed cable suitable for a variety of indoor uses.

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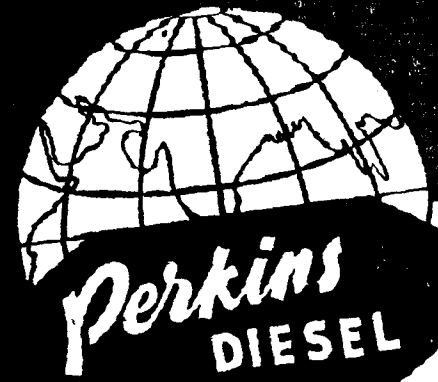
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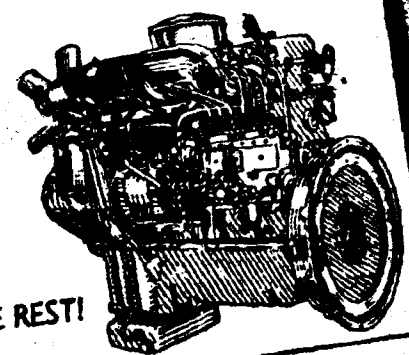


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SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1957

MADRAS Naye Paisa

MEEKEST OF THE MEEK

We have received a copy of a memorandum "presented to the general public, the Press, Government and legislators" by the Tamil Nad Village Karnams Association. The economic disabilities of village karnams are set forth in this document with remarkable clarity and persuasiveness. The karnams had been receiving a salary of Rs. 10 per mensem. It was gradually raised to Rs. 18 and during the war period an allowance of Rs. 5 was added to it by the British rulers of the time. Their monthly income, pay and allowance together, was Rs. 23 when the British left. It has remained static all through the ten years of freedom through which the country has passed. In these ten years the standard of living of the karnams has registered a steep decline. Without any rise in wages they have had to reckon with a heavy rise in prices. In the old days habitual offerings in kind under the mamool system, made up in some measure for shortage of cash and enabled them to live in fair comfort. But with the advent of independence, new standards replaced the old, and the system of mamools, discredited as a form of corruption, shrivelled up under official displeasure. These changes cast the karnams as a class into conditions of acute hardship.

time for other avocations. They had to maintain several prescribed registers, and with that their responsibilities were over. But now, with the enlargement of the scope of government under freedom, an ever-increasing burden of new tasks has devolved on them. The theory of part-time service has long ago ceased to apply, and the memorandum reveals that to cope with the new burdens, the karnams have often to work for as many as 16 hours a day.

The claim of the karnams now is that their status should be properly adjusted to suit the new realities. They want to be treated as full-time employees and placed on a par with the lower division clerks in the Madras ministerial service in the matter of pay and allowances. Their ambition thus is to be admitted to the lowest grade of clerkdom in the State service. What they have asked can scarcely be called demands, it is so modest in content and so humble in spirit. We have scarcely ever come across a more differentially drafted appeal.

Any Government with the slightest sense of fairplay and decency would have been shamed into instantaneous responsive action by the extremely pathetic and compassion-rousing terminology employed by the Karnams' Association. But all that the Madras Government feel balled upon to say is "that they cannot grant concessions under threat and that therefore they have decided to suspend further consideration

of the demands until the strike notices already given are withdrawn and the proper atmosphere is restored for dealing with their grievances on merits". Is this really honest? They have had years for considering the case of the karnams on merits—years in which they have done nothing for this class while thousands of new posts at extravagant levels of payment were created and increments were given to hundreds of thousands of old employees in other classes of service. The karnams' memorandum says: "Spectacular demonstrations and public exhibition of our condition are impossible for this poor and starving class of employees". Does this not provide atmosphere enough for the Government to give their consideration to the case and bring it to some conclusion? Do they want this "starving class of employees" to crawl on their bellies for mercy as General Dyer wanted the whole country to do at Jallianwalla Bagh?

The Government have simply turned and twisted their callous attitude and made it look like a by-product of the village officers' intransigence, whereas these officers are really the meekest of the meek and have been bearing their distress and difficulties all these years of Congress rule with almost asinine patience. What further time do they need for evolving some decision out of the collective power of their great brains? If a time limit for action after cerebation could be fixed, it would

certainly not be impossible to secure from the poor karnams for that duration also, as in all their lives hitherto, exemplary behaviour under the most stringent standards that the bosses of the ruling party may choose to prescribe.

Appeal to P. M.

The Prime Minister denounced Congressmen the other day for their lapses from integrity. Can a leader detach himself in this manner from the failings of his followers by just denouncing it and doing nothing further in the matter? His condemnation inevitably brings to mind prominent leaders in power, and authority to whom it fittingly applies. These continue to retain the status of rulers in the States or in the Centre and to have in their keeping the destinies of millions of citizens. Pandit Nehru is fortunate in that he is idolised by the whole country. People are worshipful and not critical in their attitude to him. All the greater, therefore, the need for one in his unique and exalted position to overcome the handicaps of power without opposition and resistance and save himself from political exploitation by known wrongdoers for evil purposes of their own. The start for a re-orientation may well be made in Madras where the Dravida Kazhagam is attempting to set itself up as an anti-Brahmin super-power above the State, with the Chief Minister affording it all protection.

American Doctor on B. C. G.

In a letter dated April 25, 1957, Dr. Seymour M. Farber, M.D., of the San Francisco Hospital, California, congratulates Sri C. Rajagopalachari on his clear analysis of the B.C.G. situation. He writes:

The most sanguine proponent of B.C.G. does not advocate it as a replacement for traditional prophylactic measures. Those situations in which most has been claimed for the culture are very often still possessed of high mortality rates. This consideration alone, I believe, would make the use of B.C.G. in India absolu-

The Gadfly

The gadfly is a smaller thing than bees that hum and birds that sing. But fishes, flowers and beasts and birds have yet to learn the use of words, while at a very distant date the gadfly was articulate, wringing the stinging, scorching truth from Athens' gay and gilded youth and, forcing them to use their brains, was given hemlock for his pains.

The gadfly now, though rather rare, still has a fine, Socratic air and can be found, by those who look, outside the covers of a book, still questioning, with swift, sharp stings, the meaning of both words and things.

But two-and-a-half thousand years have lessened hopes and increased fears, and one man's life looks small beside a whole world poised for suicide. The gadfly sighs and tears his hair (what's left of it) in dumb despair: for what can one small insect say that could prevent the evil day?

Dear Gadfly, you are small it's true, and nothing can be said that's new. But truth, well-barbed, can still strike home, deeper than strontium, to the bone. So go on talking, till your cup of hemlock has been filled right up, and then—to make you even older—we'll fling it over your left shoulder.....

MONICA FELTON

tely beyond consideration. The Government people and the laymen who support B.C.G. projects and provide the money often regard it as a replacement for the more basic measures. In such a situation B.C.G. can be a disaster. It will not, by itself, control tuberculosis; and it will be expected by laymen to do just that. The medical campaign for facilities for isolation, for sanitation, for better nutrition could receive a major set-back.

The impulse to do something, anything, about tuberculosis in your country is understandable. But the medical profession dare not suspend its scientific judgment and be stampeded into the use of a remedy of such doubtful value, and such substantial drawbacks,

no matter how desperate the need. Such a development could discredit the whole medical profession of your country.

A movement for widespread use of B.C.G. is as unwise as anything that has been seen in the medical profession for many years. I congratulate you on your clear analysis of the situation.

It is sometimes said that man is 'naturally' lazy. In fact, exactly the opposite is true. Even monkeys will carry out manipulations for their own sake, that is, without reward: and man is constantly creating problems for himself to solve, and making new tasks which force him to more exertion. —ANTHONY BARNETT, Lecturer in Zoology, University of Glasgow.



Sotto Voce

Monkey-gland treatment for the Congress

There is an appropriately faint but unmistakably conspiratorial air about our Indian Krushchev, the Congress Secretary who, having shed a surname with caste overtones, has emerged as the unconditioned Sriman Narayana. It is an open conspiracy, if you like. His pet child is the *Economic Review*, the fortnightly published by the A.I.C.C. Latterly, with the journalistic acumen of a Delane, he has sought to put that rather uninviting publication on the map by wrapping up news in editorials and by "scooping" Mr. Nehru's curtain lectures to the Party elite.

What is likely to intrigue the outsider is, not that these "secret" sermons should later be regularly published but that they should ever have been treated as worth all this mystification. It is not known whether Mr. Nehru desired either the original secrecy or the later calculated publicity, whether the oracle is transmitted to the multitude as 'it was uttered at Delphi or whether it has been suitably edited. There is little that is unexpected in these pronouncements for the proper reception of which the public palate is so expertly titivated. But that is not the Congress Secretary's fault.

The Prime Minister has said so many things in his time and has so often in the same speech ranged from China to Peru as the ideological Marco Polo of his age that all his secrets are more or less open secrets. But not quite. He has in an eminent measure the wisdom of the serpent without which politicians go down like lead in the ocean of popular apathy. The informal frankness he so assiduously cultivates often masks deep purpose. Of this order of wary listening is the political speculation about the relations between

Party and Government in a democracy.

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The trick worked, more or less. But, while his lieutenants are in high jinks, Mr. Nehru is quietly changing the tune. The Congress, he laments, is fast becoming a back-number. Other Parties have indeed been apt disciples and bettered their instruction; they have added new tricks to the repertoire which was so sure a draw from the days of the four-fold boycott to those of the August Satyagraha. See how adroitly the D.K. employs the "peaceful picketing" popularised by the Congress, against Brahman hotels while a Congress Government keeps the ring. No wonder that Mr. Nehru, shrewd politician that he is, feels that the rise of the Communists in Kerala, the D.M.K. in Madras, and so on, portends a future for the Congress which looks like being less a triumphal progress than a sad procession to Calvary.

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The Prime Minister, understandably, prefers the British pattern which subordinates the Party to the Government. But he must have his revolutionary Congress too. Now Revolution, whether of the Thermidor or of the October variety, does not agree with democracy. It is here that the humdrum politics of Britain scores. The British Tory organisation is not just a rubber-stamp, as Mr. Nehru imagines. It is the means by which a two-way communication is maintained between a constitutional government and an intelligent electorate. Nor does Labour differ essentially: Mr. Gaitskell is no Stalin. In a real democracy, every Party has its distinctive programme and a graded leadership, while they all accept the national ethos. But Mr. Nehru doesn't really care two hoots for the national ethos. He does not deny its existence, but he claims, like the Roman augur, the exclusive right to interpret it.

VIGNESWARA

Britain is the chief source of the world's pedigree dogs, and this is best illustrated by the export statistics. In 1947, shortly after the war, 577 dogs were exported to all parts of the world. Last year it was over 4100; half of those dogs went to the United States, to the value of about a million dollars, and more than half of the dogs exported were miniature poodles. So the miniature poodle is the top dog.—Radio Newsreel.

certainly not be impossible to secure from the poor karnams for that duration also, as in all their lives hitherto, exemplary behaviour under the most stringent standards that the bosses of the ruling party may choose to prescribe.

Appeal to P. M.

The Prime Minister denounced Congressmen the other day for their lapses from integrity. Can a leader detach himself in this manner from the failings of his followers by just denouncing it and doing nothing further in the matter? His condemnation inevitably brings to mind prominent leaders in power and authority to whom it fittingly applies. These continue to retain the status of rulers in the States or in the Centre and to have in their keeping the destinies of millions of citizens. Pandit Nehru is fortunate in that he is idolised by the whole country. People are worshipful and not critical in their attitude to him. All the greater, therefore, the need for one in his unique and exalted position to overcome the handicaps of power without opposition and resistance and save himself from political exploitation by known wrongdoers for evil purposes of their own. The start for a re-orientation may well be made in Madras where the Dravida Kazhagam is attempting to set itself up as an anti-Brahmin super-power above the State, with the Chief Minister affording it all protection.

American Doctor on B. C. G.

In a letter dated April 25, 1957, Dr. Seymour M. Farber, M.D., of the San Francisco Hospital, California, congratulates Sri C. Rajagopalachari on his clear analysis of the B.C.G. situation. He writes:

The most sanguine proponent of B.C.G. does not advocate it as a replacement for traditional prophylactic measures. Those situations in which most has been claimed for the culture are very often still possessed of high mortality rates. This consideration alone, I believe, would make the use of B.C.G. in India absolu-

tely beyond consideration. The Government people and the laymen who support B.C.G. projects and provide the money often regard it as a replacement for the more basic measures. In such a situation B.C.G. can be a disaster. It will not, by itself, control tuberculosis; and it will be expected by laymen to do just that. The medical campaign for facilities for isolation, for sanitation, for better nutrition could receive a major set-back.

The impulse to do something, anything, about tuberculosis in your country is understandable. But the medical profession dare not suspend its scientific judgment and be stampeded into the use of a remedy of such doubtful value, and such substantial drawbacks,

no matter how desperate the need. Such a development could discredit the whole medical profession of your country.

A movement for widespread use of B.C.G. is as unwise as anything that has been seen in the medical profession for many years. I congratulate you on your clear analysis of the situation.

It is sometimes said that man is 'naturally' lazy. In fact, exactly the opposite is true. Even monkeys will carry out manipulations for their own sake, that is, without reward; and man is constantly creating problems for himself to solve, and making new tasks which force him to more exertion. —ANTHONY BARNETT, Lecturer in Zoology, University of Glasgow.

The Gadfly

The gadfly is a smaller thing than bees that hum and birds that sing. But fishes, flowers and beasts and birds have yet to learn the use of words, while at a very distant date the gadfly was articulate, wringing the stinging, scorching truth from Athens' gay and gilded youth and, forcing them to use their brains, was given hemlock for his pains.

The gadfly now, though rather rare, still has a fine, Socratic air and can be found, by those who look, outside the covers of a book, still questioning, with swift, sharp stings, the meaning of both words and things.

But two-and-a-half thousand years have lessened hopes and increased fears, and one man's life looks small beside a whole world poised for suicide. The gadfly sighs and tears his hair (what's left of it) in dumb despair: for what can one small insect say that could prevent the evil day?

Dear Gadfly, you are small it's true, and nothing can be said that's new. But truth, well-barbed, can still strike home, deeper than strontium, to the bone. So go on talking, till your cup of hemlock has been filled right up, and then—to make you even older—we'll fling it over your left shoulder.....

MONICA FELTON



Sotto Voce

Monkey-gland treatment for the Congress

There is an appropriately faint but unmistakably conspiratorial air about our Indian Kruschev, the Congress Secretary who, having shed a surname with caste overtones, has emerged as the unconditioned Sriman Narayana. It is an open conspiracy, if you like. His pet child is the *Economic Review*, the fortnightly published by the A.I.C.C. Latterly, with the journalistic acumen of a Delane, he has sought to put that rather uninviting publication on the map by wrapping up news in editorials and by "scooping" Mr. Nehru's curtain lectures to the Party elite.

What is likely to intrigue the outsider is, not that these "secret" sermons should later be regularly published but that they should ever have been treated as worth all this mystification. It is not known whether Mr. Nehru desired either the original secrecy or the later calculated publicity, whether the oracle is transmitted to the multitude as it was uttered at Delphi or whether it has been suitably edited. There is little that is unexpected in these pronouncements for the proper reception of which the public palate is so expertly titivated. But that is not the Congress Secretary's fault.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker has started a campaign for erasing the word *Brahmin* from the name boards of hotels. Even if he should succeed completely in the campaign and the word objected to is erased wherever it is found, it is difficult to grasp what exactly he would have achieved. So far neither he nor any of his fellow Dravida Kazhagamites has attempted to provide any moral or rational basis for their odd adventure. Their plan seems to be to get the thing done by appealing to fear, inconvenience, or discomfort, on the part of the hotel-owners concerned. It cannot be an edifying spectacle to any civilized person to contemplate the outcome of his own handiwork after he had played his part in demoralising any considerable number of human beings with terrorising incentives. We hear of great leaders making heroes of common clay with the inspiration of their example. But here the process is evidently reversed. For Sri Naicker seems at present to have dedicated himself to the task of coercing people into being cowed down into tolerating infringements on their liberties for the sake of avoiding trouble. In other words he has devoted himself to the mission of turning citizens into cowards.

Why has he embarked on this fantastic, lunatic and obviously aggressive and insufferable campaign? There are depths that cannot be plumbed in human nature taken in the mass. The larger number of proprietors engaged in the hotel business might secure peace by sailing with any prevailing stormy wind, but once in a way a man of inflexible will might appear on the scene refusing to be bullied and imperious to the fears which the Naicker has been bandying about. If harm were to befall such a man, he will be martyred as a defender of liberty and will have glory in proportion to the hurt endured by him. In the same proportion Government's incapacity to protect citizens in the exercise of their

immemorial rights will stand emblazoned.

In a way those who have submitted without protest to the Kazhagam erasers' operations or anticipated them with voluntary compliance, have already taken their measure of the Chief Minister and come tacitly to the conclusion that he is not to be trusted to come to their help in the present emergency. That means that the exercises with tar tins of the Kazhagam volunteers are just bye-play. The essential thing is that E.V.R. has fired his first shot in making the Chief Minister do his bidding and carry out the Kazhagam policies in accordance with the election promise which he did so much to advertise and the Chief Minister took such pains to deny.

In the activities which the Kazhagam leader has launched this week, it is really Sri Kamaraj as the head of the State Government that is on trial. The privilege of compelling citizens to do or not to do what they like with their own property is reserved within definite constitutional limits exclusively to the State. Sri Naicker is now endeavouring to get round this privileged position of the State by substituting for it the force of organised rowdiness under his own direction. If the State is not immediately engaged in suppressing this challenge to its sovereignty, rowdiness will manage to erase along with words on name boards, other constitutional curbs on private power not to its taste, and it will march on from one predatory effort to another, to that extent nullifying constitutional rule and imposing itself in its place.

Today it is a word in a name plate that is objected to. Tomorrow, pampered and placated, the violators of individual freedom, emboldened by triumph, will venture to go into houses and dictate how things should be arranged within. There will be no limit to the harassments of suc-

cessfully organised rowdiness rendered cruel and brutal by its hatred cults, once the protection due to the governed from constituted legal authority is, for whatever reason, waived or weakened. It is a return to the days of banditry and freebooting when governments fell powerless before the onrush of rapacious elements that were a law unto themselves, that is symbolised in the present phenomenon specially witnessed in Madras State alone in all the country, the phenomenon of the Government and police affording protection and opportunity to law-breakers as against their victims.

SAKA

Book News

The first issue of *Book News*, the journal of the Book Industry Council of South India, makes an excellent impression in all external that go to make up appearance and contribute to presentability. This is not to say that its content is defective. On the other hand, it reveals potentiality for enormous good to the book trade bye and bye. In course of time *Book News* bids fair to become a great stimulant for the promotion of the book trade and the spread of the reading habit in South India, as also (what is even more valuable) the progressive inculcation of literary tastes and habits of authentic value among ever-increasing numbers of people.

This venture is the first tangible offshoot of the Southern Languages Book Trust, sponsored by American philanthropy with American dollars. The publication partakes naturally of the general and common characteristics of all such enterprises. It seems to be geared to an economy that hangs in the air suspended from above by some unseen power without any roots in the neighbouring soil. Superfine production effects are worthy of communities steeped in prosperity, but even under less gorgeous attire, companionable helpfulness is what will be more gratefully relished in struggling environments. Most of American liberality is lost in too expensive scaffolding which cuts drastically into the means left for the main edifice of contemplated welfare.

THE CITIZEN'S TRAVAIL

By AMRITHA RANGASWAMI

The last hour of the old year still brooded, like an old life clinging desperately to the earth, and yet slipping, falling.

The Indian Citizen stirred in his restless bed and then, defeated, awoke. His thoughts returned with his awaking to gnaw his mind; which, helpless, shifted and twisted in their pitiless grasp. And the Citizen knew it could never be free, unless, until...

At Goa, two years ago, at a pathetically absurd ceremony, the Citizen had been decorated with a wooden leg. And the old wound still throbbed when the cold thought nagged him that Goa yet held herself aloof.

Since then he had been living at Bombay, trying to fit into the pattern of life of his countrymen, and was nursing his bitterness back to normalcy—when it happened.

The Politicians who had acquired the country for the people, decided to divide it up. And there was a scramble—the worst since the Great Gold Rush. In the stampede, men had died. "It was the inevitable reaction", the Politicians had hastened to point out. "It was just another unfortunate incident. It will soon be forgotten".

The Citizen was not so sure. The Politicians had, unwittingly, created so many martyrs. Would they be forgotten? They had emphasised diversities by throwing protective ramparts around them. Was it possible to ignore them? The Citizen felt betrayed. He felt that linguism had sapped the meaning out of the word patriotism.

The Wise Men of the country, witnessing the raging fights that struck at their unity, said: "We are not a nation at all. We are a mere people made up of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups".

The Citizen felt that these same Wise Men had helped to tear the country into communal and linguistic pieces. "No", he re-

belled. "This is self-immolation. A thousand times, no".

The Citizen then wandered to Madras—that gentle city with never a riot to mar the history of its long quiet. And there he saw the hate that seethed and simmered against one man, whose sins were all those of his fathers. They crowded him out of the Halls of Learning, elbowed him out of a living, but yet were not appeased. For the demagogue, his appetite whetted on sleek automobiles, incited them to greater hatred—to violence against the rest of their countrymen.

And the Politicians were all pampering this evil, pandering to its desires. The Citizen was disturbed and his unhappiness was stirred into a flaming indignation. The invisible forces within his being girded themselves for action. "I will fight them" he willed.

And then he remembered the day he was standing on the cool lawns of a school garden; the sight was etched on his mind with a sickening clarity.

In a corner a group of shrivelled up mothers sat, with their ragged children. The children were hugging picked-up tins that had been scoured free of rust. A small man in a black coat walked towards them, a smile licking his lips. He carried a Book of God under his arm. The man looked at the mute crowd. He knew that the milk that would be served out later guaranteed him a hearing.

The Citizen felt sick, debauched. His disciple who had sold Him for thirty pieces of silver seemed honest besides those who had set this man to throw Him in free with a pint of milk.

In the streets, he was stopped by the swelling music of a choir near an orphanage. One small boy was playing truant in the swing outside. The Citizen went near and saw the metal cross that swung from the child's neck. The shameless tears rose to the Citizen's eyes. "My son", he

wept. "You ought to grow up to be a man before you choose to leave the religion of your fathers".

And then in a hospital, the Citizen was looking into a large room where women were assembled in patient rows. The woman at the table was finishing a story. "Now," she said. "All of you will kneel". And the women, their wombs rich with life, knelt obediently. Horror clenched the Citizen's heart as he stared on, revolted.

Much later, a doctor hurried in, her white face wreathed in smiles. "Why", thought the Citizen, "these people are not moved by humanitarian principles at all. They are exploiters of my country's poverty, illiteracy, disease. They must go".

And then there were other kinds of missionaries who roamed the country promising Utopia. The Citizen knew perfect unanimity did not exist; perfect happiness was a lie. He was aware that such unanimity meant a curb on men's minds. (And when the bit cuts the mouth and the reins rasp the skin, harshly, men thrown out of balance, rear like wild animals—and what happens? The bit cuts the mouth more deeply and firmly, and the reins are wet with blood.)

"I will not sell myself to the Devil," the Citizen resolved. The Citizen believed that each country had to evolve a philosophy in accordance with the times and its past traditions. "Have my brethren so soon forgotten," he enquired into the darkness, "the years of slavery under the Mughals and under the British?"

The Citizen realised that only the stubborn culture of his people and sacrifice on their part could free them from the ugliness of disunity, the despair of poverty.

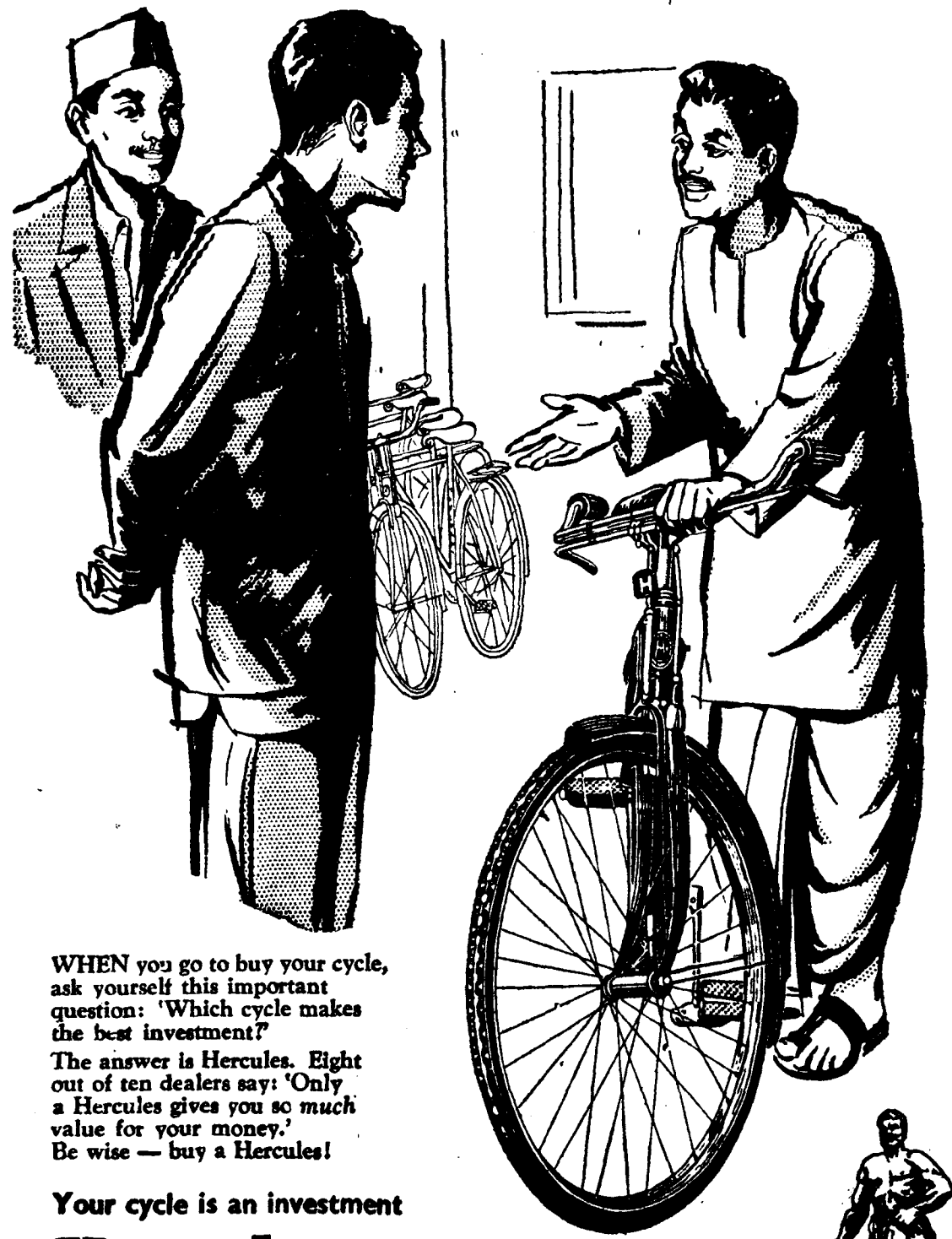
"Tomorrow", the Citizen said, "tomorrow is another year. Let the Politicians argue and fight each other in elections. I will work," and with this thought he turned and slept.

Art has never been great when it was not providing an iconography for a live religion.

—Bernard Shaw.

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May 11, 1957

SWARAJYA

ASPECTS OF MADRAS

THE PEOPLE AND THE CITY

"A withered beldame" was Rudyard Kipling's description of the fair city of Madras. This contempt may sensibly add to one's dislike of that laureate of tin and brass, for never was vituperation more completely misplaced. As cities go, Madras is far from a beldame, for, with its three hundred years, it is but a babe by the side of London or Athens, not to mention Kanchipuram or Varanasi. Withered it most certainly is not, for the bloom of freshness still sits on its brow. There is no evidence that Kipling, who was born in Lahore and spent a few years in Lucknow, ever visited Madras. If he had, he would not have committed himself to this outrageous solecism. But the very fact that an author of his eminence could lend himself to it is an indication that its beauties and attractions have not been sufficiently explored and made known to a wider public. It is in realisation of this need that the present series of articles is written.

The witticism has not yet been coined that Madras is less a city than a frame of mind. But this description clearly answers the need for a definition (for even cities are subject to definitions). Alternatively, as lawyers would say, there is not one Madras so much as many Madrases, for the inhabitant of Mylapore and the denizen of Korukkupet live poles apart mentally. Despite all these, however, it is possible to lay hold of an almost tangible entity which may be called Madras. Madras is nothing more and nothing less than what the Madrasi has made of it. To a discussion of this interesting individual, then, it is necessary to turn now.

The salient fact about this creature is that he thanks God that he is not as others are. He has a sovereign contempt for most other genera of the species. He has a prescriptive right to indulge in this emotion, undesirable though it may be. For, is he not the lord of intellectual creation? Psychology is his washpot, and over

economics he casts his shoe. He draws his intellectual sustenance from that Holy of Holies which rejoices in the name of the Ranade Hall. There are also subsidiary tabernacles like the Lakshmi-puram Hall where the faithful, in full consciousness of their mental superiority, disport themselves in intellectual frolic.

For, the Madrasi is compounded of intellect first and foremost. Bombay and Calcutta, he tells himself and would tell others if permitted, are gross, earthy cities, lusting after the fleshpots of this existence. Not for him these puerile vanities; he finds his account in cerebration. He is excited by the binomial theorem, and he could find it in his heart to cast away heaven itself for a Dead Sea scroll. His sacred bird is the penguin, that ungainly creature which adorns the cover-page of the series of books from which he draws his inspiration. It is now difficult to contemplate a period of time when these volumes were not in existence; they were blank, dreary days, not to be contemplated without a pitying shudder. The Madrasi was then less himself in all the essential particulars that go to make him up.

The Madrasi is a connoisseur of public meetings. He savours public speakers as the more earthy citizen of Bombay may savour a sweetmeat. These meetings constitute his eating and drinking, business and recreation. He is a merciless critic, and very few speakers, however eminent they may be considered in the benighted outer world, escape him unscathed. Prof. I. A. Richards, a critic who has established a renown for himself, did not quite satisfy his rigorous standards. Further, there can be no harm in "revealing" now that even Dr. Arnold Toynbee fell short of his standards, for he is a Rhadmanthine judge. Woe betide the hapless speaker who announces that he is prepared to answer a "few questions". These are hurled at him in such profusion

and with such pertinacity that the poor man must regret his temerity. The lightning of the Madrasi intellect quivers about the hall, and not unoften thunder hangs about the rafters. This is an impressive scene, but a common one whenever that predestined victim who calls himself a public lecturer sets foot on the intellectual soil of Madras. Even Uncle Joseph will not be able to maintain himself.

Such, in brief and imperfect outline (for who can venture to delineate all the aspects of his genius?) is the Madrasi. He is naturally pleased to observe that the habitat is worthy of the man. Madras city is the metropolis only of South India; but it is the intellectual centre of the world. The very roads breathe the air of Penguin books, while the walls themselves bespeak the glories of the Pelican volumes. There are pasted more posters on the walls to the square mile than is or can be the case in other towns. The city itself takes after the intellectualism of the Madrasi to a degree which, in the case of an inanimate object, is truly astonishing. Almost, one had said, it deserves to become a Madrasi itself. Praise can obviously go no further.

But it is necessary to descend to a less exalted discussion, to consider the city as an object of brick and mortar. In this respect, it has to be painfully confessed, it is not very impressive. Other cities raise their head far higher, and have expanded to a greater distance. But Madras, with characteristic ingenuity, takes refuge from this unwelcome fact by reminding itself that mere size is no criterion of greatness. Its riches belong to an altogether more exalted strain, which, of course, is quite in keeping with its reputation as the city of Casaubons and Saintsburies. Nature itself has vied with artifice to render it glorious. If the sea washes its eastern boundary, ingenious man provides for himself the Marina on its shore. There is a spacious, even antique, charm about the city, which, no doubt is entertained on this score in what may be called loyalist circles, is viewed with jealousy and dis-

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appointment by the less favoured cities which one could name, but which one will forbear from doing in a spirit of charity. Madras, in a word, is in a class by itself.

Yet, shame to say, it is traduced and vilified. True Madras blood boils at the memory of the dire insult. It can cause no surprise that Kipling is not quoted by the Madras who, let it not be told in Gath, derives his familiarity with the classics from the "Oxford Dictionary of Quotations". That bard is in disgrace here, and Madras at least can conceive of no more condign punishment. Meanwhile, however, it is necessary to labour for a true understanding of this famous city. To this sacred task will this series of articles, of which the present words may be considered a preface, be devoted. After all, a Madras must repay the debt he owes to the city of his nurture, though not of his birth.

N.S.R.

World's Greatest Failure—Save One

Shortly before he died, Gandhi said that his life was a failure. No example explains what he meant more than that of the fate of his assassin. Several times attempts had been made on Gandhi's life and each time he made his position clear: that at least for such a believer in non-violence as himself no one should touch the life of his murderer. For Gandhi capital punishment was always a crime, since it was beyond recall—"God alone can take life, because He alone gives it".

As if to remind his countrymen of their duty to him, nine days before his death he discussed the bomb attempt on his life and explained to them that he had instructed the police not to harass his assailant but to pity him.

It seems incomprehensible that any group of people who had been close to the Mahatma would be unwilling to follow his last wishes in this respect. But while we were staying at Constitution House, residence of members of

the Constituent Assembly we discovered that the fate of Gandhi's assassin was a matter of great controversy.

Some cited Gandhi's repeated and obvious will. Others quoted the clause in 1931's Congress declaration of "Fundamental Rights and Duties" under Swaraj: "There shall be no capital punishment". Others argued for clemency to Godse because the R.S.S. vote would be needed in the coming election.

On the other hand, the logic of red tape required that since capital punishment had been proved useful for the new government, no exception should be made for anyone. Furthermore, during the trial of Godse, there had been accusations that Congress negligence had assisted the assassination. It had been said that eighteen days before the murder, Congress leaders in Bombay had been told of the conspiracy to kill Gandhi and that they had informed the Home Minister, Sardar Patel. Patel had taken no added precautions, it was claimed, despite the bomb warning some days before the successful attack. Of course, everyone knew that Gandhi always refused that kind of police protection but still, doubts like these could be dangerous at election time. The Congress must show that its hands were entirely clean.

One morning, a year and ten months after Gandhi's death, Nathuram Godse and his accomplice Narayan Apte, having recited verses from the Gita, walked to the scaffold, carrying the Gita in their tied hands, and were hanged by the neck until dead.

"In hanging the assassin," commented Harijan, "there is something which positively takes away from the glory of the Mahatma".

It could be said that Gandhi was a failure. If so, he was probably the world's greatest failure—save one, whose life has lighted twenty centuries, whose words on that faraway Friday still haunt as far as words can reach: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do".—From W. Welford's India Afire.

OVER A. I. R.

By M. KRISHNAN

Being unfamiliar with the contemporary Tamilian Silver Screen, I cannot tell whether or not the songs broadcast in the Sugam Sangeet programmes of A.I.R. are actual cine-songs or only colourable imitations. However, my point loses no edge if, in fact, they are only imitations. And this is my point: how can A.I.R. frown upon the brand of music denoted by the technical term 'fillum-song' when it broadcasts this Supam Sangeet?

Take, for example, the S.S. programme from Madras on the night of April 26. It featured love-songs—and what love-songs! Listening to those prudish, achromatic, anaemic songs one could think that love was not the many-splendoured thing that it was cracked up to be, but a prudent middle course, that even in love people were most apprehensively moderate.

However, I liked the last song in this programme, very much. Srimati Balasaraswathi, who sang this Purandara-Das-song, has a delightfully soft and modulated voice—and she could not have had a better display, for the previous S.S. songs, and the broadcast of classical music that followed immediately, both set off the controlled charm of her voice to perfection.

In a recent issue of SWARAJYA there was a comment (by an American, I think) on the way Indians spoke English—the writer said that he found the Indian enunciation of English pleasingly full and meticulous, that it had a certain mellifluous intonation that English, as she is spoke by Englishmen and Americans, had not. I agree, in toto. I might have been less emphatic in my agreement prior to April 26, but on that date I had an experience. I had to attest a signature at the office of the Sub-Registrar of Mylapore, and was waiting in the verandah outside the office-room, where one could smoke. Suddenly I heard the sound of the Vedas

being chanted in the office, in a high, clear voice, and so unexpected was the sound in that place that abandoning my freshly lighted cigarette, I rushed in to ascertain the cause for this sudden burst of sacred music. And would you believe it, it was no hymn to the sun at all, but only a copyist reading out a freshly-copied deed so that his fellow might compare the cadenced terms of the conveyance to the original!

This long preface is only to say that Mr. Narasimhamurthy's talk on ballads, from Vijayawada on the night of April 29, was, unmusical in its English. Mr. Narasimhamurthy pronounced each syllable with painstaking care, but there was no ease or rhythm in his speech, no sense of live language. That may not seem fair criticism of an Indian speaking English, and I confess freely that my own spoken English limps sadly and has a decidedly Tamilian accent, but all the same I feel that what I have said is quite fair comment. Those who speak about ballads should speak fluently.

On April 26 I listened to the last part of Mr. M. P. Periaswamy Thooran's presentation of the Tamil folk-song, Kunrudaiyaan Kathai. I missed the earlier broadcast(s) in this series, so that I cannot write from a recollection of the story as a whole, but I suppose sectional appraisal of a broadcast is all right when a feature is broadcast in sections. I had not

heard this particular story before, but it was soon clear that it was an authentic folk-tale in rhyme (in fact I see no reason why I shouldn't call it a folk-ballad), with a narrative rather than an episodic inspiration. Mr. Periaswamy Thooran's presentation of the feature was admirable. He did not interpose any comment or criticism that would tend to interrupt the trend of the story, limiting himself to brief, lucid interludes of summary to link up sections; for the rest, the ballad was allowed to tell its own story. That is a very sound and attractive manner of presenting a folk-tale or a ballad, and I hope A.I.R. will

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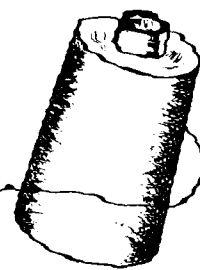
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Voting by Photographs

By P. KODANDA RAO

"Bharadwaja" in SWARAJYA of April 27 criticised the system of voting by symbols during the last elections. As the reason for it was mass illiteracy, he suggested that illiteracy should be liquidated by the third general election, so that voters might vote by the printed names of candidates rather than symbols. He also remarked that the contest was uneven as between the long-established "national" parties which had more time to popularise their symbols, and newer parties or individuals who were assigned symbols much later.

The recognition of political parties for electoral purposes by the Election Commission does not seem to be warranted either by the Constitution or the Representation of the People Act, both of which recognise only candidates for constituencies. The procedure seems to be extra-legal, if not illegal. It may be worthwhile to test it judicially.

Since all the candidates did not belong to some political party or other but some were independents, the Election Commission was obliged to give symbols not only to parties but also to individuals. It was impossible to give symbols to all, parties and independents, at the same early date to equalise their electoral chances.

Perhaps a better system would be not to recognise political parties, national or local, of long or short standing, but only individual candidates, and arrange for voting by their photographs than by their symbols. The illiterate voters are likely to recognise the photographs of their candidates better than their symbols. Candidates need not then wait till the Election Commission recognises the parties and independents and assigns symbols to them, but start familiarising their voters with their photographs as soon as they desire to stand. By this means, the Election Commission will be relieved of the criticisms which

(Continued on Page 15)

to have sat with one such. Mr. Justice Phillips, (for, I count it a privilege). It was refreshing to have closely worked with a Judge who resented being misled, no matter whether the lawyer was conscious of his lapse or not. I understand that Mr. Justice Subba Rao who is courtesy incarnate, would take an erring individual instantly to task. Men in responsible positions cannot afford to please everybody. When occasion demands it, they must be stern and unbending and as Mr. Subba Rao is said to possess this trait, I gladly refer to it here.

The greatest characteristic of Mr. Justice Subba Rao is his independence. Formerly it was a more difficult virtue to practice than now. An independent Judge ran the risk of bearing the odium of highly placed Governmental officials. If a High Court Judge will not or cannot be independent, who else can or will? Independence is an innate quality. Persons blessed with every good fortune and who can afford to be independent, show a woeful lack of this sterling virtue. The exercise of independence does not depend on time or place. In persons of exalted rank, independence is, in my view, a *sine qua non*.

Another characteristic of Mr. Justice Subba Rao is his reluctance to the granting of adjournments except for special reasons. Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, in his reply to the farewell address on the eve of his retirement, deplored the tendency to apply for adjournments and said that in his time adjournments were "rarely asked for". Mr. Justice Subba Rao did not mind becoming unpopular on this score, and I feel sure that such an attitude will in due course come to be liked and appreciated, because in the long run it helps the Bar itself.

I have always felt that impartiality—which, by the way, I have said, is one of Mr. Justice Subba Rao's distinctive qualities—is not a thing on which to compliment a Judge. Would anyone think of praising a rose because it smells sweet? However, as all Judges do not possess this virtue, one feels tempted to refer to it, when it is a prominent feature.

To his ability as a Judge it is hardly necessary to refer. His judicial work at Madras and in the Andhra High Court, bears ample testimony to it. In addition, I understand his work in the latter Court bears the stamp of administrative efficiency, so essential in a Chief Justice.

After all, it is man that gives distinction to office and not office to man. If this be borne in mind, men highly-placed will make themselves worthy of the post they hold and give it the impress of their personality.

Mr. Venkataramana Rao's gifts to the judiciary besides himself are his son and son-in-law. It is a record without parallel in the long history of judiciary in our country. As an Andhra myself, I feel particular pleasure that Mr. Justice Subba Rao is the first Chief Justice of Andhra Pradesh. It is an infant State but has produced, across years, men and women of great distinction, who have sacrificed their all for the causes they held dear. Judges are not only guardians of citizens' rights but in the moulding of the State, they, as much as statesmen, have their role to play. It is well to recall that in the United States, eminent Judges like Chief Justice Marshall, by their interpretation of the Constitution, upheld Federal as against State power, thus preventing the break-up of the country. When similar questions were mooted, a liberal view was taken, provided of course it did not offend canons of construction, for meeting the requirements of a progressive society.

Andhra Pradesh is fortunate in having a person of Mr. Justice Subba Rao's stature as its Chief Justice, whose example would be an inspiration to his colleagues and future generations of Judges. He has yet much of life before him and I wish him all success, happiness and prosperity. I have very great pleasure in unveiling his portrait.

Just a word about the artist Mr. Chumkur. He has drawn the portrait of Mr. Justice Subba Rao with great fidelity and I extend to him heartiest felicitations.

May 11, 1957

avail itself of Mr. Periaswamy Thooran's interest in the oral literature of Tamil to broadcast many more such programmes.

Switching on idly to the noon-hour broadcast for industrial workers from Madras, on April 30, I had a pleasant surprise. Mr. N. Sivanandam's discourse on the practice and profession of the tonsorial art in Madras State was as refreshing as it was unexpected. Mr. Sivanandam is the President of the Madras Barbers' Association, and he has strong views on the disabilities from which the members of his association suffer in this State. He identified himself frankly with every kind of barber, from the itinerant practitioner in the mofussil to the proprietor of the gilded and much-mirrored saloons of the city. He asked the listener to consider how much humanity owed to the civilising attentions of the barber—he spoke of the unkempt, matted locks and barbarous beards that would disfigure all men, but for the ministrations of his brethren. Then he went on to statistics, with almost American zeal. He informed the listener that in the course of a life-span of 70 years (he forgot to point it out, but subtract at least 15 from this 70 for unbearded boyhood), a man had about 140 miles of beard shaved. Other such details were also provided.

Mr. Sivanandam then made a semi-humorous reference to the difficulties of the art. He spoke of men with a bristling, full growth and crooked upper lips who would have a thin, pencilled line of

moustache a la Douglas Fairbanks (Sr.) or, to find example nearer home, P. U. Chinnappa. I say this part of the talk was semi-humorous not because it was meant to be subtle, but since it failed to provoke anything in me more vigorous than a formal smile. Having cunningly built up this diving-board, Mr. Sivanandam plunged straightaway into the real grievances of the profession. People, he said bitterly, spoke of barbering as a lucrative profession, but did they know what they were talking about? It was an over-worked and underpaid calling, in fact. A barber in this State toiled for 10 or 12 hours everyday, and was paid a pittance, a miserable rupee at best, for spending an hour on a customer, shaving and smoothing his hirsute face, artfully trimming and taming his unruly locks, and finally giving him a scalp-massage or a shampoo. In the West, he told us, a barber spent barely 15 minutes over each customer, and people paid lavishly to have their nails manicured by pretty girls. In Singapore, he added wistfully, as much as Rs. 5 was charged for a shave and a hair cut. But, here, in Madras, not only were the barbers paid poorly and worked hard, but they were also looked down upon socially, which was very wrong. Especially was this tendency to look down upon barbers noticeable in the rural areas.

Much of what Mr. Sivanandam said was true, and such slight exaggerations as he permitted himself were justified by stylistic needs. He spoke with feeling, and he spoke well. But I just could not understand how A.I.R. allowed

him to end his talk on the note he ended it on.

After listing the handicaps of Madras barbers and pointing out that the government had done nothing to relieve these hardships, Mr. Sivanandam thanked the powers that be that Mr. Kamaraja Nadar had been re-elected the Chief Minister of the State. Slightly amending a Tamil proverb about God, he said "Those who trust Kamaraj will not be let down", and concluded the broadcast with the strongly voiced hope that very soon Mr. Kamaraja Nadar would provide relief to the barbers of the State.

Now, in a broadcast or in a newspaper article or anything offering wide publicity, it is perfectly all right to say that one hopes for the urgent provision of relief by government. Even if one were to say that one hoped government would do something to relieve his personal burden, I see nothing objectionable in it. After all, prayer can be public, as well as private. But how can any government department permit the mention of a Chief Minister's name as the sole hope of governmental fairness in action?

Climate for Portraiture

Portrait painting only flourishes in periods in which there is an interest in the individual as such. Some years ago I made an attempt to compile an Anthology of Gossip from contemporary memoirs and the like; and I made a curious discovery; that where there was no gossip there was no making of portraits. The Ideological Ages, if we may call them so, are not interested in individuals; they are interested in ideal types. Hence the rise of portraiture coincides with the emergence of humanism and the decay of faith. In Ages of Faith this world (or this age) is of little importance. What really matters is the world to come, whether this is conceived as the Christian heaven or the Communist millennium. In order to paint successful portraits you have to believe in, and even enjoy, the world and age you actually inhabit.—JAMES LAVER, Art Expert, in a B.B.C. talk.

May 11, 1957

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Sir M. VENKATA SUBBA RAO'S TRIBUTE

We give below excerpts from Sir M. Venkata Subba Rao's speech in praise of Sri K. Subba Rao, Chief Justice of Andhra Pradesh, while unveiling his portrait in the Madras High Court recently:

It is nearly two decades since I retired from the Bench, after having been a Judge of this Court (Madras) for nearly 17 years. After this long interval, I could not have wished to renew my contact with the High Court on a more fitting occasion than the present—an occasion which calls to my mind the many lawyers whom I had the pleasure of knowing, the many judges—you will be surprised to learn they were no fewer than 99—with whom I had the privilege of sitting. Among them I reckon, excluding in the context Mr. Radhakrishnaia, my life-long friend and my partner throughout at the Bar, Mr. Venkataramana Rao as the most notable. When Mr. Rajamannar, Mr. Venkataramana Rao's son and Mr. Subba Rao (his son-in-law) were still debating the problem of their future career, especially the former, I had the rare opportunity of judging the two future Chief Justices. Mr. Rajamannar (am I divulging a secret?) showed a marked reluctance to take to law. He had a natural bent, I gathered, for literary pursuits and dreamt, I think, of becoming a great writer, an artist or a poet or, did he want to become an I.C.S., I wonder. I do not know exactly what, and for what purpose, he wished to go to England and develop his powers there. Mr. Venkataramana Rao naturally was very anxious that his son should remain here and what arguments he used to get his son to accept his proposal I do not know, and for my part, I provided my quota of persuasion. Result: He became in turn a distinguished lawyer, Advocate-General, Judge, finally Chief Justice. As for Mr. Subba Rao, I did my best to remove Mr. Venkataramana Rao's anxiety on the question whether the former did well to stick to the Bar or would have done better if

he had entered the Subordinate Judiciary, and in that way I took some part in settling Mr. Subba Rao's career also. I refer to these facts; for one thing, as they account for my breaking the rule, which I have been observing, owing to my indifferent health, of not taking part in any public function. Moreover, by adhering to it, I would have deprived myself of the great satisfaction of paying my tribute to the trinity, the father, the son and the son-in-law.

In my time, the Original Side Bar was a close corporation. A few had a leading practice while the rest bided their time. My firm confined itself exclusively to the Original Side, as did with rare exceptions, all the well-reputed Original Side practitioners. We were more at home in White and Tudor, Daniel's Chancery Practice, Story on Equity and the like, than in their Indian counterparts. Mr. Venkataramana Rao was my junior by a few years, and almost from his entry into the profession, worked along with me in many important and intricate cases. I used to refer to him jocularly as amphibious, as he had work both on the Original and the Appellate Sides, but that had its advantages. His grip of fundamentals (the Original Side lawyers were not wanting in it), his mastery of case-law, in which he excelled, by reason partly of his being connected with some heavy litigation in Appellate Courts, his surprising memory, which I lacked—these stood me in good stead and profited me greatly. When he was appointed to the High Court, I, as Officiating Chief Justice, saw to it that we formed a Bench and I found him, especially in dealing with a large matter which came up before us, most helpful. I may appear to be dwelling on matters which have no direct relevance,

but to think so would be to lose sight of an essential point. My right to participate in this pleasant function rests in part on my association with Mr. Justice Subba Rao's father-in-law. I felt drawn to Mr. Subba Rao as a lawyer, very fair, persuasive, ably presenting his point of view, always urbane and deferential. But of Mr. Justice Subba Rao as Judge and Chief Justice, I can say little at first-hand. But in my seclusion, several lawyers and some laymen who met me, have been unanimous in their praise of Mr. Justice Subba Rao's judicial qualities, and that makes up for lack of personal knowledge on my part. This universal testimony emboldened me to say this of Mr. Justice Subba Rao in my message to the *Andhra Law Times* which was to be released on the date of the inauguration of the Andhra High Court. This is what I said:

"It gives me great pleasure to think that your first Chief Justice and your first Advocate-General are outstanding personalities. No happier choice could have been made. I have known them long and intimately. While on the Bench at the very threshold of their careers, I was impressed by their demeanour, delivery and bearing.

"Independence, integrity and impartiality—and added to these efficiency of a high order, are the distinguishing marks of a great judge. Mr. Justice Subba Rao possesses them in abundant measure. As I have said, both the Chief Justice and the Advocate-General have already won laurels and it is a promising augury for the assured success of the High Court that is going to be shortly inaugurated."

It will be difficult for the younger generation of lawyers to understand, under the changed conditions prevailing, that while arguing before some of the Judges in my day, an advocate felt that he was on trial himself. They were Judges with a high sense of duty, and very conscientious, but they had a forbidding manner, and a single slip on the part of the lawyer would bring on a severe reprimand. It was my privilege

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TRIUMPH OF RED TAPE

Sir,—As an art critic 'long in the tooth' I felt that nothing was left which could surprise me until I read your SWARAJYA last week and learnt that Chowdhury is leaving the Madras School of Arts and Crafts, having reached the age limit.

What preposterous nonsense, as you rightly say? Art has no age limits. In the last few years Chowdhury has enhanced the reputation of this School with his masterpieces, *The Triumph of Labour* and the *Martyrs' Memorial*. To me as to others the master is just approaching the peak of his career as a sculptor and painter, and what is more important, as a teacher. See the students who come to learn at this School from other parts of India and the East not because of the School but the reputation of Chowdhury.

I realise that Governments have rules and regulations which have to be obeyed but here is surely a case where Red Tape has triumphed at the expense of the people of South India.

Nothing can prevent the creative urge in Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury and I am quite certain for his own sake that a move to fresh pastures will be a good thing. What Madras disdains others will eagerly take. I therefore look forward to seeing other masterpieces from this genius who has so ably guided the destiny of the School of Arts and Crafts for 28 years in Madras.

'A.C.'

THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM

Sir,—Narrow casteism and bigotry that passes for religion are common in denominational schools. If, up to the age of seventeen, one lives in an atmosphere of caste at home and at school, how can one get rid of it in adult life?

The natural remedy is to stop all public aid and recognition to denominational institutions. But Article 30 (2) of the Constitution says: The State shall not, in granting aid, discriminate against

any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language, and so long as there is a grant-in-aid system, communal institutions would claim it and courts would allow it.

This difficulty can be overcome if we, like the U.S.A., Australia and other really secular States, abolish the grant-in-aid system. In those countries schools are either under public management or private management; the former are supported by taxes and rates, the latter by fees and donations from the community. If we follow their example, 90 per cent of the denominational schools will voluntarily come under public management, and the rest will lose the importance they now have.

Mangalore,

O.S.G.

LEGAL STATUS OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

Sir,—Mr. Justice N. Rajagopala Ayyangar, in delivering judgment in the writ petition filed by Mr. C. D. Venkataraman, Judicial District Magistrate, made a pronouncement that a civil servant in India holds his office at the 'pleasure' of the Governor. It appears as though the learned judge took no notice of the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in *State of Bihar Vs. Abdul Majid* [17 (1954) Supreme Court Journal 300] where the Chief Justice, delivering the judgment of the Bench of five judges, observed thus on the legal status and position of civil servants in India.

"The rule of English law that a civil servant cannot maintain suit against the State or against the Crown . . . does not prevail in this country and it has been negated by the provisions of the Statute law in India. This rule of English law has not been fully adopted in Section 240 (nor Art. 311). Section 240 itself places restrictions and limitations on the exercise of

that pleasure and those restrictions must be given effect to. They are imperative and mandatory. It follows therefore that whenever there is a breach of restriction imposed by the statute by the Government or the Crown the matter is justiciable and the party aggrieved is entitled to suitable relief at the hands of the Court. To the extent that the rule that Government servants hold office during the pleasure has been departed from by the statute, the Government servants are entitled to relief like any other person under the ordinary law, and that relief therefore must be regulated by the Code of Civil Procedure."

It may be a different thing if his lordship had dismissed the writ petition on some other ground. Indeed his lordship has conceded that the reduction in seniority had caused injury to the concerned official, and that the G.O. dated May 16, 1956 had contravened the statutory rules. But his lordship thought that his hands had been tied because the office held by the injured official was one to be held during the 'pleasure' of the Governor, a conclusion not sustainable in the face of the Supreme Court decision cited above.

T. RAMASWAMY AYYANGAR,
Vice-President,
N.G.Os' Association, Madurai.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

Sir,—The fight of Srimati Rukmani Arundale in the Lok Sabha for humane treatment of dumb animals was not even mentioned in some of the papers. This reveals the absolute indifference of the Press to this subject. Nobody seems to bother when beasts of burden are cruelly tortured. The animals are beaten with a whip, sometimes with a stick, sometimes the tails are twisted and the animals are beaten till they bleed. The jukka horses are made to eat grass without the bit being detached from the bridle. The half-fed bullocks are made to carry heavy loads with froth coming out of the mouth. Nobody ever seems to bother about these poor dumb creatures. I brought these matters

to the notice of the Minister for Agriculture a year ago. The reply that I received from the Minister was that the bulls did not belong to the Corporation. What did it matter to whom the bulls belonged? My appeal was and is for removal of cruelty to animals.

A CITIZEN.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

Sir,—There is a reprehensible practice in our country of borrowing a bit of the name of the original organization from which some have seceded and call themselves "Neo . . .". Why should the dissidents from the Congress call themselves "Congress Reform Party"? Why borrow the word "Congress" at all? If these people want to fight the Congress, let them fight under their own banner.

My article in your latest issue "Fanaticism versus Liberalism" was really a call to form a new party with a liberal ideology styled "Liberal Party" with a programme of gradualness in introducing reforms without making violent and sudden changes in the routine progress of events. They can rope in a number of saner and soberer elements in society. "Dravida this" or "Dravida that" has a tinge of parochial or communal flavour about it which does not fit in with the co-ordinated and co-operative onward march of States within the Indian Republic.

It strikes me further that the Opposition party by calling itself "Congress Reform Party" will be on a par with cheap merchants without any initiative infringing trade mark rights. It is more honourable, more correct and more straight to stand erect on one's own legs without borrowing a bit of the name of their opponents.

Many members of different parties with kindred ideologies can join and work under the banner of "Liberal Party" without loss of prestige or losing face.

LT.-COL. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

IS IT POSSIBLE?

Sir,—It is stated that in China, a 100 mile long canal with a bed width of 420 feet was completed by labourers in 80 days, that is, more than a mile a day. Is this

possible? To me it seems that so many people would be required for such a task that they could not but get in each other's way holding up the work or making it impossible. It is like saying that 60 men were employed to paint 50 feet of wall. There would simply be no room for them all.

The report does not tell us how much of the labour was forced, or how many died on the job.

CURIOUS

ROOM FOR REFORMATION

Sir,—Under the heading "Subversive Acts" Sri K. Panchapakesan in his letter published in SWARAJYA of April 27, 1957 stated "It is passing strange how a citizen of Sri Ramaswami Ayyar's standing who is also in charge of an educational institution, can hold a brief for the subversive activities of the Dravida Kazhagam." It is unfortunate that he has so egregiously misunderstood my letter. I am second to none in expressing "abhorrence" of the breaking of images, destroying of holy books and burning of the National Flag. But what I stated is that "a Kazhagamite who burnt the National Flag may yet change and qualify for admission into the Congress fold. Many people with more serious crimes on their heads have done so in the past." This would show that I have equated their activities to crimes and that yet as the Secretary of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society for the last 30 years and, therefore, with faith in the reformation and the rehabilitation of even worst criminals, I believed in and welcomed the transformation of a Dravida Kazhagamite from a breaker of images, destroyer of

holy books and the burner of the National Flag into a member of the Congress, a body which always reminds us of the holy association of Mahatma Gandhi.

N. RAMASAMI AYYAR
Tiruchirapalli.

Voting by Photographs

(Continued from Page 13)

"Bharadwaja" has found it necessary to voice.

It may be that by the next general election five years later the adult voters will be literate and need no symbols to vote by, though this may be over-optimistic. Indeed, it may take decades to make the whole population, including the aboriginals, literate enough to vote by the printed names of candidates. In the meanwhile, there may be other elections for one purpose or other in which illiterate voters will have to take part. Photographs may serve them better than symbols. The voters might be given the option to vote by the printed name, if they are literate, or by photographs, if they are illiterate.

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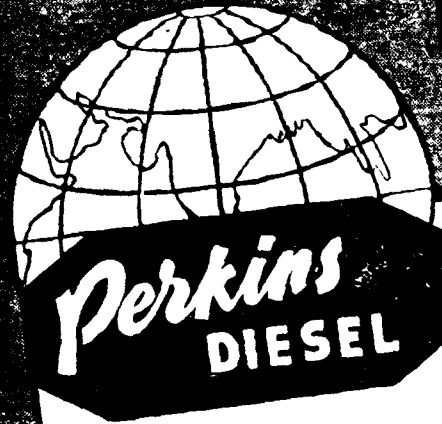
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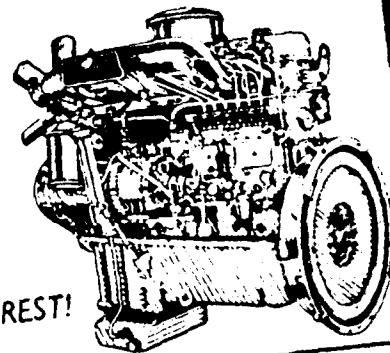
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. I. No. 45

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1957

25/5/57

15 Naye Paise

WAR ON NEUTRALS

THE Christmas Island tests will do no harm, says Britain's Prime Minister. The *Manchester Guardian* asks: Whence has come the Prime Minister's confidence that the tests will do no harm? And it proceeds to adduce evidence to indicate how wholly misplaced this confidence is.

Tracing the history of American scientific theory on atomic tests, the *Manchester Guardian* recalls that less than two years ago the Chairman of the American Atomic Energy Commission was saying that the test explosions were no more dangerous than a chest examination with X-rays. "This platitude has now been abandoned". American scientific opinion now believes with remarkable unanimity that the only safe hypothesis to build upon is that each bomb explosion will produce results killing a certain number of people. Mr. Macmillan, in announcing his determination to proceed with the tests, seems to have taken to himself the cold comfort that the amount of killing to be expected is not large enough to necessitate a change in Government's policy arrived at on other grounds considered equally important. He seems to have relied on the report of the British Medical Research Council (quoted by him in the Commons) that "the present level of radio-activity would produce no detectable increase in the incidence of illnesses". Other conclusions in the same report either missed or ignored by the Prime Minister are now brought to light by the

Manchester Guardian. The report, we are told, also supports the notion that even small quantities of radio-activity are dangerous: and that if the present rate of testing continues, strontium will be ten times as concentrated in people's bones, and the time for immediate consideration of the situation will not be farther away than a decade at the most. The *Guardian* sardonically concludes its estimate of British policy with this indictment:

"It looks as if the heads of the three States now testing bombs will have to go back to their scientists, in a decade or so, and ask how they can get out of the mess to which testing has brought them. For by then, if tests continue, deaths from strontium will have become detectable in the world's vital statistics."

It is thus quite clear that the destructive effects of nuclear tests on present and future humanity can no more be regarded as matter for doubt. The three States testing bombs know that their action involves mankind, including their own subjects, in irreparable harm. But in their own case they hope for military and strategic advantages compensating them for the harm anticipated. But in the case of the non-nuclear powers comprising three-fourths of humanity the ruin in store from the explosions is sheer and outright ruin without any conceivable benefit in the remotest degree to balance it. Havoc equivalent to

and even worse than the effects of war has already been let loose on the neutral powers although they are involved in no belligerency. Being the most important of these neutral powers, India has a special responsibility for mobilising every available resource against the terrific menace looming in the horizon. Perfervid statements by leading figures in public life accompanied by no further action, serve no useful purpose. The mission of bringing the destructive powers to reason awaits the right leader under authentic authority. It was Rajaji who had the first vision of the terror of the bomb explosions, and cast it on the world in ringing words of warning, until wise men in every continent perceived the truth he proclaimed and the whole universe now is resounding with their exhortations and protests. No one is better fitted to fight out this issue on the world forum, and the Government of India should now send him forth on this great task of rescue armed with its prestige and blessed by its benediction.

German Example

It is a good thing that the West German Parliament has passed a motion asking the great Powers to halt nuclear tests in the first instance for a limited period. The coalition parties supporting Dr. Adenauer, the German Chancellor, introduced this motion on May 11 and after a 13 hour debate it was passed by show of hands: "As a visible sign of their desire

for a general controlled disarmament the great Powers should halt their atom bomb tests in the first instance for a limited time".

When this motion was put to the vote Mr. Franz Josef Strauss the Defence Minister gave a pledge that West Germany would subscribe to any disarmament agreement reached in London between the great Powers. The Bundestag unreservedly condemned means of mass destruction.

Whatever may be said of Germany's past history, the people, the government and the scientists of Germany have been showing the highest type of wisdom and restraint.

Prospects for Journalists

The recommendations of the Wage Board for Working Journalists are generally fair. In the case of the bigger newspapers, the pay bill forms but a small fraction of the total expenditure, and in some of these offices, the salaries are already higher than the scales recommended. It was therefore a wise provision of the Board that in no case the existing emoluments of a journalist should be adversely affected by any of its recommendations. It is in the case of the smaller dailies and weeklies operating even at present under precarious economies that the changes advocated by the Board are likely to lead to serious consequences. These institutions will either have to close down or run on a system of acquittances that belie the reality as in the case of some missionary institutions which are credited with the practice of paying much less than the amounts noted in the receipts for the sake of securing bigger grants from the State. In either case the plight of the journalist outside the privileged circles will be much worse hereafter than it has been heretofore, what with unemployment, faked receipts and reluctance of employers to make additions to staff except under conditions of absolute necessity. It may be extremely difficult from now on for aspirants lacking influence with proprietors to find entry into journalism, and newspaper offices might well become preserves for the relatives and favourites of

their owners and managers to an even greater degree than till now.

No institution can provide benefits larger than its economy can bear. Journalism no doubt is a hard and taxing profession with heavy wear and tear on body and mind, but it is also in its socially significant aspect an avocation analogous to teaching, priestcraft and mission work. Its highest reaches are for those who learn to be indifferent to the allurements of money power. In India journalistic service on the more prosperous papers compares favourably with the well-paid professions, but the major part of the Press is still economically in a backward stage. Socially the more valuable sections of the Press will need for a long time the dedicated service of journalists actuated by a missionary spirit and refusing to reckon worthwhileness in terms of wages. Statutory bars on the growth and development of this sort of newspapers may not turn out to be in the highest interests of journalism.

Dangerous Portent

According to reports that have appeared in the newspapers, a Bill is to be introduced in the budget session of the Kerala Assembly giving powers to the State Government to take over private schools without paying compensation. As if in justification of the proposed measure a proviso is added that the schools will be taken over "if irregularities are proved against them". This proviso comes somewhat late as spokesmen of the Communist Government have already indicated that nationalisation of education will be their policy. If follows that, under the powers proposed for the Government under the new Bill, the schools will be taken over in pursuance of a policy already decided on by the Government. The proviso in the Bill is just a pretext illustrating the casuistry to which Communists as a political party are so chronically given. We had hoped that the responsibility of running the administration would impel them to be more responsible. Academic freedom is the last fortress of democracy, and the independence

and integrity of educational institutions is zealously guarded as a bastion of intellectual liberty wherever democratic self-government is prized. In contrast, the first assault on freedom in Communist regimes is through the minds of children, and schools are first brought under control to serve as instruments of wholesale indoctrination of the coming generation. Apparently Kerala Communists have decided to run to pattern in the wake of their administrative opportunities in that State. It is a most dangerous portent and calls for remedial attention from the Centre before its effects are registered in mass enslavement and mass indoctrination to an irremediable degree.

Ask for it

A report in a U.S. weekly declares that India, anxious about foreign exchange, is preparing to ask Washington for a long-term loan of one billion dollars.

If this is true, it is good news.

One American in India never could understand India's reluctance to ask outright for loans. There is no disgrace in such borrowing. A man lacks money to build a house: he asks for it. India lacks money to build a nation: why not ask for it?

A billion dollars is a lot of dollars. Forty-four nations now receive financial aid in one form or another from the United States: the cash box may not be full.

But if the money is at hand, or part of it, and Washington and New Delhi can agree to terms, everyone ought to be happy. This will be a straight business proposition. India will use the money carefully, and no one will have to worry about ingratitude. Both sides can be hardheaded.

Says a political writer in Calcutta: Another Kerala or two may be necessary to awaken America to its financial responsibilities to India.

Maybe so, maybe so, though two Keralas also could double apprehensions abroad. But asking for money now, as country to country, as business to business, surely is better.

JOHN E. FRAZER



Sotto Voce

The insolence of proselytism

To go about with a pot of tar and blacken the face of anything you do not like is a fundamental right, according to the latest bull of the Pontiff of the Dravida Kazhagam. "Now, that is monstrously unfair", I hear the apostles of freedom indignantly exclaim. "Periyar has instructed his disciples to call on the peccant hoteliers, in the first instance, to erase the offensive word 'Brahman' from their name-boards. The pot of tar they carry is merely intended to confirm the converted in their new faith by providing ready means for obliterating the hateful reminder of their past. See how meekly hundreds of hotels have accepted the gospel and borrowed the tar-brush."

"Only when they find that the sinner is obdurate", the chadbands go on, intoxicated with their own eloquence, "are the D. K. volunteers to proceed to the next step. If Gandhi could picket toddy-shops and foreign cloth-shops, surely the D. K. can with equal justice claim the right to picket these hotels which flaunt their Aryan insolence in the face of the passer-by. And there is this important difference. The brutal Britisher was a law unto himself, recognising the existence of no right in the hapless subject, fundamental or other. But since the sun of Swaraj began to shine the meanest individual has been solemnly assured by the Constitution freedom of speech and association. And what is that freedom worth if it is to be cribbed, cabined, confined?"

Mr. C. Subramaniam was so profoundly moved by this passion for freedom that he successfully opposed an adjournment motion in the Assembly. "At the moment," he pointed out, "every one in the country enjoys the right

— so long as it was not itself incommoded.

The picketing of toddy shops and foreign cloth shops was defended on rather different grounds. The drink addict and the patroniser of foreign goods had to be weaned for their own good from a morally degrading habit in the one case and a politically debasing fashion in the other. Every man's right to live his own life as he pleased provided he did not offend the law, which the drinker and the foreign cloth user could legitimately invoke, was assumed by the satyagrahis to be of no account against their own right to listen to their inner voice and tell the world what it must do or not do. For the inner voice came from God, while their victims were obviously in the grip of the Devil.

That was a slap in the face of authority. And one can only suppose that authority belatedly acted, not to vindicate the rights of the hotel-keepers or of their customers, but to save its face. Those who invoked Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. in the old days justified their action solely by its success. It abated the nuisance, however objectionable in principle this use of executive power might be. But, following the pattern set by true-blue satyagrahis, the D.K. heroes make their gesture and then march off to the lock-up. The nuisance grows and the demoralisation of the public progressively mounts.

Long before Gandhian satyagraha came to the fore the classic provocation for the use of Sec. 144 was provided by those Singapore twins of communal pontiffs — music before mosques and ritual cow-slaughter. In these cases there was a genuine if muddled respect for religious susceptibilities. The Hindus and Muslims passionately, though may be mistakenly, believed that it was essential for their spiritual welfare to have the freedom to practise these rites and ceremonials without let or hindrance. And the Government of the day thought that this freedom of conscience must be respected

The men in authority today, having practised this kind of casuistry all their lives, feel helpless in the face of the D.K. caricature of 'peaceful picketing'. That at least is the best construction I can put on it. With all due deference I must demur to the Chief Presidency Magistrate's analysis that this campaign against Brahman hotels represents a clash of fundamental rights. Freedom of speech, association and peaceful persuasion is a public right which must restrict itself to general exhortation. It must not infringe the right of others to protect themselves against such propaganda. Otherwise it is bound to degenerate into a private tyranny. Lord Atkin said the last word against proselytisers when he pointed out that they were "practically diverting" the principle of toleration itself "by insisting on the right and duty not only of professing but of extending the truth".

VIGNESWARA

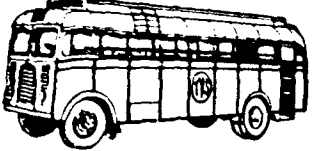
Anger

Anger is an extremely good drive towards doing things, but it is a very bad counsel for what you do, and one of the trainings of a service is that you've got to do your job without anger; you have a job to do and it's no use being angry about it, because you lose your judgment.

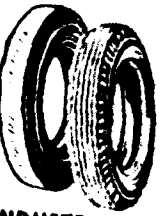
— Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, M.A., F.R.S.

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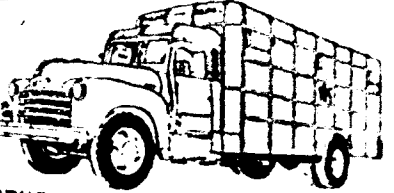
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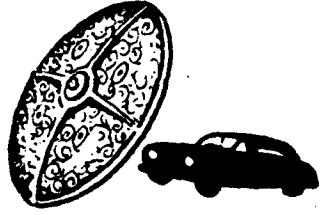
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May 18, 1957

SWARAJYA

ple tank and the Marina. What, he will ask with scorn, but also with justification, is the so-called High Court "beach" but a miserable imposter in relation to that broad and delightful expanse which sweeps south of the Napier bridge? He will argue that Sir Mount Stuart Elphinstone, to whom the Marina is due, had a proper perspective when he ordered this specific alignment. These rhetorical questions and triumphant retortations must be forgiven the south Madras for, if he errs, he errs in a good cause, which is civic pride, a sentiment that grows in dignity and maturity to the extent that it becomes narrower and narrower. Plutarch, it will be remembered, has laughed at the man who asserted that the moon shone more brightly on his native Corinth than on Athens. But to laugh at the south Madras is a dangerous proceeding, for he knows how to defend himself. Further, he is justified by facts.

So bold has he become that he even tends to slight history. He will assert with warmth that Sir Francis Day, unlike that latter-day knight, Sir Mount Stuart Elphinstone, could not read the future. It was undoubtedly an error that Day committed when, while in search of a site for the Fort St. George, he chose an area north of the Cooum. This is a mistake which cannot be easily forgiven him, for, as in a vision, he should have understood that the honour of the origin of the first British city in India should naturally go to south Madras, where history is much studied. As it is, to have located the Fort in its present site is, he would say, begging pardon for a possibly strong expression, like casting pearls before swine. How much better it would have been if, instead, it had been constructed, say, before the present office of the Inspector-General of Police, where, as is well known to every boy and man in south Madras, the sea breeze blows more smoothly and mellowly than it does north of the Napier bridge. The fact that the primacy of history belongs to the north is a solecism, which can only be regretted.

But the south has ample compensation. It is a fact acknow-

ledged not the least in the benighted north (where it is another mockery that the fount of justice should have been installed by short-sighted men) that what south Madras, specifically Mylapore, thinks today Madras does tomorrow. It is the source of knowledge, learning and inspiration. I have already attempted to describe in my halting prose the glories, the felicities of Mylapore. The genius of Triplicane belongs to a different, but no less vital category. It is here that the intellect is sharpened. If at times it is put to uses not always charitable or even (let it be whispered with all cautiousness) creditable, it is only the spirit of the times. Men must live, especially those in Triplicane, where the sense of self-preservation has never, languished. Mylapore and Triplicane, between themselves, engross all the virtues, all the achievements that humanity is capable of. Under the circumstances, there is no temptation in south Madras to grudge the north its mouldy fort.

Behold, then, the south Madras venturing warily and distrustfully into a strange land. He has wound up his affairs and is in a proper frame of mind for any eventuality. The streets are not as they are in the south. Here the strident voice of brutal commerce drowns all other noise. Men rush hither and thither, engaged on the errands of Mammon. The buildings are hostile and vindictive. They frown on poor humanity from on high. They look like prisons in which the human spirit is incarcerated. How different, thinks but does not exclaim the prudent stranger, how different from those soothing and gentle structures which he calls home in his country. Here he seems immured in a particularly repulsive combination of Brobdingnag, Coketown and Penguin Island.

It is there that we shall leave him, lost and distressed, cruel as it may appear to subject him to that fate. For, if a fault of such a man may be hinted, it is that he tends to grow complacent at times. He is too apt to assume that south Madras is the centre of the universe. A stay in the desert of north Madras may serve as a corrective.

N. S. R.

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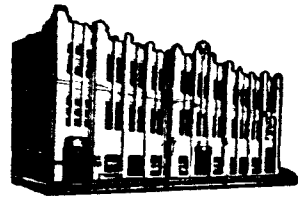
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from Poonamallee and the other from Mangadu.

Well, I had 16 frames in the roll and used them all on my three subjects, centering the head carefully in the viewfinder each time. Not one of them would smile. They looked owlshly solemn, and apprehensive, too (as well they might, facing the *Super Ponderosa*), and each time I pressed the trigger I prayed, briefly and fervently, that the taut, unsmiling face would be somewhere on my negative. Only once, when I tripped clumsily and the flash went off almost by accident, did Iqbal relax his grave seemliness — for a moment a grin lit his face, but he made up for the lapse by being preternaturally solemn for the rest of the session.

When it was all over and the exposed film had been taken out of the holder, Iqbal came up to me, smiling his shy smile. I thought he wanted, very naturally, to know when the roll would be developed and the prints be ready, but I misjudged him. He would like, he informed me, to buy me a colour — and a colour, if you are unfamiliar with the parlance of young Madras, is an iced drink, tinted and flavoured aerated waters, not soda but, say, kola or orange-crush. There was not the slightest hint of repayment in his offer — a grown man, offering the compensation of an iced drink to a photographer who had been handling a heavy camera on a hot, May day, would have said, "And now for a drink — you've fairly earned it!", or "How about a drink?", or something equally inane and clumsy — but not Iqbal. The way he said it, it was no offer of compensation, but almost a favour asked. Photography with the *Super Ponderosa* is always thirsty work, and that afternoon I could have done with a long, iced colour. For a wistful moment I wavered, but not my worst enemy can say that I am capable of cheating children, and I knew that till I had seen Iqbal's face on a negative, I would not have earned that drink. Politely I declined the drink, and we parted, after many mutual expressions of thanks.

I could not wait till I got back

to my own darkroom, where assured and exact facilities were available, for developing that roll. The minute Iqbal left, I rushed the roll to a commercial processor across the street, where it would be developed in a lukewarm, dirty paper-developer. Fifteen minutes later the developed roll was in my hands and I knew that my worst fears had been realised. In one frame there was the chin and lips of a boy (the boy from Mangadu, I thought) and in another I had the unmistakable ear of Poonamallee, but for the rest there was only the background of the street, the changing background that I had so carefully thrown out of focus. But wait, what is that on the fifth frame from the bottom? Why, it is Iqbal, grinning quickly at the sight of a heavy man floundering, the iron mask of politeness momentarily displaced!

Our newspapers and magazines carry the pictures of many famous men and women, Governors, Ministers of State, actresses, commercial magnates, other magnates. May I present you with the portrait of one of our future citizens? I cannot tell whether he will ever be famous, by the not-too-exacting standards by which we assess fame in our country, but I'll say this: his curtesy is unailing.

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

ency and the like that have filled Congress rule are traceable to this cause, but the Press has done and is doing precious little to fight the evil. The major institutions in the Press have become just property subserving commercial ends, and as if in response to this change, journalists have lost all the old thrill of fighting for risky causes and become immersed in the pre-occupation of wages.

SAKA

It is the duty of a Government to govern and in the best interests of the country this must be done without continuous sidelong glances at the electorate.

— Viscount Hallsham.
Britain's Minister of Education.

LITERARY TRENDS IN INDIA

BOOK REVIEW

In the first flush of the spirit of Renaissance rising in the wake of political independence a tendency to indulge in a kind of collective self-adulation is perhaps as human as it is inevitable. A revival of interest in one's own art, literature and culture is too easily identified with an unqualified—not always well-informed—glorification of one's past and justification of the present. To love one's mother tongue is almost entirely a matter of instinctive impulse just as to enjoy and appreciate literature is comparatively one of acquired taste. We are often told on behalf of one language that it is the oldest and therefore the best. Another is extolled as the most musical—though the music seems to sound a little different in the ears of those not born to it. A third is commended as the most flexible, a fourth as the most rigid, a fifth as the purest, a sixth as the most cosmopolitan and so on. Each claims its literature to be the richest. To provide the proper perspective as well as to induce a sense of humility—so necessary for an attitude of 'live and let live'—it might do one's heart a lot of good to know something about the literary trends and cultural traditions of others in addition to one's own. The Sahitya Akademi, which has an ambitious programme by way of facilitating a co-ordination of literary activities in India, has done well in bringing out a symposium of contemporary Indian literature.

A striking feature of these contributions on fifteen Indian literatures including Sanskrit is their emphasis on the impact of English literature and modern thought and the parallel lines of development that could be traced in all

Contemporary Indian Literature (A symposium) published on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi by the Director, the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi-8. pp. 299. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

of them. The modern age in all these literatures had witnessed the end of traditionalism, followed by a struggle for freedom of poetic expression, succeeded in its turn by the quest of personality and the striving after integrity, finding their medium and atmosphere in different schools of writing. The contemporary scene is one of intense activity and prolific production, and it remains to be seen how much of it will stand the test of time, withstanding the ravages of changing tastes and shifting fashions of appreciation.

While there is a certain unity of purpose and untutored sinfulness of outlook in the contributions to the symposium no mechanical uniformity of space or method has been imposed. Dr. V. Raghavan has occupied nearly 50 pages for Sanskrit, listing all the available books, pamphlets, papers read at conferences, manuscripts of works proposed to be published, etc., while Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram sums up his survey of Tamil literature in about ten pages hardly mentioning any names and confining himself strictly to outlining the tendencies. After struggling through the formidable list in Sanskrit, which looks like a veritable catalogue, the uninitiated reader may be none the wiser about modern works of some value as he gets little guidance from the author in the sifting of the grain from the chaff of which there seems to be an abundance. It is interesting to know that quite a few modern Western classics

including the stories of Tolstoy have been rendered into Sanskrit but one is likely to wonder if a long verse on the first world war (or is it the coronation of Queen Victoria) and *satakas* and *stotras* on Mahatma Gandhi and works of that sort can be classed as literature, especially as literature is understood by lovers of Sanskrit. The services of pioneers in Tamil like Bharati, T.V.K., T.K.C. and 'Kalki' are referred to at some length by the contributor but not enough is said about the younger writers striking new paths and experimenting with new techniques in prose and verse.

Most of the other contributors have chosen to strike a *via media*, discussing the trends as well as describing books of significance and their authors. The neat and well-written monographs on Hindi and Kannada by S. H. Vatsyayan and V. K. Gokak are about the most satisfying in this respect, the latter even more so for its shrewd and sympathetic appraisal of authors and works in a praiseworthy conciseness and elegance of phrasing. Hindi literature had in recent times gone through romanticism and progressivism and is currently flowing into experimentalism and a new scientific humanism. *Chayavada* in the words of the author, "was a cross between early romanticism and Vedantic synthesis, *Pragativada* a cross between late romanticism and Marxian dialectic". In Kannada we find an unsuspected richness in the poetry that is full of music, homely simplicity in the short stories and novels and a wholesome earthy humour in the drama. We have it from Professor Gokak that the impact of

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THE HATRED CULT

By K. NATARAJAN

THOUGH some would want to make light of the programme of Sri Ramaswamy Naicker to have the word "Brahmin" erased from the name boards of hotels, it is more than a farce and is indicative of the growing tendency to decimate a whole community. No 'Brahmin' hotel closes its doors against the members of any community; nor is there segregation practised inside in the allotment of seats. Everyone understands the word only in the sense in which it is meant, namely, that the dishes served are vegetarian and that the amenities are of a kind associated with a hotel of that description.

If the object is to bring about a casteless society everything that smacks of caste should be eradicated. Sri Naicker should remove that appellation. So should Mudaliars, and Reddiars just like Aiyars and Aiyengars. Pandit Nehru must not have 'Pandit' preceding his name as it is indicative of high caste. If that is not the laudable object with which the movement has been started—and that does not seem to be its purpose—it is a symptom of growing menace to a particular community which, because it is a minority, is unable to defend its rights. And, from the way the policeman looked on complacently despite the appeal of the hotel owner for help when vandalism was being practised before his eyes, one has to conclude that the

movement has the approval of the Government. Today it is the outside board, tomorrow it may be something inside which is tampered with. Where is it to end?

It would seem that the Government has committed itself so much to the D.K. party that it finds itself unable to help the members of a minority community in exercising their civic and legitimate rights. Minorities are feeling safe even in Russia and China but in this land of age-long toleration, it is a pity that a particular community should be subjected to harassment and humiliation and a cry for help from the members thereof should be a cry in the wilderness.

When the movement took a turn for the worse and the 'Brahmin' hotel keepers were smeared with tar, the Government could not prolong their laissez-faire policy. The promulgation of the order under Sec. 41 of the City Police Act against assemblage and procession was the result. Sri Naicker must be finding little satisfaction at his followers defying the law and courting arrest. They have had a cheap notoriety and their action has had a nuisance value. But the Government which allows propaganda of hate to be carried on unchecked against one community is not only allowing things to develop to a state when it will find its elementary duty of keeping law and order more difficult but is fostering a cleavage among sections of the people when their cohesion should be strengthened. In a recent speech Pandit Nehru laid stress on the unity which is essential for the maintenance of India's hard-won freedom. Is he unaware of what is happening in the far South where the cult of hatred is being sedulously encouraged? If he is aware and is still keeping a diplomatic silence, where will the partisan attitude of the present State Government lead to?

Famous Ancestor

A famous ancestor can be an embarrassing, if at times an amusing encumbrance, particularly to a young man, according to Hallam Tennyson, who is a great-grandson of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the Victorian Poet Laureate. Speaking in the BBC's Home Service about the influence the poet had had on his life, he recalled the kind hostess who had carefully made up a bed for him in the drawing room, because "she knew that Alfred had been over eighty when he died and by some odd process of association she expected his great-grandson to be much too senile to climb the staircase up to the first floor.

Of course the name simply asks for misunderstandings when telephone lines get crossed. When this happened on a long-distance call and Hallam Tennyson, trying to find out whether he was speaking to the right number, began "This is Tennyson here," a voice snapped back out of the darkness, "Well, this is Shakespeare; and you'd better get off my line." But the moment he treasured most, Tennyson said, occurred in New York Harbour when his baggage was being inspected by a customs official who was an enthusiast for literature. Regardless of the growing queue of impatient travellers he learned all he could about the famous Alfred, and finally leaned over the counter and said in a strong Brooklyn accent: "So you're his great-grandson. Was he married?"

Having now reached the age of thirty-five, Hallam Tennyson said that he had learned to take a genuine interest in his great-grandfather for his own sake, and to enjoy much of his poetry. All the same, when recently he had lectured at length to a girls' school on "Alfred Tennyson—the Personality of a Poet", he had felt grateful to the girl who, at the end of it, was still under the firm impression that Alfred Tennyson was the man who had invented lawn tennis.

May 18, 1957

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

IQBAL

Like physicians, cooks, necromancers, and others who live by professed, specialist skill, we photographers come in many shapes and sizes. Amongst us you will find those who are good at this and those who are good at that, even those who are not specially good at anything. My own claims to photographic distinction rest upon two unequal considerations. My ability to tell, with the most closely-argued and convincing fluency, just why my picture went wrong, after I have processed and printed it, is the lesser of these two claims. The greater is a massive fact, the fact that I am the owner and inventor of that formidable composite camera, the one and only Super Ponderosa.

My Super Ponderosa is truly super, not only in size and looks (it looks like nothing so much as a compact machine-gun), but also in the lavish redundancy of its structure. It has a rotatable back which can take either roll-film holders or cut-film slides to yield negatives in three sizes; it has a shutter in front of the lens (known to the vulgar as a 'cap'), a between-the-lens Compur shutter of the latest design, and a focal-plane shutter of time-tested efficiency, and it has a system of reflex focussing that eliminates all uncertainty. However, till recently it could not be used with an electronic flash except when set firmly on a tripod, and I have spent the past two weeks rectifying this defect.

I don't wish to be technical here, having no picture to justify, but it was early evident that a view-finder should be added to the contraption if I wished to use its between-the-lens shutter for its instantaneous flash, for the instantaneous flash, for the groundglass screen (after focussing) could show no image while the picture was being taken. And the picture was being taken. And here we had trouble. The viewfinder we fitted first had a broader outlook on life than the ten-inch lens, and so had to be scrapped; and when its vision had



been limited to the narrow confines of the lens's, we came up against parallax. If I took a picture of a bird in a bush, I got no bird but only the bush well to its left. Finally, a third viewfinder was fitted on, a long, narrow, square-sectioned tube with a peep-hole at one end, angled to allow for parallax along two directions. Only by actual photography using this viewfinder could I know if it was what I desired, and if all our calculations on paper were correct. It was at this stage that I met Iqbal.

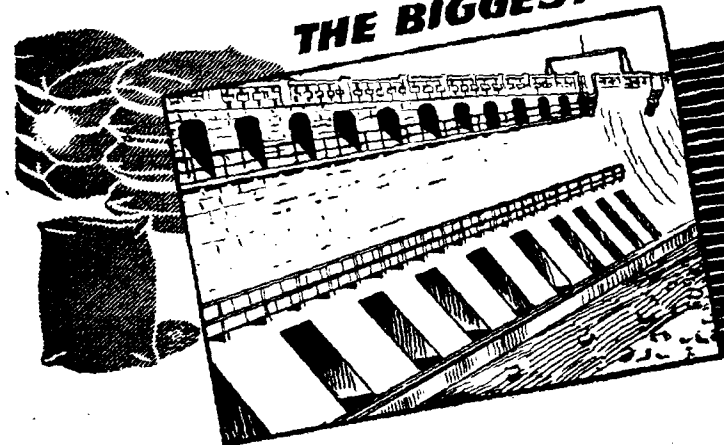
We had not met before, but Iqbal wanted his picture taken and I wanted a subject on whom I could try out this latest viewfinder. I explained to young Iqbal that I could not definitely promise him a picture, for I did not know for certain that my viewfinder would see things the way my lens did, but that if he would risk it I was willing to try and take a flash-portrait of him. I don't think he understood me, but he thanked me for my kindness with grave courtesy, said he would be back in ten minutes, and dis-

appeared. And when he was back, arrayed in a natty pair of shorts and shining shoes, I just didn't have the heart to tell him that even in the event of my getting his face on the negative, there could be no question of getting the rest of him on it, in view of the extremely limited vision of my lens at ten feet.

A further difficulty had arisen. Iqbal had brought two friends with him. Shyly he explained that his friends happened to be visiting him from outside the city, and that if I didn't mind he would like them also in the picture. This was quite beyond the Super Ponderosa's capacity, but how could I tell him that? I always find it difficult to justify my limitations to the very young. With grown-ups I am wholly at ease, for I can talk technical. But how to tell a trusting young boy that the enormous, glittering camera I carried was incapable of a simple group of three? I got out of it by saying that I would prefer to take individual pictures—I forget the names of his friends: all I remember is that one of them was



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English literature has revolutionised Kannada writing in form as well as in thought content and turned it into a house of more mansions than before. In the present literary milieu traditionalists and progressives and rightists and leftists, religious mystics and agnostics and aesthetes and realists jostle with each other lending colour and variety to the kaleidoscope of letters. An almost unbroken thread of continuity from the Sanskritists of old to the neo-classicists of today could be seen in the development of Telugu literature and K. Ramakotishwara Rau gives due praise to the younger poets of Telengana who sing with a more authentic voice than the stark realists as well as the progressive writers with their ill-concealed political affiliations. He is generously fair to all schools of writers and it is a correct picture that he presents though there may be need for supplementing the data in matters of detail. Scholars may not however like the idea of C.P. Brown, the pioneer and benefactor who had rescued quite a considerable treasure-trove and Cowldey — in spite of his encouragement to promising students — being talked about in the same breath. The survey of Malayalam literature by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja follows the chronological method, which is helpful as far as it goes, though one cannot help feeling it could be more analytical. One may, for instance, like to have a correct estimate of the place of Sardar Panikkar—whose versatility is bewildering — as a writer and the extent of his influence on the form and content of current writing in the language.

While the short story seems to be the most popular branch of literature in all the languages — and everywhere the complaint is one of too little attention to the style and technique—the personal essay had reached new heights in Marathi and Assamese. Gujarati has made headway in biography and autobiography — a form that is not well-developed in other languages — while Bengali has progressed in all directions, though the age of giants like Bankim, Tagore and Sarat seems to

have gone beyond recall. The pangs of partition still find an echo in Punjabi poetry while the resurgence of a new people determined to live with their friendly neighbours and stand up to the aggressor sets the tone for songs and stories in Kashmiri, fine translations of both of which are given in miniature. This study of the different facets of the Indian renaissance reflects life in all its variety and complexity, all going to form a tapestry whose unity of design can be seen better from a distance.

D. ANJANEYULU

Ahobilam : No Neglect

With reference to the article "Neglect of a Sacred Shrine" in your valuable weekly dated 6th April, I have to say that the head of the Ahobila Mutt is not neglecting the temple but is showing keen interest in developing the institution and making it attractive. A few instances in proof of this are given below. Solely through the influence of His Holiness the Jeer, the long-standing unfinished famous Ranga Mandapam in the lower Ahobilam temple was completed and repairs to other mandapams attended to, at a cost of Rs. 40,000. This mandapam is now giving shelter to about 1500 pilgrims. A big sum was also spent for repairs to minor temples in the lower as well as upper Ahobilam. Repairs to Bashyakar Sannadhi are going on and after completion, His Holiness has proposed to take up repairs to the temple tank and reconstruct the eastern and southern portions of the compound wall. This will complete the repairs needed to the temple. It may be estimated that the value of repairs done by His Holiness and under his influence by his disciples in a period of 20 to 30 years is about one lakh of rupees.

As regards drinking water supply in the locality, a water supply scheme was carried out at a cost of Rs. 15,000 by His Holiness, as a result of which good drinking water is being brought to the temple through cement pipes from a tank two miles away.

About half a dozen taps have been erected in the temple premises to enable the worshippers to take potable water. All these taps and pipe lines were kept in good order and they were unfailingly supplying water throughout day and night on all days of the festival this year. A well at a cost of Rs. 6,000 was sunk within the temple and made available for the use of the worshippers. Two existing wells outside the temple were kept clean providing pully and chain with buckets. In fact, unusually this year, the supply in the tank as well as in the wells was copious and unfailing.

The income to the Devasthanam from lands and from collections during the festival is not sufficient even for the conduct of daily pooja and the festival expenses. His Holiness has to make good the deficiency every year.

Sri C. Ramakrishnayya has given us the value of tickets purchased by him for *haruthi*, *archana*, etc. The rates given are the scheduled rates under the contract sold in public sale. There was therefore no excess collection and there can be no menace of the contractor as alleged.

The supply of food to pilgrims cannot be fully undertaken by the Devasthanam in view of the insufficient income. There are several *anna chattrams* conducted by Brahmins, Vaisyas and Padma-valamas, for which temple premises are allowed free of charge. Besides, several hotels are catering for the needs of the public.

Sanitary arrangements are made by the Health Department taking into consideration the needs of the locality and the Devasthanam pays annually half the charges incurred for the purpose. The hereditary trustee cannot be blamed for any improper or insufficient sanitary arrangement by the Health Department.

N. SRINIVASAN

Human beings are very curious and I am convinced that the glamour connected with capital punishment is one of the factors which lead to a continuance of murder.

— Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

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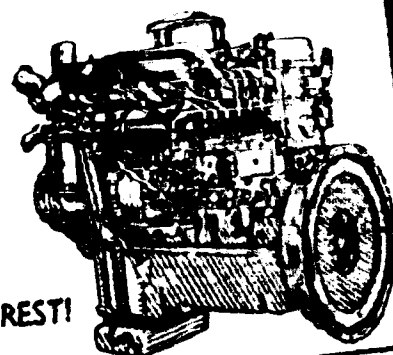
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

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SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1957

24 JUN 1957 15 Naye Paise

T. T. K'S TAXATION PROPOSALS

THE new budget proposals of the Finance Minister require careful study because they are not mere fiscal measures, but are deliberately designed to promote a particular social and economic doctrine. This is explained by the Finance Minister himself. He says "We are pledged to move in the direction of a Socialist society. This means that we wish to develop an efficient system of production and an equitable pattern of income and wealth which will ensure well-balanced progress. Such a system requires a strengthening of the incentives to work and save". He has prefaced the taxation proposals with the following principles: "The taxation policy and proposals at this juncture have to be shaped in the light of the following criteria: (a) They must produce a sizable addition to public revenues. (b) They must provide incentives for larger earnings and more savings. (c) They must restrain consumption over a fairly wide field so as to keep in check domestic inflationary pressures and to release the resources required for investment, and (d) They must initiate such changes in the tax structure as would make tax yields progressively responsive to increased incomes and facilitate an orderly development of the economy with due regard to the Socialist objectives we have adopted". He has said in conclusion: "I am aware that the policies and proposals that I have placed before you add up to a varied and somewhat formidable bill of fare. But the exigencies

of the situation demand nothing less. There are moments in the history of every nation when it must advance on a great many fronts at the same time. The task before us is not merely one of raising resources for the immediate needs of the plan. We have also to attempt, at the same time, a rationalisation of the tax structure, so that I can sustain a mounting crescendo of developmental effort in the years to come".

These pronouncements of objects and reasons make it incumbent on us to define the limits of criticism. We may examine the objectives themselves and see if their nature and pacing are, on the whole, beneficial or injurious to the nation; whether, indeed, there is not a doctrinaire liaison with theories of welfare that have had their origin in other countries in the wake of unrestrained private enterprise or sudden revolution, and an unseemly haste to bring about a new heaven on an old earth; whether, consequently, we may not, in pursuit of the ideal which we are not prepared to stagger or modify, involve the country in a strain that it may not be able to stand and create an inflationary spiral that may get out of hand. But this is a political criticism. Having elected a group to power, on the basis of policies which have never been conceived, it is not of much use at this stage to say that the plan, as devised and phased, is fraught with dangers. All that can be done, as a practical measure of restraint, is

to keep on pointing out the advantages of particular in the Press and in Parliament that an empirical modification of the ideals may come into play.

A fairer examination of the budget will be to see if the proposals made will achieve the very objects that the Finance Minister has set before himself.

Let us first have a look at the present economic background. Firstly, there is an upward trend in prices. The general wholesale index fluctuates round about 420, but the price of rice has gone up by 14%, and of wheat by 16% over last year's level. The prices of industrial raw material have risen by 9% during the year. Secondly, agricultural production is less than in 1954. Thirdly, industrial production, especially in new industries, is rising, and is up by 8%, but this progress largely depends on the import of capital goods and raw material, and this creates in turn a severe foreign exchange problem, calling for greater exports and lesser domestic consumption. Fourthly, money supply has increased by 182 crores, or about 10%, and this is an expansionary factor, reflecting, in the main, the borrowings of Government from the Reserve Bank. Fifthly, there has been a steady expansion of bank credit, showing that there is an increase of lending, but banks do not command the resources therefor, and savings are not up to the level demanded by the borrowing market.

The overall deficit, both on capital and revenue account, on

the basis of existing taxation, is estimated to be Rs. 367 crores. Most of this is capital deficit. The new measures provide for a revenue surplus of about 78 crores. It may well be asked whether a surplus which is of the order of 10% of the revenue budget is now called for. The Finance Minister has made it plain that in the coming years the plan will need more and more outlay. It is not as if there is much left to tax, certainly not by way of direct taxation. It appears that in view of the large measure of commodity taxes involved, a balanced or perhaps a slightly deficit budget would have been better, leaving a larger margin of saving in the hands of the public, and a more widely exploitable field in the hands of the Government, as and when actually necessary.

That the imposts will increase the tempo of inflation cannot be gainsaid. Cement and steel are the essential raw materials behind the huge governmental programmes of buildings, roads, irrigation, and industries. Motor spirit is the raw material for the increasing development of public transport. Tea and coffee, especially after prohibition, have become essential articles of diet. So is sugar. Travel and postal and telegraphic communication are, needless to say, more necessities than luxuries, at even present costs. Thus, the new taxes are imposed on inelastic commodities and services, and while retaining the present rate of consumption, push up the price level.

Why have the prices of rice and wheat gone up? Why have they gone up in April and May, when there should normally be a post-harvest fall? Is a possible 2% deficit in production sufficient to create a 15% rise in prices? No doubt, there is the major problem of increased production, which is the only final and lasting solution of the difficulty. No one has yet succeeded in overcoming the impact of the law of supply and demand. Meanwhile, one wonders whether a fiscal approach, like curtailing credit in the hope that it will reduce speculative hoarding, is sufficient or even proper. The existence, albeit nominal, of an alternative source of supply,

sponsored and controlled by Government, is necessary, not as a crisis remedy, but as part of price policy. This can be achieved only by the creation of grain stores and of controlled retail agencies that are supplied by such stores. In a country where 85% of agriculture is still under the vagaries of the monsoon, it is idle to talk of the achievement of permanent self-sufficiency. By its very nature it is a long range problem. We have to provide for good and bad years, prophylactically, and not remedially. The margins are not wide. It is a Micawbar economy, between a small surplus and jubilation, and a small deficit and misery. It is hoped that an agricultural price policy will be brought into existence by the creation of grain banks and retail control, instead of emphasising fiscal measures. This should be supplemented by measures for preventing any sort of hoarding.

The desire of the Minister to encourage saving is laudable, especially small savings, but how is this to be reconciled with a reduction of the exemption level of income tax, and the imposition of a series of taxes on necessities, and a level of agricultural production which is inadequately controlled? It is hoped that the exemption level at least will be retained.

The raising of the bank rate is sought to be justified as an anti-inflationary measure. It has been noticed that savings are lagging behind investment demand. The policy of the Government towards industry has relegated the private sector mainly to the consumer class. It is accepted that a root cause of inflation is the paucity of goods in relation to the increased purchasing power available by reason of capital programmes. In such a context, increased facilities for credit to private industry seems to be a sound method of curtailing inflation, by facilitating a greater flow of consumer goods, from within the country. The facilities afforded for industry by the numerous quasi-governmental institutions of credit promote capital investment for expansion, but they do not touch the day to day financing of industry and trade, which has, as always, to be

done by the banks and which at present price levels call for greater credit even for sustaining existing levels of production. Credit to private industry requires cheapening, though one may accept the need for controlling the direction of the flow of such credit. In any case, the policy of reducing credit facilities to industry by raising the bank rate will only allow the disease to flourish.

At the same time, the revised rates of tax on dividends should be welcomed. Companies that work prudently should make such profit that the rate of dividend is between 6 and 10%. A very indirect effect of such reasonable profits will be on the prices charged for the goods manufactured. Even on higher dividends there is a reduction in the rate of tax. One need not shed tears because there is a steep increase in the rate of tax on bonus shares. The issue of bonus shares is at best a very questionable way of increasing the wealth of shareholders, and instances are not wanting of companies issuing such shares, and then recapitalising the company and issuing a new lot of shares to the public at a premium. All that has now happened is that the windfall has a reduced value.

One may, however, question the wisdom of levying a wealth tax on companies even more than on individuals. The wealth of a company is not the same as the wealth of a person or a family. It is an asset that has to produce goods and thereby income, and if in any year it sustains a loss, then a wealth tax is tantamount to taking away a part of its assets. It is hoped that companies will be exempted from this levy.

The major criticism of the budget thus boils down to this, that it does not attack the problem of inflation sufficiently, or even correctly, and that it suffers from a self-assurance that fiscal measures are adequate to control inflation if it should get out of hand. It is also a little in excess of immediate needs, and proceeds somewhat on the lines of the new therapy in the field of medicine, which starts with a massive dose. In spite of its being a criticism of (Continued on page 18)



Sotto Voce

On the Way to the 'Servile State'

Not all the acrobatic skill with which The Times so suavely credits India's Finance Minister can rescue the Second Plan from the impending crash. You might as well expect to see a man walk away with a five-ton road roller tucked under his arm. But glib professional patter can distract attention from pretentious failure as effectively in the case of the politician as in that of the juggler with cups and balls. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's revolutionary budget makes a tremendous clatter. But when he poses as the aloof technician who can save the Plan if people are prepared to pay the price but leaves it to others to decide whether they want the Plan or not, you know he is none too whole-hearted a believer in his own nostrums.

Benvenuto Cellini, when he found that he was short of metal while a giant statue was being cast, tossed into the furnace every scrap he could lay his hands on, from the medals he had received to the trinkets his vanity had cherished. But then he got his statue. The Union Finance Minister who sacrifices the poor man's cha and declares the possession of a sweet tooth a sin more heinous than any in the decalogue, should know that his umpteen imposts would not add up to a fraction of what would be needed to save the Plan. But the high satisfaction of turning the first sod for Socialism is no doubt sufficient for him.

You are not to question his humanity; though, as one who took the vow of *aparigraha* long ago, he cannot be expected to be too tender to the toad under the barrow. His heart can still melt selectively. He had proposed the addition to the excise duty on kerosene of a mere naya paisa per gallon mainly for the artistic satis-

faction of streamlining the levy. But this led to retail prices being put up by a whole-half anna per bottle. Thereupon he promptly gave up the enhanced duty and prettily cried *mea culpa*. As for the increased duty on newsprint he had never wanted it. It had crept into the schedule unobserved, thanks to some underling's blundering.

But, though the kerosene duty goes, the other ninety and nine new levies remain. Every one of these will lead to a disproportionate rise in the retail price of the article concerned. And if such a whale of an error as the inclusion in the tax schedule of the unintended duty on newsprint could happen at the very dawn of Socialism what may we not expect under the blinding rigour of the sun at noon? The poor man's protectors in Parliament, while applauding the Tax on Wealth, the Expenditure Tax et hoc, are wroth with the Finance Minister for piling up new burdens on Daridra Narayana. But if Socialism means that justice is to be equated with the arbitrary judgment of the men in power how can they object to the Finance Minister pouncing on any sheep that takes his fancy?

The Wealth and Expenditure taxes will matter very little financially in the immediate future. But as the years go by they will become progressively more onerous and omnivorous. You have only to look at the way the income-tax has grown. And as instruments of tyranny they will be a hundred times more draconian. The Finance Minister claimed that they will make tax-evasion more difficult. It is true that if his policies prevail very few people would be under any temptation to practise tax-evasion.

But that they had no income on which taxes could be levied would not save them from the officious attentions of the State's snoopers.

When a man has earned a living by honest labour and paid the dues that may be justly levied by the State he ought to be free to spend his earnings in any lawful manner he likes without having to render account to anybody or suffer impertinent prying into his private life. If the State should claim to have a second, a third or a hundredth bite out of his cake, how can he persuade himself that he is a free man in a free society? And if wealth is to be taxed as well as income, why should he wish to save anything at all? The tax-payer being human, will not imitate the unthinking altruism of the bee.

The collection and enforcement of these levies will bring into existence a whole new class of parasitical bureaucrats which you may be sure will go on ramifying endlessly. An almost illiterate public will be bullied and badgered intolerably. And it may be taught new vices and forced into new channels of dishonesty from a desperate desire to save what little it can from an all-grabbing totalitarianism. Even Prof. Kaldor must be appalled at the quackery which his unorthodox economics has inspired in the breast of his Indian *chela*. Exhibitionism and megalomania are no substitute for wisdom.

VIGNESWARA

Rude Health

Economic theory is having a terrific race these days to keep up with economic fact. The gap between the two is probably largest in dealing with the problem of boom and slump. The traditional economic theorist facing this subject reminds one a little of the doctor taking someone's pulse. He sits with his patient's wrist in one hand and a watch in the other, and viewing both with an expression of increasing puzzlement finally bursts out: 'Either you are dead, or my watch has stopped—and I ought to tell you that my watch has always been pretty reliable so far.'—ANDREW SMYTH, Foreign Editor of The Financial Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CHALLENGE AND COUNTER CHALLENGE

Sir,—It is rather surprising that Sri T. T. Krishnamachari should throw a challenge to Sri Nambudripad, Chief Minister, Kerala State, that he would turn a Communist if the present Kerala Government solves the problems of the State.

Is he justified in making such challenges to discourage this Government in its infant stage when it has no intentions of doing anything aggressive?

When compared to the previous Government the present Government has definitely made a very good start and it is expected that they will progress in the right direction. There is no reason why such a challenge as that of the Union Finance Minister should be thrown on them at this stage. Of course it will have very little effect on strong-minded people like Sri Nambudripad.

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In this instance the counter challenge issued by the Chief Minister of Kerala, saying that he would become a Congressman if he fails to make things right reveals the self-confidence with which he is functioning with the Cabinet.

Tambaram.

V. GOPALAN

SCOUTING PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Sir,—Those who have the welfare of the juveniles at heart will be happy to find that Rajaji has authoritatively pointed out the evil effects of smoking cigarettes. What attracted me to scouting four decades ago was neither the value of scoutcraft nor the charms of a life of backwoodsmanhood, but the ethical foundation on which the scout practices had been built up; in short, it was the scouting philosophy of life as propounded by Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout movement in his books "Scouting for Boys" and "Rovering to Success". There is a close parallel between what Rajaji calls "the Brahman rule" and the scouting code of conduct, in regard to smoking, drinking, loafing, betting. I have culled out B.P.'s views on these matters from his writings.

We have no scout laws on these questions. But B.P. wants scouts to practise his suggestions. As regards smoking, he says, "A scout does not smoke. He knows it is almost sure to make his heart feeble, spoil his eyesight and his

sense of smell. A very large number of the best sportsmen do not smoke. It would be a good thing if all the beer and spirits in England could be thrown into the sea one day, and if, on the second day, you dumped all the tobacco there too, it would be very good for everyone in England, although unhealthy for the fish." The scouts who were addicted to smoking do not smoke when they are in scout uniform and within the bounds of the scout camp.

As regards drinking, B.P. says, "Very much of the poverty and distress in this country is brought about by men getting into the habit of wasting their money and time on drink. And a great deal of crime and also of illness, and even madness, is due to the habit of drinking too much. It would be simply impossible for a man who drinks to be a scout. Keep off liquor from the very first, and make up your mind to have nothing to do with it. A good scout trains himself pretty well to do without liquor. It is very much a matter of habit."

The late Chief Scout advises boys not to loaf. "Football in itself is a grand game for developing a lad physically and also morally; but it is a vicious game when it draws crowds of lads away from playing the game themselves, to be merely onlookers of a few paid performers. Get the boys away from this — teach them to be manly, to play the game, whatever it may be, and not be merely onlookers and loafers." Rajaji's advice is: "Get relaxation and enjoyment through honest physical play and mental interests."

The racing season now tempts many people to try their luck. The founder of the Scout movement has written, "Nobody would think of playing cards for the sake of playing. It has to be for money, a nasty trait in character. No man has ever made himself rich, to my knowledge, by betting, i.e., by being the dupe of the bookies. Suicides, embezzlement, thefts and bankruptcies are the result of betting losses." His views on religion, politics, service, citizenship, will be very helpful to young men of all countries for all time to come.

It was a privilege of my life to expound the scouting code of conduct to boys and young men for a quarter of a century; and Rajaji's thought-provoking article made me recapitulate the above ideas for the benefit of the younger generation. Moreover, the scouting rule may have a wider application than the Brahmin rule.

R. SREENVASA IYENGAR
Coimbatore.

NEW MADRAS ASSEMBLY

Sir,—There is more of clash of personalities than of politics in the new Madras Assembly. How can the members afford to forget even for a moment that a large section of the population is suffering from shortage of the necessities of life? In an Assembly engaged in thrashing out questions of vital importance there is mutual recrimination. It is incontrovertible that only in an atmosphere of cordiality and healthy rivalry are reaped the fruits of the sober mind. Governments may come and go but the members should see that healthy conventions are established in our parliamentary democracy at the infant stage. If all the members, irrespective of their political ideologies, are animated by such a spirit, then we shall catch a glimpse of the true vision of democratic glory which, once seen, will not let us take our eyes off it.

D. SUNDARARAJAN

Tirupapuliyur

THE WEST BENGAL CABINET

Sir,—The inclusion of an unusually large number of Ministers in the West Bengal Cabinet is hocking, to say the least. It consists of 28 members in all — 12 Cabinet Ministers, 3 Ministers of State and 13 Deputy Ministers. It is second in strength only to the Union Cabinet, which consists of 39 members.

It cannot be said that the administrative problems of West Bengal rank second only to those of the Indian Union in complexity, necessitating the appointment of a large number of Ministers. On the contrary the peculiar posi-

tion of West Bengal requires that the Congress party should be extra-cautious in order to safeguard its position in the State. It should be remembered that the combined strength of the Opposition parties in the West Bengal Assembly is 100 in a House of 252. This represents nearly two-thirds of the Government strength. Barring Kerala and Orissa, the Opposition to the ruling party is perhaps the largest in West Bengal. An additional factor is the emergence of the Communist party as the main Opposition with 48 members — only next to Kerala in strength. Bengal is one of the 'problem States', having to deal with frequent border troubles and constant flow of refugees.

In view of these considerations the Congress High Command should have taken care so that party bickerings are ended and solidarity achieved in the State. But the appointment of a large number of Ministers clearly shows that there are quite a few disgruntled elements inside the Congress who cannot be silenced otherwise than by the offer of Ministerships.

The whole situation makes sad reading considered in the context

of the reported anxiety on the part of our Prime Minister and Sri Dhebar to take stern measures to revitalize the Congress party. If the present situation in West Bengal is any indication, what one might reasonably expect is the furthering of the process of devitalization leading before long to decay.

Cuddappah. K. T. RAMACHAR

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TAMBARAM.

SIDELIGHTS ::

I met Rajaji on Monday night and he commented about last week's Sidelights on Sri Prakasam "You have poured out your heart." He spoke of Andhra Kesari with affection, concern and admiration. A week earlier Sri Prakasam for his part had also spoken of Rajaji when I met him at hospital in Hyderabad. He was intensely curious to know how he was getting on and if he was happy. I said the quest for happiness was universal but it eluded most people—and that I myself had discovered the secret of happiness after sixty by regarding each day of further living as a day of grace, so that bondage to things and other ambitions cease to have effect and in place of acquisitiveness, gentleness and a sense of fairness to all finds a chance of getting established. A philosopher like Rajaji, I said, would have mastered the art of living more completely than less gifted persons can. He put the forefinger of his right hand on his nose to indicate appreciative astonishment. I felt that through all the conflicts and battles he had waged with Rajaji for ever so many years in the past, he had reached at that moment a sense of identity of mission, comradeship and the joy of fellow feeling. As if by telepathic comprehension these two leaders had outgrown the disturbance of earlier political involvements and found peace and contentment in mutual esteem and sympathy, and also realised that it had been there always. Their example, I felt, cannot but impel less mature leaders ordering their lives on an imagined reciprocal basis along unfriendly enthusiasms, to grasp the wisdom of experience and achieve for themselves a peaceful outlook and the improved efficiency that goes with it.

On returning home after leaving Rajaji, I was given a telephone message that Sri Prakasam had passed away. Anyone with a little enlightenment ought to know that what is inevitable should not be grieved over, but the news had

a reaction similar to a cosmic disaster filling everyone with distress. Sleep would not come till dawn and many like me should have kept awake, surveying in their wakefulness the crowded years of a whole generation that filled at once the nation's history and Sri Prakasam's life.

My first contact with him occurred when the Non-cooperation movement was gathering momentum. Sri Prakasam was then absorbed in a hectic activity which left him no rest. He was an indefatigable traveller moving incessantly from village to village. In the whole history of Non-cooperation there is perhaps none who has visited so many villages as he or knows so many villagers by name from direct personal contact. Mass contact nowadays is a formal decision taken at the headquarters of the organisation in Delhi and mathematically implemented in the States by leaders in office anxious for votes in the next election, at enormous expense and considerable dislocation of public business. It is a tortured process for getting propaganda done and securing advertisement of activity through newspapers. And the newspapers do quite a profitable business through official favour secured by lavish advertisement of the activities of leaders in office. But Sri Prakasam's tours, unlike present Ministers' tours, were done under police surveillance, in the teeth of the local bureaucrats' displeasure and hostility. They were means of rallying the people in the cause of freedom. From every tour he returned boiling with rage over the hardships of rural people, and these went into the columns of SWARAJYA charged with a dynamic purpose that took no note of consequences.

As the director of SWARAJYA Sri Prakasam originated and encouraged traditions of fearlessness in the Press that have disappeared from the newspaper world of

today. Newspaper proprietors now are full of apprehensions of what might happen to them and their property if material likely to cause offence to Ministers is admitted into their columns. On the other hand petty and vulgar repeating again and again the same stale and stereotyped platitudes by officials and Ministers finds the most lavish treatment in the newspapers.

I found it a delight to work in Sri Prakasam's newspaper SWARAJYA (where I stayed for a dozen years) because there was neither timidity nor proprietorial toadyism disfiguring its policies. He was the bravest editor that I ever came across, not excluding lion-hearted Sadanand; and imbibing day after day the atmosphere of fearless integrity that surrounded him like an aura I cultivated the habit of never allowing self-interest to influence any view or writing of mine. I lost in consequence many valuable friends when they exchanged non-official status for governmental responsibility, and on one occasion I came very near a breach with Sri Prakasam himself. But temporary displeasure on his part was followed by deeper regard than ever before, and I recollect how when I met him thereafter, he was so moved he could not even speak to me one word, but grasped my hands with both his hands and tears came out of his eyes in an unending stream. This was in the midst of a large company at a wedding and it was one of the two occasions when I saw him shedding tears.

Looking back on thirty-five years of journalism I realise that from very humble beginnings, with no more than an average intellectual equipment and an upbringing charged with timidities and inhibitions, I have been led to work of a somewhat significant kind which enables me to claim that while I have often erred and blundered I have never once let down in writing a single idea I did not at the time believe in either out of malice or to secure gain by flattering without conviction

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SWARAJYA

tion someone in authority. This to me is the greatest source of pride and satisfaction that a practitioner in journalism can hope for, and whatever I have had of it, I owe entirely to the inspiration of Sri Prakasam's example and tutoring in the heyday of

the Non-cooperation movement. SWARAJYA in his charge was the best school of journalism that this country ever had, and as an editor contributing to the stature of writers as independent characters with judgments and souls of their own, his distinction is comparable

to that of the Mahatma in the political field.

Sri Prakasam was a born leader of men in the sense that he could with his courageous bearing in the presence of danger put to flight the
(Continued on page 15)



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A VISIT TO KALADI

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

The countryside between Cochin and Kaladi was as green as Eden and looked, in the heat of the early afternoon, almost as empty. But as we approached the Sankara College, where the Sarvodaya Sammelan was being held, crowds began to appear, trudging along with the slow earnestness of pilgrims, their white garments reflecting back the sun. Outside the straw archway that led into the grounds, a number of them stopped, magnetised, as it were, by a huge coloured banner which announced that the man who sat beneath it was a practical astrologer.

We ourselves had not come to consult an astrologer but to meet the man who many people had said was the greatest saint in India today. Through the gateway the approach road was lined with little booths that were doing a brisk trade in coloured drinks, fruit, cakes, newspapers, pictures and souvenirs. Then, as the road went uphill to the plateau on which the College was built, greenness gave way to a wilderness of naked red earth. The top of the hill, someone explained, had been sliced off to make the plateau, and though we were in Kerala the colour of the soil was not to be taken as having any political significance. Bhoodan, in any case, was above politics.

A large hut was labelled Enquiries, and in front of it and around it a queue waited, hardly moving. From the pandal behind the College, where the Sammelan was in session, a voice blared through the heat to the musical accompaniment of a loudspeaker in the exhibition grounds down in the valley. The sounds, though loud enough to reach the distant hills, were indistinct. We were evidently missing something, but until we had made our enquiries we could not know what. I sat in the taxi sipping coconut water while Sarma joined the queue. After half an hour he came back to say that nobody knew anything, and that we had better go to the hostel where visitors were being

accommodated and where there might be some information.

At the hostel nobody knew anything, either. Someone offered me a piece of floor in a room that already seemed to be full, and I spread out my bedding roll and watched, through an open doorway, women washing their clothes and men washing themselves. In this fever of cleanliness the least I could do was to have a bath. Someone pointed to a row of cubicles a hundred yards away, where a group of women had formed another queue. The doors of the cubicles had been chalked in large letters FEMALE, but some wit had rubbed out the first two letters on most of the doors, and the waiting women murmured indignantly against the men who had taken advantage of the joke, or perhaps perpetrated it, and who were now splashing about inside.

"Are you the German lady?" somebody asked me, and in a minute we were playing the popular Indian game of Life Histories. By the time I got back to my piece of floor Sarma had disappeared. In his place was a young American who had, he said by way of introduction, spent the last year and a half in Bihar studying land reform. He was evidently just the person I wanted to meet.

He had, he began, the greatest admiration for Vinoba Bhave. The man was a saint, and unique. But most of his followers were motivated by self-interest. Some wanted land. Others, for various

reasons, had land that they wanted to be rid of. Most of the land in Bihar that had been given to the movement was waste, fallow, or infertile. Where good land had been given it was because it was the subject of legal dispute, and claimants found donation cheaper than litigation, especially since litigation might have resulted in the loss of the land anyway, while by giving it away the owners could at least acquire the merit that attaches to a change of heart. Of the land given since 1953, he added, still speaking of Bihar, 75 per cent had not yet been distributed, and it seemed unlikely that it would be at any time in the near future. "All the same," he added, "he is a great man, a very great man—"

As he paused I looked up to see a little man coming towards us, eager and shiny-eyed. He was a Bhoodan worker from Orissa whom I had met six months ago and who, finding that I had run out of visiting-cards, had offered to have some printed for me. He had taken my copper-plate and disappeared and not been seen since.

"You villain!" I exclaimed. "Where have you been all this time? And where is my copper-plate?"

"I'm afraid India doesn't suit you," he answered gently, allowing pity to well up into his eyes until the tears shone. Before I could retort Sarma reappeared with the news that the great man would be free to see us in a few minutes. A jeep was waiting, and we climbed in. By now it was dusk, and white, shadowy figures crowded the roads and pathways and stood at the

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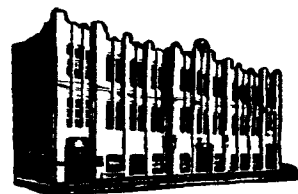
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creasing scope for Indian writers in English to make their mark in it and win worldwide renown, freedom came to us, and with that the whole atmosphere has changed. The predominance of English among the languages of India has, with the advent of freedom, diminished. Some doubt whether it will survive at all after Hindi as a national language has advanced well enough to take the place of English for inter-provincial communication. A former English Governor of Madras asked me what I thought of the future of English in India. He answered the question himself saying if English was not legally and forcibly banished within a year of freedom when the tempo against the domination of things foreign may be expected to be the highest, it would somehow go on for ever and find a new adjustment as an indigenous acquisition. This prophesy seems now likely to be fulfilled, and it is important for its bearing on Indian trends in writing.

In the history of the world, certain languages have stood out in certain ages as epitomes of the cream of contemporary culture. They symbolised learning and scholarship and through them the highest achievements in thinking and writing of the intellectual elite of the day percolated to less learned people through other languages. Latin and Greek rendered for long this service to Europe. For an even longer period, Sanskrit fulfilled the same mission on the vast sub-continent of India. Sri Aurobindo has written that Sanskrit was the language of the gods in early times, but in the twentieth century its place is taken by English, which now is the language of the gods. What he means by this expression evidently is that like Sanskrit in the heroic age of Hindu culture, English today is a source of inspiration to the contemporary world reflecting its highest achievements in knowledge, thought, discovery and intellectual comprehension of reality.

In modern India, English is thus a stimulant to writers, whatever may be the language used by them as vehicle of expression.

The linguistic reorganisation of the country has encouraged the growth of a regional outlook on somewhat exclusive lines. The operation of a national language as inter-regional cultural cement has not yet begun to take effect. The politicians have reserved this destiny for Hindi, but already there are rebellious forces rampant, demanding a different sort of disposal. Language is the experience of the race, and there are limits to the possibilities of expansion beyond their native boundaries of languages in vogue among races of limited experience. The distinctive status of Sanskrit sprang from a people of enormously vital experience easily reckoned as intellectual aristocrats in the midst of the communities they dwelt among. We have to wait and see whether official ukase in India can take the place of the forces that endowed languages with expansive power in the evolutionary processes that have shaped the world's history.

Meanwhile writers in India have a hard time. The multiplicity of linguistic zones in the country belies the impression left by the vastness of the country and the population; and this situation is further aggravated by the enormous size of the unlettered citizenry. Whether through books, journals or newspapers the proportion of the population directly accessible to writers as patrons or beneficiaries is extremely limited. This limitedness renders writing so precarious as a means of living, and its rewards so niggardly, that except as a hobby or supplementary occupation, it carries with it very little of economic attractiveness. And however mightily gifted, very few care to practise writing as a main whole-time avocation depending for their living on it. The noteworthy exceptions are those who are either publishers themselves, so that the commercial gains of publishing could be added to the returns of readers' response to writing, or regular professional employees in films and radio and journalistic enterprises like newspapers. Apart from these classes, the major share of income from writing goes in India to leaders

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who have made their mark in other professions and do not depend on writing for a living. But even these renowned great do not earn anything comparable to their compeers in other countries.

As a classic example of the economic unattractiveness of writing even at its highest and best, even when glamourised by the prestige of a celebrated personality of worldwide renown, I might mention Rajaji's *Vyasar Virundu* (in Tamil) published recently. This publication priced one rupee has, as the saying goes, broken all records. Nearly 100,000 copies of it have been sold already. But the author could have made no more than Rs. 10,000 for all his prodigious popularity and the dynamic quality of his writing. A writer of comparable accomplishments and stature, if one could be found, would have made hundred times as much in a country like Britain or the United States. The resounding record-breaking success of Rajaji's *Vyasar Virundu*, taken in conjunction with its comparatively meagre economic harvest, illustrates the bleak outlook in the country for writers who merely write and have not the advantage of illustriousness from other fields of endeavour to lend marketable puissance to their names.

Confronted with this dilemma, writers in Indian languages have been exploring new paths of alignment with mass mentality to gain profit and popularity. This has created in Indian writing, standards and trends analogous to the results of the psychology of the vote-catching in politics, and the writers concerned have exchanged leadership in ideas for the anticipated profitability of exploiting mass passions, prejudices and defects. Fortunately certain journals with a true vision of good and bad in journalism have embarked on a scheme of lavish prizes to release writers from descent to devious ways to make a living. Credit for this wise innovation belongs primarily to Ananda Vikatan which awarded recently a prize of Rs. 1,000 to the best short story writer and has announced an even bigger prize of

Rs. 10,000 for the writer of the best novel.

In writing, which is an art interconnected with politics, which has also for its aim social welfare, true impetus for everything great and good can come only from exemplars of good living who, like the forest-dwelling Hindu sages of old with inflexible codes of righteousness but also an almost divine gentleness and compassion for all creation, have learned to be impervious to corrupting temporal pressures. Words have no independent value out of relation to the contexts in which they are employed. The most significant context of all is the source from which they emanate, the writer himself. When the writer is a realised soul who, with unsparing self-discipline has grasped the reality underneath the illusions and looked at the unclouded face of truth itself, his words will pass beyond a mere pot-boiling effort and get transmuted into an abiding influence for the enrichment of culture and civilization and the heritage of posterity.

Writers of this class are the salt of the earth. Their winged words will cross all dividing barriers and reach humanity in all languages as the words of Christ and Buddha and Gandhi have reached it. These might not have written for a living but the whole secret of the art of living not excluding the means for it is comprised in what they spoke, for writing is after all written or printed speech. For all the manifold ills of the body politic, India needs writers whose writing can

grow in depth and power over long periods. As Holbrook Jackson, a fine critic, has observed, time can ripen writing of the right vintage. The test of literary excellence, however, is, not time but use. Reading is the great preservative of literature, and the best writing improves by reading because it possesses depths of experience which cannot be read dry. What cannot be read a second time is trash, and most of the lucrative printed matter in the world is of this description.—A.I.R. broadcast from Madras.

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entrances to the straw huts where most of the ten thousand disciples were to sleep. Nearly half of the ten thousand, someone had told me, were fulltime Bhoodan workers. Vinoba, my informant added, expected them to live like saddhus, but most of them did not take easily to begging for their rice. The other five thousand, it seemed, were people who had given land or hoped to be given it or, like ourselves, mere sightseers.

Rows of sightseers, mostly boys, stood with their chins resting on the topmost of the lines of rope that railed off the small pandal where the great man was receiving guests. We, too, peered inside, waiting until the Chief Minister of Madras, who was having an audience, should rise to leave.

"If you are going to Madras," someone suggested, "perhaps you would like to meet him?"

"No, thank you. I don't hunt lions."

"Then what," a voice asked, "are you hunting here?"

"Ideas," I answered. Before I could say more the people inside the pandal rose, and a bevy of women came out and surrounded me. They were very sorry, they said, that Vinobaji had to keep an appointment, but if I liked I might come inside and greet him and walk with him a little way.

It was better than nothing. I stepped inside and we were introduced. The face that looked into mine was like the photographs, pale, ascetic, withdrawn, the eyes apparently focussed on some inward vision. But the photographs, I noticed, had failed to show how the beard was pushed inwards towards the neck in a way that could not quite conceal the sharp, out-thrust line of the chin.

"Come," he said, and put a hand on my shoulder. The gesture seemed to place me among the women disciples who once more surrounded me as we began to move. I wanted to ask questions, but this plainly was not the moment. Besides, the air of con-

scious saintliness in the man beside me seemed to demand the reverence of silence rather than the politeness of the small talk with which an acquaintanceship is usually begun. Then, as we stepped into the open, the crowd surged forward and we were separated.

"Let's get away from here," Sarma murmured, "and try again tomorrow."

"But how?" I asked. Our taxi had returned to Cochin, and there would be no more buses that night. However, the driver of the jeep was willing to drive us to the house of Sarma's family, four miles away, if the office would give him permission to make the journey. So I sat in the jeep while Sarma and the driver went off in different directions to get the necessary authority. After an hour Sarma came back. "It's worse," he said, "than the civil service. Everyone sends me to somebody else, and I can't find

anyone to say either yes or no. Are you hungry?"

"Thirsty," I answered. It was eight hours since either of us had eaten or drunk.

"There'll be a good dinner when we get home."

"And when will that be?"

"I don't know. I'll try again."

Another hour passed. I dozed and woke to hear Sarma muttering: "This is horrible!"

"What is horrible?"

"They were waiting to be bribed, and I didn't realize it. I've given a man five rupees, so now we can go."

But the driver, it seemed, had to have his supper first. It was half-past nine and he was still having it when the light of a friendly taxi caught us and in a moment we were inside it, our bribe wasted.

We had, we decided, had enough. But over coffee next morning we reminded each other that we must do our duty regardless of results, and back we went. The vast pandal was more than half empty, and only those squatting near the dais could hear what was being said. But the exhibition grounds were crowded, and the stalls selling coloured drinks were doing brisker business than ever. We climbed to the hill-top and this time, to my great astonishment, the women disciples treated me as if I were one of them, and led me inside. Vinoba was alone, and I sat down in front of him and asked the questions that I had come to ask.

"Yes," he said, "I understand what you want to know."

Silence followed. It prolonged itself, and as minute succeeded minute I saw several of the women who had been staring at me begin to smile encouragingly, in a way that suggested that I was really doing quite well in an examination which they themselves had already passed. Then at last Vinoba spoke: "Come to the session this afternoon," he said, "and you will hear what you want to hear."

But his speech in the afternoon was in Hindi, and the words of my neighbour, who was trying to translate, were drowned by bursts of thunder and the patter of rain that pouring through the matting

TAPESTRY OF LIFE: WRITING FOR A LIVING

By KHASA SUBBA RAU

An American journalist who visited me yesterday (15th May) said that a monthly journal in his country to which he occasionally contributed paid 250 dollars for an article. This was not, he said, a very high rate of payment. He mentioned another journal, a weekly, which pays 1,200 dollars for an article of 2,500 words. These rates are totally beyond the reach of writers in India contributing to Indian journals. Here writing is not a well-paid profession. The rates of payment are wretchedly low, and journals capable of making any payment at all are few. Free lance writing is practically non-existent in this country as a respectable profession engaging any considerable body of practitioners. There are not more than half a dozen men earning a decent living by means of free lance writing in all the country.

The prosperity of writers depends on the availability of readers on a large scale. No writing is complete until it has

roof, drenched the audience until not only their feet, but most of their clothes, were tinged with the red soil of Kerala. As we rose to leave the little man from Orissa popped up out of nowhere. "Wasn't it magnificent?" he asked, his shiny eyes shinier than ever.

"It may have been. I couldn't understand it."

"You don't have to understand. You only have to feel. Understanding will come later."

"You mean when I read the newspapers tomorrow?"

He grinned, forgiving me for having reminded him about the copper plate. "How," he asked, gazing up into the glowering sky, "can you hope to understand anything until you have absorbed something of the spirit of our movement? Go away and think about it."

I did. But I am still no wiser.

found a reader. This is because writers write not only to be read. The reader completes the circle of expression by transmuting the art of writing into life again.

The fact that large incomes are made by writers in America is due to the existence there of a large population interested in writing. We have a large population all right. But it is not interested in writing for the reason that the vast bulk of them are illiterate. Literacy alone is not however enough. To literacy must be joined a fair measure of general prosperity enabling people to go in for the purchase of books, newspapers and periodicals with avidity and ease, as for necessities they cannot do without, like food and clothing.

The most favourable conditions for writers obtain in countries with large populations blessed by economies providing widely distributed plenty. Writers flourish in environments where universal literacy is found side by side with a high purchasing power spread over vast multitudes. The most notable of such environments in the world today is the United States. Wealth and universal education have combined to develop in the United States a powerful Press and an enormous book trade which have become an unlimited reservoir of opportunities for feeding writing talent.

It is a remarkable fact that imperialism has given a great fillip to writers by expanding the area of their utility. This is illustrated by the vast scope now enjoyed by writers in English. The British empire introduced the English language in many countries outside Britain, with the result that the limitation of having to work within restricted national boundaries does not exist for writers in English. They draw their toll from wherever English is spoken, which is practically half the world.

Just as India was about to be drawn into the orbit of the English-speaking world, with in-

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- TRIVANDRUM** — For its famous art gallery, museum and zoo.

CHIEF COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT.

INDIA'S LARGEST LIBRARY

By CHARLES NEWTON

India's National Library is of comparatively recent origin. In 1835, some prominent citizens of Calcutta met under the presidency of Sir John Grant, a judge of the old Supreme Court, and decided to set up a public library. Many Indians and Europeans who helped to found the Hindu College, now known as the Presidency College, were associated with this project. Two Bengalees, Mr. Rasomony Dutta and Mr. Rasik Krishna Mitra, were members of the executive committee, and Prince Dwarkanath Tagore became a 'proprietor' by paying Rs. 500. Anyone who paid Rs. 300 was called a 'proprietor', among the first 'proprietors' being Lord Macaulay and Lord Metcalfe.

On the 8th March, 1836, the Calcutta Public Library, the first of its kind, was opened at the house of Dr. F. B. Strong, at 13, Esplanade Row. It began with a nucleus of 4,750 books loaned to it from the Fort William College by the Government. Mr. Peary Chand Mitra, author of the first authentic Bengalee novel, was appointed Assistant Librarian. Later, he was Librarian and Secretary till 1866, and honorary Curator and Secretary till 1872. He was a member of the Library Council, and was associated with the library till his death in 1883.

In 1841, the Library was transferred to the first floor of the old Writers' Buildings in Fort William, where the General Post Office, and the eastern headquarters now stand. But it did not remain there long, as it was transferred again in 1844 to the first floor of the newly-built Metcalfe Hall, and remained there till 1923, 20 years after its incorporation in the Imperial Library. For over 60 years, Metcalfe Hall attracted famous scholars, who included Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Curiously, although India was a late entrant into the field of libraries, the Calcutta Public Library became the first public lending library long before lending libraries were instituted in England.

Indians grew in influence in the Library, and Maharaja Narendra Krishna Deb of Sovabazar became President of the Library Council. But by 1886, repairs to Metcalfe Hall made serious inroads into the funds of the Library, and in 1890 virtual bankruptcy compelled the Council to transfer it to the Municipal Corporation. Change in ownership, however, made little difference, because at the end of the century, the Library was still desperately short of money.

Meanwhile, in 1891, the libraries of the Home Department, Fort William College, and the East India Board in London were fused, and formed the Secretariat Imperial Library. In 1899, Lord Curzon came to Calcutta as Viceroy of India, and he decided to merge the Calcutta Public Library in the Secretariat Imperial Library, and to establish a library similar to the British Museum. The Imperial Library (Indentures Validation) Act was passed in 1902, and Lord Curzon appointed Mr. John Macfarland, of the British Museum, as the first Librarian of the Imperial Library, which opened to the public on the 30th January, 1903.

In 1912, India's capital was transferred to Delhi, and the spacious buildings of the Imperial Secretariat in the Esplanade were chosen as the new home of the Imperial Library in November, 1923. Shortly after this transfer, the Richey Committee was appointed in 1926, but its suggestion that the Library should be converted into a copyright one could not be put into practice.

During World War II, the Library was transferred to a House, and, in 1948, was in the process of being installed in its former premises in the Esplanade when the Government of India allotted Belvedere, in Alipore, as its permanent home. At the end of 1948, the transfer of books to Belvedere began, and the library was rechristened the National Library. It was formally opened to the public by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Minister for

Education, on 1st February, 1953.

Belvedere, a large, handsome, two-storeyed mansion stands majestically amid large, green lawns. Its early history is shrouded in mystery, but it is believed to have been built in 1700 by Prince Azim-us-Shan, Governor of Bengal and Bihar and grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, who visited Calcutta in 1769, described Belvedere as 'the country seat' of Mr. Verelst, Governor of Bengal. Later, it was bought by Warren Hastings, who is said to have held lavish receptions there. In 1778, Hastings leased the building to Major Tolly, an engineer in the service of the East India Company. Tolly bought the house in 1780, and on the 17th August of that year, Philip Francis was taken to it for attention after being wounded by Warren Hastings in a duel. After Tolly's death in 1784, his widow auctioned Belvedere in 1802. Thereafter, its ownership changed a number of times. In 1823 it became the home of Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1822 to 1825. Mr. Sambhu Chandra Mukerjee bought the house in 1827, but sold it after only a few years to Mr. Charles Prinsep and Mr. James Prinsep, a well-known advocate of the Supreme Court, who was Advocate-General of Bengal from 1846 to 1849, and again from 1852 to 1856. In 1847, Belvedere was sold to Mr. James Mackillo, but was bought back, a few months later, by the Prinsep family. In 1854, it was bought by the East India Company to serve as the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and Sir James Halliday was the first holder of this office to live in Belvedere. After the transfer of India's capital to Delhi in 1912, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal made what is now Raj Bhavan his official residence, and Belvedere was retained to serve as a residence of the Viceroy of India whenever he came to Calcutta. But, by that time, the extensive, wooded grounds had shrunk considerably, though the building had been reconditioned and enlarged by successive Lieutenant-Governors.

Thus, it is most appropriate that India's National Library, with its thousands of books on the country's glorious past, should be housed in a building with an equally colourful past.

India's largest library, and one of the greatest in the world, the National Library has about 800,000 books, 2,000 manuscripts, and 700 periodicals and serials. It comprises Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's library of 80,000 books on literature, history, philosophy, economics, mathematics, physics, anthropology, law, and art, presented to it by Sir Asutosh's sons in 1949; the Chinese collection of 18,000 books on ancient classics, literature, history, and art, some of which were presented by the Government of China, and some were bought with the help of Dr. K. M. Panikkar, when he was India's Ambassador to China; the Harinath De collection, the Harinath De collection, Jabgkumsum building, Jabgkumsum presented by Mr. Harinath De, a former Librarian of the Imperial Library, the Harinath De collection, containing 4,295 official documents, presented when the Residency was closed; the Ramdas Sen collection of about 3,500 books belonging to Mr. Ramdas Sen, well-known Oriental scholar of Murshidabad; and the Rewa manuscripts, some of which are over 300 years old, presented by Sri Tripura Sankar Banerji, of Uprati, Rewa. Some of the books belonging to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's collection were specially bound in Europe for him, and are the only copies in India. Between 1949 and 1951, the Library received over 100,000 books as gifts from the public.

Specialities of the Library are books on Indian history and culture, official publications of the Government of India and of State Governments, documents of the U.S. Government, British Parliamentary papers, publications of the League of Nations and of the United Nations, and valuable, old newspapers and periodicals. The Library possesses the only volume in India of the first newspaper published in this country, Hicky's Bengal Gazette, whose first issue appeared on 20th January, 1780. Since 1903, the Government of

Bengal has been sending one copy of every publication received by the Registrar of Publications under the Press and Registration Act of 1887. Despite this measure, the Library has only 24,000 Bengalee books, a figure which the India Office Library in London had 20 years ago. Similarly, the National Library had only 129 books in Tamil in 1952, whereas the India Office Library had over 15,000 in that category in 1935.

A panel of advisers helps the Librarian to select books, and, sometimes, experts are consulted. Indian diplomatic representatives in foreign countries assist in obtaining books published in their territories, and the Library's printed catalogues are useful in establishing exchange relations with institutions in India and abroad. A bibliography of basic publications on every aspect of India's culture is being compiled.

Hundreds of books and manuscripts are received daily in the Accession Section, from all parts of the world, and after a strict check, they are catalogued by the Catalogue Section. During the past seven years, about 200,000 books have been added to the library.

What was formerly the Viceroy's Hall and Banqueting Room is now the main reading room, with a central table that is 110 feet long. On the flanks are alcoves for research scholars. Each alcove bears the name of the greatest figure in his department of learning.

The ground floor of Belvedere is used as a stackroom, where modern, rolling stacks are kept in rows. A valuable carpet, which belonged to the Viceroy's household formerly, is spread in the Periodical Room, where the Asutosh law books are kept. The main Card Cabinet Room is India's most modern, and is designed for rapid movement of books.

The Chinese manuscripts are kept in boxes on rolling-stacks, which are the first of their kind in India. Rare books are kept in an airconditioned chamber.

Rooms are to be built close to the main building for accommodating research scholars from outside Bengal, and will be rented

for short periods for a nominal fee.

Any Indian, over the age of 18, can be a member of the Library free of cost. Books are lent to people in any part of India, provided that they pay a deposit. If a required book is not in the Library, effort is made to obtain it from another Library, and sometimes, books are borrowed from the National Central Library, in London, when they cannot be obtained in India.

The Reading Room is open from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. every day, and the Reading Room at the old premises on the Esplanade is still retained for casual readers. About 115,000 people read in the Library in 1954-55.

In 1954-55, the Library's total expenditure was Rs. 6.01 lakhs, of which Rs. 1.1 lakhs was spent on new books.

Compared to the world's great libraries, the National Library is still an infant. But as Rabindranath Tagore says, it is not the size of a library that counts, but its utility. India's National Library, as one of the youngest of the great libraries, is certainly performing a colossal task in garnering the world's knowledge with much rapidity.

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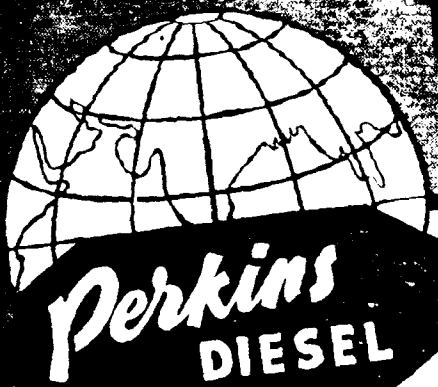
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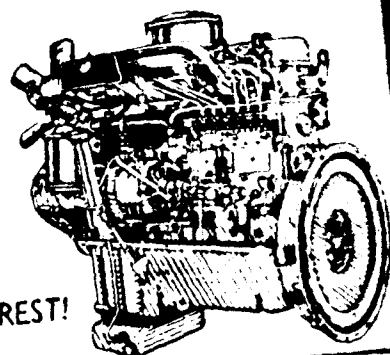
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15 Naye Paise

HELL NOW, PARADISE LATER

Sri T. T. Krishnamachari's budget proposals have found in the non-official world of India practically no support. The solitary exception is Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker who has called upon his followers to save money from cinema shows and pay the taxes demanded. We do not know whether the support of this hate-charged veteran will be welcomed by the Government or embarrass them with the burdensome feeling of an unwanted liability having been unexpectedly thrust on them.

The main charge against the budget is that it imposes such a heavy strain on the people that it leaves them very little to enjoy afterwards. The official case is that the Plan has to go on. This has been repeated so often, so loudly and from so many angles of publicity that a sort of hypnotic effect has been produced by all the propaganda. A situation has been reached when nobody dares to question the Plan itself as possibly the cause of the barren outcome of freedom in these ten years of Congress rule. It has been the great distinction of Rajaji for the first time to challenge the idea of the Plan itself and demand a careful looking into it with common-sense and not in the obsessed sort of way devoid of mental freedom in which it has become customary to take it for granted and admit and advertise its desirability. His speech at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall last Wednesday was acclaimed by all who heard it as a masterpiece the like of which they had not

heard in the annals of public discussion on Congress policies. It was packed with tense moments when the listeners were drawn into a consciousness of the majesty of the mission the speaker had taken on himself, the lone mission of seeking out the conscience of the nation and giving voice to it, even as Socrates did of old, in defiance of the power and might and publicity prowess of a corruption-laden regime that had lost the salutary grace of introspection. Many who had the privilege of listening to him that day freely express the view that a great change in official outlook was bound to take place if his words could reach the leaders in authority and it might even convert the Finance Minister and make him less cock-

of the wisdom of his imposts. It is in the spirit of echoing the public faith in the survival of governmental responsiveness to the power of logic and intelligence and disinterested advice that we have published Rajaji's speech in full, departing from our tradition of brevity and conciseness.

In this speech Rajaji made the bold charge that the Plan is really the great mischief-maker, that it has given a monolithic structure to all our public affairs and that our public affairs are imprisoned within the four walls of the Plan. The assumed sacrosanctness of the Plan has diverted attention from the administrative atrocities of its priests so that under cover of a spurious sanctity they have almost bamboozled the public into believing that expenditure is the equivalent of progress. Actually there is no equation between the two except in regimes characterised by honesty, economy, efficiency and scrupulous avoidance of waste, all attributes blazoned as conspicuously discounted in disclosures that have repeatedly come to light in public investigations of post-freedom administrative records.

In any wise estimate of the national value of the Plan account has to be taken of the leakages draining away substance into cesspools of corruption without any sustained constructive fruitfulness out of its reservoir of collected resources. While the magnificence of our gubernatorial

T. T. K's Taxation Proposals

Rajaji's Warning

We publish in this issue of SWARAJYA the full text of Rajaji's speech in Madras (May 22) on the Union Finance Minister's budget proposals as we feel that a careful reading of it by legislators, Cabinet Ministers and the Prime Minister himself must impel in them a rethinking in time on the important issues involved if the public interest and not merely their own nostrums has any significance for them.—Ed.S.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CAMPAIGN OF HATRED

Sir,—The D.K.'s "erasure" campaign has blown up all illusions about the party in power. An anti-national lawless group infringing the rights of individuals with the Government standing by as silent spectator without taking any effective steps is indeed unprecedented. It is still more strange to see the Congress leaders waxing eloquent on the Pakistani campaign of hatred while a group in our own midst carries on a relentless and shameless campaign of hatred against another group.

At the height of all this comes Sri C. Subramaniam's policy statement regarding the campaign which takes away one's breath. He not only lends constitutional propriety for the campaign but sets forth a dangerous policy. One

is inclined to ask if a group is entitled, as he says, to popularise its views on the caste system disregarding another's liberty and property rights with the government as a looker-on, whether a robber can in like manner proclaim his views on private property with impunity?

S. NARAYAN.

REPREHENSIBLE

Sir,—On going through the English Text-Book for S.S.L.C. and Matric examinations of the Andhra and Sri Venkateswara Universities, for March, 1957, one finds that the book was printed with reckless abandon and rank inefficiency. There are a number of grave spelling mistakes due to sheer carelessness and lack of scrutiny on the part of the authorities concerned. For example, on page 5 'irradiate' was printed as 'airrdiate', on page 64 'past' was printed as 'post', on page 87 'whistled' was printed as 'whisted', on page 159 'curing' was printed as 'uring', etc. Apart from this, the arrangement of pages is deplorable. Page 29 follows page 30. Page 28 is followed by page 31. The order of pages runs thus: 26, 27, 30, 29, 28 and 31.

This sort of carelessness and inefficiency in the printing of textbooks is reprehensible and it only confounds the already confused student. It is high time that the Registrar of the Andhra University and the publishers and printers of University text-books are asked to pay proper attention to their tasks.

Hyderabad

S. KRISHNA.

'DISTURBANCE FROM DELHI

Sir,—Permit me to enter my emphatic protest against the way Delhi intrudes upon the classical musical concerts of the All India Radio.

For those in the extreme south, Trichinopoly is the only station which can be listened to with the least amount of disturbance.

Classical music of a high order has become taboo to this station for reasons best known to the authorities. Compositions of the Musical Trinity which used to have pride of place in concerts in Tamil Nad are practically banned to give place to compositions of dubious value. The only programmes worth listening to, by the discerning few, perhaps a minority, are the concerts which, alas, are interrupted invariably by the Delhi demigods at 8-30 p.m. to give, say, a lecture on cattle welfare in the second Five-Year Plan. I am not against important programmes being relayed on topics of national interest, but the disturbance from Delhi at the most satisfying part of a concert has become an infliction. No doubt the concerts are continued in Madras A, but the reception is poor. The minorities need protection in a democracy.

Madurai

S. PADMANABHAN.

A STRANGE EXPLANATION

Sir,—While one welcomes the Government's withdrawal of the fresh imposts on kerosene and newsprint one cannot but express surprise at the strange explanation given by the Union Finance Minister to the Congress Parliamentary Party that "he had never intended to raise the duty on newsprint and it was a slip to have included it in the Finance Bill".

One can understand a "slip" or error in any other part of the Budget speech but not in the proposals section, every line and word of which should have received the sharpest attention of the Finance Minister.

Also, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is bidding fair to wrest from Mr. Dulles his claim to be the most naive member of the Cabinet of a country. We have all had occasion to read with a smile his various retractions from speeches made during his election tour of Tamil Nad. But his latest beats them all. The reference is to his statement that as Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is not a friend of his, he will not reply to his (Rajaji's) comments on the Budget. If a politician is going to reply only to

May 25, 1957

his friends, then he has no place in a parliamentary democracy. He should forthwith proceed to join the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. But even there (so Tass informs us) Deputies, in this post-Stalin era, sometimes criticise the Executive's statements.

N. RAMACHANDRAN.

Sidelights

(Continued from page 5)

fears of people cowed down by it. This was not only a physical quality in him but also a moral attribute. Public distrust of leaders is the natural consequence when they seek to impose on followers stringent standards of conduct from which they themselves remain exempted in practice. The unparalleled hold of the Mahatma on India's millions is due more than any other factor, to the fact that he never sought to impose on anyone the stress of any virtue from which he endeavoured to find means of escape in his own case. He built the Congress into power on this peculiarity of his character. His successors in the wielding of the power of the Congress have reversed this salutary principle of building confidence and prestige. We now have architects of Socialism exercising governmental authority who are bent on eliminating private property after building ramparts of prosperity round themselves from gigantic trading and other estates!

Sri Prakasam was unlike most of the present Congress leaders in his incapacity to contrive protection for himself from the hazards to which others were called in the pursuit of high-sounding objectives. He was a whole-hogger in everything he did and his sacrifice was equal to this. He was not afraid of no man and no risk. Undaunted he could face any reverse or adverse situation with calm imperturbability. His courage also embraced capacity to stand alone sticking to his guns against a whole world not only of politicians but also, what is more

difficult, of derision. He was so fortified in his sense of the rightness of everything he did that he was impervious to ridicule. The thought of what others would think of a thing never deflected him from it once he made up his mind that it should be done.

With him as with the gods, to think was to act. He was a great believer in barter and stuck to it obdurately for long unmindful of the hilarious disparagement of facetious critics. His convictions never were theoretical and invariably got precipitated into action. In the SWARAJYA days he told us: "People want your paper. But they have no money. They have plenty of rice however. Why not take their rice instead of money as subscription as anyhow you have to spend a part of the money you earn for buying rice." For some time at one stage when cash became scarce, the staff were paid in rice collected as subscription from those who preferred to have it that way.

To have lived with Prakasam in the stormy days of Gandhian politics is a privilege for ever, and those who have had it are ennobled by it and feel somehow different on account of it. They cannot in after-life lose fortitude, however depressing the environment. Millions in the country today bless him for this inoculation of manliness into their bones, for his life was an open book lived in public and in broad daylight with no screens and no privacies, and none was excluded

from its invigorating teaching, influence and inspiration.

SARA

T. T. K's Taxation Proposals

(Continued from page 2)

political policy, rather than of the budget, one is also forced to say that a realistic staggering of the five-year plan should be undertaken, not, as the Finance Minister seems to think, when it becomes inevitable, and is forced on him, but now, as part of deliberate policy, especially in the non-remunerative fields. No one likes slums, or maternity deaths, or mud roads. But a concrete road plus inflation is not to be preferred to a possibly slower rise of income. The tendency to extract contemporary sacrifice as necessary for nation-building can be easily perpetuated, for we are far behind the advanced countries of the world, and this receding horizon makes of developmental policy an ever-continuing promise of future benefits.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

The social and political background of Sri T. T. Krishnamachari does not fit him for balanced development as an apostle of Socialism. Wealth is not of course a disqualification for any altruistic endeavour. But pretence of poverty by persons fortified by careful planning against any kind of material want does not inspire trust, especially in the poor who are not in the least attracted by it, but are, on the other hand, repelled. Recently the Union Finance Minister observed to Pandit Nehru at the Madras airport apropos of nothing that he was the poorest man in the country! What he meant by it, if he meant anything at all, can be known only to himself. But to anyone interested in the psychological examination of odd phenomena, it must convey the impression of a man ill at ease in the setting of make-believe in which he finds himself. The saints do not bother about proclaiming their saintliness to the world. But those who, without deserving it, have acquired reputation for holiness, rarely miss a chance of exhibiting evidences of their spiritual greatness in public. The guilt complex is nothing but never-ending engrossment in creative invention to emphasise the existence of non-existing things and the non-existence of existing things.

As Commerce and Industries Minister, Sri Krishnamachari was in a class by himself. There, responsibility for organising the Socialist pattern did not devolve on him. His was a limited assignment of applying State direction and resources for expansion of the scope and utility of industrial and commercial effort. His earlier upbringing as a salesman put him at once in tune with the essentials of meritorious achievement in the new office. He knew the ropes. He could not be deceived by casuistical misrepresentations. He cut through red tape. He introduced expedition and business efficiency in a department where drift and confusion had reigned

supreme. It was a case of the right man in the right place, and as his energy, alertness, congeniality, and painstaking industry and thoroughness began to manifest themselves, there was scarcely an industrialist or businessman who did not bless Sri Krishnamachari for the discipline, the drive, dynamism and promptness of disposal that he had managed miraculously to implant in the routine-bound tradition and usages of the Government of India so far as his own portfolio was concerned.

Unfortunately for Sri Krishnamachari, his political ambitions outran his administrative competence, and in Pandit Nehru he found an indulgent leader with no intuitive insight into the balance of qualities in persons that determines their fitness or unfitness for particular responsibilities. The Mahatma was great in this sort of insight and it enabled him to pick with unerring skill suitable lieutenants to carry on in good time the historical tradition of his unique mission. In one specific function of leadership, the discovery of appropriate human instruments for fulfilment of nation-

nal tasks, the Prime Minister must be regretfully set down a failure even by the most warm-hearted of his adoring admirers. At every crisis, with uncanny consistency, he has rejected a superior colleague, preferring the inferior, and he has put upon his favourites administrative functions for which they are wholly inadequate and unsuited, even to an extent involving the whole nation sometimes in insecurity. The selection of Sri Krishna Menon as Defence Minister and of T.T.K. as Finance Minister are monumental examples of the Prime Minister's imperviousness to the psychological factors involved in efficient public administration and the ensuring of national safety.

Report has it that boyhood friends of Sri Krishna Menon used to call him the Indian Stalin. His pro-Russian sympathies are now universally recognised. As in most Asian countries, defence and foreign affairs revolve in India too on a nice balancing of opposites as reflected in the hostilities of the East-West blocs, and from this standpoint, Sri Krishna Menon must be reckoned the least promising head of military forces of any politician in India. Likewise, Sri Krishnamachari cannot



be matched for unsuitability as the socio-cum-political arbiter of India's Socialist economy.

As a technical adviser in matters connected with commerce and industry, a sphere in which his roots go deep, T.T.K. commands respect. But as a Socialist planner dictating the political principles on which our economy should be run, he arouses only resentment because he has no standing as a political leader. When he prescribes standards of sacrifice for promoting the national good, or puts himself forward as a champion of the poor, his utterances are received with derision and render the Government of India the laughing stock of the public, in particular that section of it on whose back the Congress rose to power, including as it does in its ranks thousands of patriots who know the meaning of sacrifice through experience far better than they can ever be taught by the theoretical precepts of the Finance Minister. Dr. John Mathai and Deshmukh were formidable in their posts as they confined themselves to technical advice without aspiring for political prominence. But T.T.K. has charged himself with a problem they had not, that of combining political mastery with economic administration, and to that end, proving his credentials as a Socialist. Hence his extremist economic sadism and the oppressiveness of his nostrums against his kind and against all, however deeply immersed in privation, who have some kind of tangible cash or property to be mulcted of. Already the Finance Minister has proved to be the worst of the Government's liabilities, destroying public co-operation for the Plan by provoking against his taxation proposals the greatest degree of resistance to any scheme or project that the country has witnessed in all these ten years of freedom. It is more likely he will pull the Government down before the Prime Minister can steady the administration from the consequences of the erratic weight of his personality.

Limited Objectives

A Delhi friend, impatient at India's rate of progress, thinks that a spirit of helplessness pervades many of his countrymen.

So much must be done on hundred fronts, he says, and so few are available to do it, that even able men become dispirited.

This, if a true analysis of Indian attitude, is also a true picture of the individual. Tomorrow's difficulties look too big: we stall and fumble today.

I think of two bits of advice in such situations, one from a business man in the States. He often put truth in homely clothes.

"It's like eating a meal", he once told me when multiplicities bogged me down. "You can't eat everything at once. Start with the soup, then go on to the meat and potatoes".

The advice of Robert Moses, a public administrator in New York, perhaps is pertinent also. Moses gets things done—he builds boulevards and park systems, clears slums, throws bridges across rivers, and is chairman of the New York State Power Authority.

"If I have a formula", he is quoted in a recent article, "it is simply this: I believe in limited objectives. Most projects never get off the ground because they are too grandiose. It is better to start with one little park, and make it good, than to have a great park system on paper. Do what you can when you can. Timing is everything in public works".

The theory of limited objectives might be useful to India, in a hurry though she is. A nation can't do everything at once, and

may become discouraged if she tries. But India, and any nation, can sow one field, build one bridge, clear one slum, dig one canal at a time.

JOHN E. FRAZER.

Journalist Cannot Abdicate

The basic commitment of journalism remains the same as always. It is to report honestly, to comment fearlessly, and to hold fast to independence. It is upon the individual journalist that the ultimate responsibility rests. He is the legatee of a great tradition. He cannot abdicate — FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

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establishments continues to be far more impressive than that of the seats of office in the prosperous West like the White House or Downing Street or Buckingham Palace it can only be a sadist's conscience that can stay unruffled over the further impoverishment of the comforts of the poor with extra doses of heavy taxation on their life's necessities with the pretext of enhancing the standard of living of the down-trodden. India is a land seething with expensive survivals from the pompous, profligate court atmosphere of the departed British rulers, and while these are cherished and nursed and further expanded, all talk of Socialism is reduced to a devious device to put other parties out and give a glorious name to crude innovations of economic oppression. Pandit Nehru is fast becoming a *mula virat* for installing in the sacred shrine of bureaucracy high priests from other profitable pastures with no roots in traditional Congress service or in the nation's fight for freedom, of which the Union Finance Minister is the outstanding example.

Pandit Nehru should first realise that the future of India cannot be contracted into one or two or three or a hundred Five-Year Plans. The nation is suffering from the oppression of ambitious politicians who, claiming to create a paradise for coming generations, have already succeeded in producing a hell for the present. How can love of humanity or one's own countrymen be more intense when there is a gap of time in between, than when they are there in flesh and blood ready on the spot? We have borrowed the Communist system of Five-Year Plans with little prospect of ever making like progress, for the simple reason that the real secret of impressive Communist advancement in industrial matters is *forced labour*, whereas the diminishing discipline of labour aided by State laws is the weakest spot of our Five-Year Plans in India.

It is difficult to count the number of times when the Prime Minister enlarged on the need of public cooperation for the effec-

BRAVE AND GOOD PRAKASAM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

If the love of one's people could make up for personal misery, Prakasam had more than enough compensation for all his private sufferings. Every one knows what sort of difficult life Prakasam had to go through until death. His saintly wife left him long ago with two sons who did not make his life happy. But he bore it all like the brave and good man he was. I refer to this now for my mind goes back to the day when the glad news was brought to me by S. Ramanathan that Prakasam was giving up his very large and lucrative practice at the bar to join us in Non-cooperation, boycotting courts, councils and colleges. This was in 1920. I could hardly believe it. But it was true. He was with me as a stalwart supporter in all the battles we had to fight for maintaining the boycott when Gandhiji was in prison. These were not easy battles because the other side was led by powerful men like C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and S. Srinivasa Ayyangar. We had Vallabhai Patel with us and a majority of Congressmen. But soon the drift began and Congressmen on the whole were inclined to a compromise with those whose mind was set on entering the legislatures such as they were. Later, Motilal Nehru, disillusioned and sick, after a gallant fight of many years told me a few days before his death that there was no hope in that line and the legislatures must be given up. But this is

irrelevant now. They were all various phases of a gallant struggle which finally ended in victory as all the world knows. We went through many imprisonments. Prakasam joined me when we took over the government of Madras in 1937. He most magnanimously asked me to take up the Premiership and worked as my colleague. Soon I found that his ideas of government and administration were not exactly mine, and we developed differences which however did not interfere with our friendship or cooperation until the war came and we resigned. He did not agree with me as to the solution of the deadlock by agreeing to Partition. In this he commanded a wider support than did my proposal for a compromise with the Muslims. I saw that the British would remain for ever in control unless we yielded to the demand for some kind of partition and I continued to press for it till Gandhiji and Vallabhai Patel finally agreed also.

Prakasam had a combination of qualities that made for leadership and this was clear throughout his long and chequered career. His people treated him nobly through good days and bad and there is not a home today in Andhra that does not mourn for the disappearance of this great man.

Andhra has a great future and may God bless her with sound leadership for the constructive days before her.

tiveness of the Plan. If it is not clear to him that the atmosphere of public cooperation is already completely destroyed so far as the Plan is concerned, by T.T.K.'s taxation proposals, it is to be feared that he will fail to realise in time that today there is no support at all in all the country for the Plan except the modern

counterpart of the British bayonet before India attained freedom.

Human Nature

There is nothing more endearing than to catch a great man in the middle of a huge mistake. — Alan Pryce-Jones to Hilaire Belloc in a B.B.C. talk.



Sotto Voce

Starving on Superlatives

Dr. Punjab Rao Deshmukh told the Rajya Sabha the other day that the increase in the food production in the country was "spectacular, unheard of and unimaginable". He was prepared to concede that there was some slight rise in the price of foodgrains, and that there had been some fall in production this year. But it wouldn't do to take a short view of things. Had we not, after all, done in the last three years something we had almost never done before? Should we be frightened by temporary fluctuations? And if prices have gone up a bit, surely it is the croakers who are responsible for breeding the alarmist psychology among the masses and inducing people to hoard.

His senior colleague the Food Minister has promptly supplied the unfailing antidote—a committee of enquiry into the causes of the rise in prices. And the High Command has decided that schemes for increasing food production should be given top priority. The reader will no doubt draw such comfort as he can from the recollection of Mr. Nehru's heroic slogan "No food imports from next year" and the tragicomic aftermath. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has meanwhile reminded the world that his Commission had asked the State Governments last year to strain every nerve to increase food production by 40 per cent in the Plan period. He charitably refrained from putting the blame on them in so many words for failing to face this challenge boldly; but it was a fact that the faineants had aspired to no higher target than 28 per cent.

Nevertheless Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari who knows that his Plan is perfect on paper, is serenely

confident that the Plan target and even more can be achieved if the N.E.S. and the Co-operatives play their part; though he would not have you forget that land reform is an integral part of the revolution he and his fellow-Commissioners pilot so resolutely from their board room. A lesser man might be dashed by the verdict of the Programme Evaluation Board on the working of the N.E.S. and Community Projects. That body finds all the classic symptoms of demoralisation by the dole. The people in these areas, it says, expect to have everything done for them by the Government. It finds that even the long purse of the Socialistic State bleeding the tax-payer white is not long enough to rouse in them a flicker of enthusiasm.

But you cannot expect Mr. Krishnamachari to be so easily deflected from following his vision when the Prime Minister, the sun in whose orbit the lesser stars swing so obediently, is even more magnificently in thrall to another idea—or shall we say, will of the wisp? At least three different official enquiries, two on the working of agricultural co-ops in China, and one on their performance in this country—have produced enough evidence to throw considerable doubt on the view that they are the Open Sesame to agricultural prosperity. The latest report in fact declares that only those societies (in India) still present a semblance of success whose members believe that they will be ultimately given each a bit of land for his very own. Not much co-operation, is it?

But the agricultural co-op is a lumbering dray-horse by the side of Pegasus yoked to Bhoodan. No wonder that the Congress President makes the pilgrimage to Kaladi — not to worship at the

shrine of Sankaracharya but to reiterate the pledge of the ruling party's deferential support to the inventor of Gramdan. Mr. Dhebar likes to think he is a connoisseur of revolutionary thought. And he cannot but be fortified by J.P.'s forthright opinion that Acharya Vinobaji is the most stimulating thinker in the world today. He is the last word, it seems, in philosophy, politics, economics, what you will.

Nevertheless it is rather odd that the magic shortcut of Bhoodan should prove as much of a *cul de sac* as that Chinese puzzle, the State-controlled agricultural co-op. I have not been able to find out how many acres of good, bad or indifferent land Acharyaji garnered in Tanjore, where he once declared he would spend the rest of his life-time. Apparently not many. At least, the *yatra* in that cantankerous district was nothing like the dazzling success that the triumphal march through Madura was voted to be.

But even Madura has apparently fallen from grace. The district that yielded so rich a crop of *gramdhan* that the prophet was inspired to ecstatic visions of 'taluk dan', 'district dan', 'state dan' *ad lib* has since succumbed to the corroding effects of casteism. The donors may have had second thoughts. At any rate they have failed to exhibit the 'atma-gunas' that the apostle expects to see in the citizens of an Earthly Paradise. But undefeated, he once again starts on his weary quest—this time in Communist-ruled Kerala. If he succeeds the lucky Keralites deserve to have him for keeps.

VIGNESWARA.

SWARAJYA

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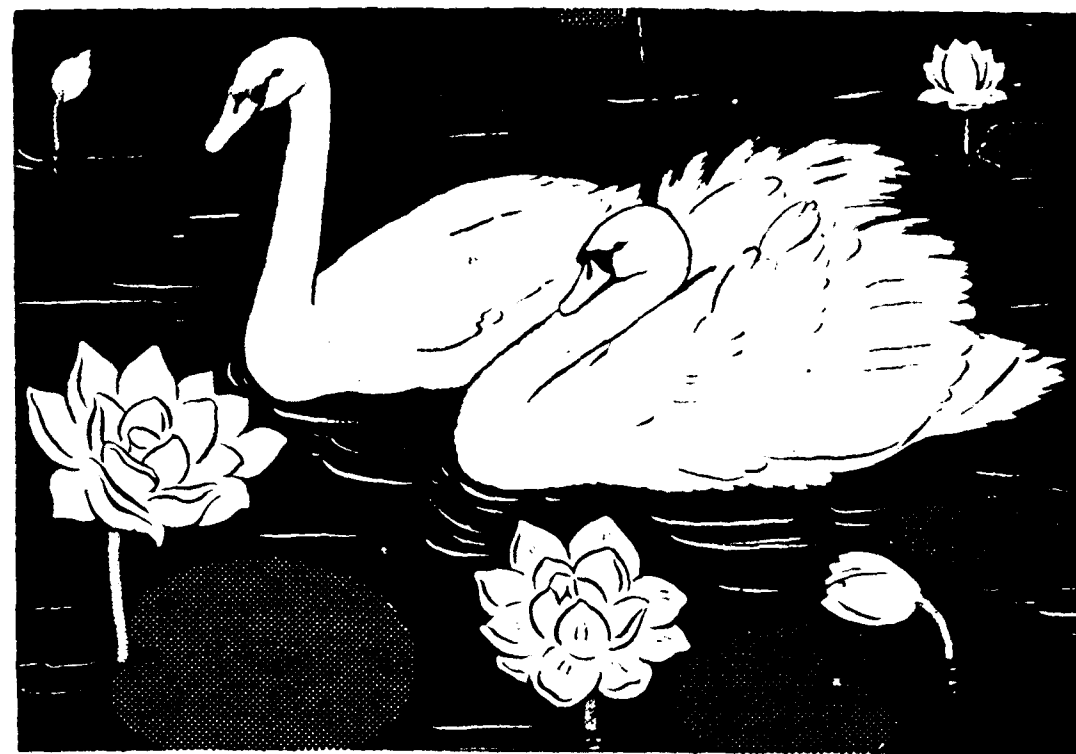
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FUTURE OF CONGRESS ENDANGERED BY T. T. K's TAXATION PROPOSALS

FULL TEXT OF RAJAJI'S SPEECH CRITICISING BUDGET

A symposium on the Central budget was held at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Madras, on Wednesday, May 22, under the auspices of the South Indian National Association, the Council of Public Affairs, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, the Madras Stock Exchange and the Forum of Free Enterprise. The full text of Rajaji's speech on the occasion is given below. Rajaji spoke after Sri K. Rangachari who defended the budget and it is to Sri Rangachari's comments earlier in the day that reference is made in Rajaji's speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

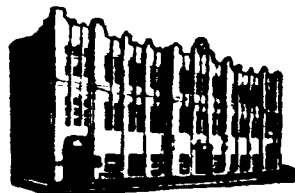
The last speaker did a very good service by putting the case of the Finance Minister before you not only from the fiscal point of view but also, if I may say so, from a most sympathetic personal point of view, because he advised the manner in which the same things could have been done. If only his advice had been accepted by the Finance Minister, the same things could have been pushed through without earning all the present opprobrium which he has earned. That I consider is a very sympathetic approach and a personal approach.

We are concerned not with the technique of selling the budget, but with the budget itself. Now if I had been the personal adviser to the Finance Minister and if I had agreed with the Finance Minister that all these things must be done, I would certainly endorse (what Mr. Rangachari just now said) that we could distribute our work over a few years instead of pushing it all through with one button and at one stroke. Our people, in taxation matters, do not require much special intelligence to understand the pains and penalties of taxation. They have actually to pay either taxes or prices for the goods that they have to buy so that it won't be much gain by spreading it out over three years or four years. What has to be done will be certainly understood by the people quickly enough, if not in three months. They know even now that the next year will bring in some more things in that direction and so on, so that I do not think that the

advice to pace the infliction of these taxes will do very great good. On the contrary it is better as the Finance Minister has done that his whole picture is put before the country. If the country approves of it, he will go on with it; if the country does not approve of it, it is not wise or fair to deceive the country into approving a half or a fourth of it, first imagining that that is all, and then producing the other three-fourths later on. On the whole I think that the Finance Minister has done more fairly than Mr. Rangachari wants it to be done. (cheers). It is good that we have the whole picture. I know the mentality. I know the approach which makes Mr. Rangachari sympathetically deal with this matter. I believe, if I am not mistaken, he belongs to a newspaper. He belonged and belongs also to a profession of persuasion. They are intent on getting things across and naturally he has given this advice. But let us approach from a different point of view. But before I go further, I must dispose of one personal matter; otherwise you will always be thinking of it till (cheers). For the sake of securing your attention, I shall deal with what I intended to say last at the very outset. Mr. Krishnamachari said, when somebody put him a question as to what he thought of my remarks on the budget, Mr. Krishnamachari said: "You know that we are not friends, that Rajaji and I are not friends and therefore I do not wish to say anything about what he has said". Now that is as good a way of getting out of an embarrassing question as any other.

But I think he also means this, that my remarks were not entirely the result of just criticism, appraisal, but of want of friendship. That implication is in that remark, though, if the remark were placed before me as a literary composition I could not draw that inference. But a large number of people are likely to infer that my remarks were due more to want of goodwill than a just appraisal of the budget proposals. Now that is not what he said; I say it twice over. But it carries with it that implication. It is not quite right. So far as that goes, let me say straightaway that I consider him to be a friend, whether he considers me as a friend (cheers). Now, because I consider him as my friend, I think it is my duty to point out what he has not done, that what he has done is not good. Because, as the Tamil sage said long long ago நகுதல் பொருட்டு நட்பில் அன்று that is to say, it is not for pleasant laughter that we cultivate friendship. நகுதல்பொருட்டு அன்று நட்பில் when any man makes a transgression, goes out of the right path, that is மிகுதிக்கண்; மேல்சென்று இருதல் பொருட்டு. It means in ordinary language that harsh, true criticism is due from the real friend. Not flattery, but harsh criticism when anything wrong is done. The object of friendship is this, says our Tamil sage. We cultivate friendship in order to be criticised in this manner and in what manner the Tamil poet has chosen his words மேல்சென்று இருதற்கு that is very violent language—to go forward promptly and lose no time and use a harsh language in explaining, in putting the criticism. Now I have done all that, I am afraid (laughter). I lost no time மேல்சென்று (laughter) and I was not soft in my language. இருதல் I have done also. Now it is the office of a friend to say these things and it is wrong to imagine that it is nice to be pleasant to

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one another because we are friends. Neither is it good for friendship, nor is it the test of friendship. Mr. Krishnamachari is quite wrong in imagining that we are not friends. Number two, he is wrong in imagining that what I said has anything to do with that. And in fact if it has something to do with it, I am fulfilling the office of a friend—as Mr. R. V. Krishna Aiyar said the other day, when he spoke at another meeting where he made a much better speech (which was not properly reported) than anything that I am going to say today. Anything that I am going to say is not going to be as good as what he had said. I hope you will have some means of finding out what he said that day. One thing is clear, Mr. Chairman and friends, that there is strong disapprobation throughout the country of this budget. I agree that no tax-gatherer can expect popularity, but it is not every tax-gatherer that is bound to be unpopular and people know that also. Today we have sufficiently advanced in democracy to understand this unpleasant position of a tax-gatherer. Our people are not as backward as some people might imagine, reading old statements about popularity and unpopularity. Our people are very generous on the whole. Look at Mr. Rangachari. He is typical of the Hindu mind. He is typical of the intelligence of the Hindu mind. He defends absent persons (laughter) and that is typical of the Hindu mind. I am proud of that. Our people, therefore, when they disapprove of this budget, they disapprove of it not simply because taxes are asked, but because there is something wrong in the nature of the taxes asked and the amount of taxes that has been asked.

Our people are not unreasonable, when they disapprove of these measures. Mr. Rangachari gave way finally to support the popular view to some extent, by saying that Mr. Krishnamachari might have spread his taxation measures over a number of years. He also said quite a number of other things to show that some of the taxes were really not right and

that the context of the food prices makes the taxes wrong altogether. It is a very strong and important statement, more important than the personal approach that they refer to. But I do not agree with Mr. Rangachari that the Food Minister is responsible for the food position. The Food Minister is a very able Minister, I know. And if Mr. Kidwai was able, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain was the right hand man of Mr. Kidwai. It is not right to go on praising a dead man and dispraising a man who is alive and away (laughter). The Food Minister is not responsible. There are a number of other causes that are responsible, and this is not the time for me to go into them. Why the food prices are high can be explained by the Chairman who is presiding over our meeting today. It has nothing to do with the personality, or the neglect or the failure of the Food Minister. There are fundamental causes that are operating for raising these food prices and the very context of these taxes and the previous taxes and the context of agricultural laws and agrarian laws and of our population and all these things taken into account, have made the food prices go up. The only way to lower the food prices would be by force, by control as it is called, which is another form of force, by force, by rigid regulations and by starving the farmer and by a number of other unpleasant things. That is not welcome. It is not possible even if you could get some food by these methods, it is not worthwhile. So that is a different problem. The only thing I am going to say about it is that it is no explanation to say that if the Food Ministry is changed, then the Finance Minister's work will be all right. It is not the case. Whoever comes as Food Minister, even if the Food Ministry is handed over to the Finance Minister lock, stock and barrel along with the finance, he will not be able to solve the problem, as Mr. Rangachari says he will. I make this statement because I think I know something about this matter.

As regards the ratio business, the ratio of revenue to income, and the stagnation (of revenue)

June 1, 1957

business, our taxes are not advancing in relation to the national income as in other countries the taxes have advanced. That is the proposition. To this Mr. Rangachari himself has given the answer. He stated the case very clearly. But the answer requires a little more clarification. He himself gave the answer that the national income is the average, as we all know. The national income is made up very much out of the agricultural income. Now he says agricultural income should also be taxed. Now here, there is a slight confusion. The agricultural income that can be taxed is very different from the agricultural income that goes to make the national income so low. The agriculturists, that is to say, big farmers, can be taxed, but the main body of people who make up the national income, they are merely cultivators, tenants and labourers without land and so on. It is impossible to make any advance in taxation with the kind of income they have. So it is no use comparing the advance made in taxation in relation to the national income in other countries with the ratio between the national income and taxation rise in our country. It is all a question of examining the human elements that are involved in any proposition. It is quite easy to talk of stagnation and national income and taxation. But if you go into the human element that is involved in these various phrases you will find that we are dealing with the poorest type of people who make up the national income in our country. The national income has risen. Why? Because of the rise in prices. Therefore it is merely a paper increase in the national income. This is really not an increase in the real average national income if the rice price goes up, if the ragi price goes up and if the agricultural product price goes up, and the national income has gone up in that proportion. But can we tax it? It is not possible. Therefore, this talk, this formula, if I may say so, of the stagnation of taxation with reference to national income is not correct, if you

examine the human element involved in that formula.

I need not go further, any more, into what Mr. Rangachari said. Of course, I too agree with him that defeatism is not good. But what is defeatism? If we take a right project, if we plan rightly, it is wrong to be defeated. But the question is whether the Plan is right. You are begging the question when you call this defeatism. The idea that a country should be taxed in this manner and in this proportion and in this way in order to support a plan which you have made already must open our eyes to examine, not the abstract proposition, the ethical proposition or the psychological proposition of defeatism, but the very concrete question of whether the Plan was right and whether it requires to be altered. That is what has to be done. I do not think that these phrases help us. This Plan is really the great mischief-maker, not the Food Ministry (Cheers). The Plan that was referred to and which has to be defended has become, if I may use a modern political phrase, a monolithic structure to all our public affairs, that is to say, our public affairs are imprisoned within the stone walls of the Plan. There is no flexibility about our public affairs. Our affairs have been robbed of all their necessary flexibility by reason of our monolithic structure due to this Plan. I therefore say it is an illusion to be talking of defending the Plan in military terms, saying "No defeatism, cheerio", raising your two fingers into a V for the Plan. (laughter).

We see all over the land high prices—inflation, if we use the language of the economists, high prices, if we use the language of the purchaser. Let us talk of high prices and not of inflation. If the very Plan makes for inflation, it is impossible to spend money on the Plan for many years to come, or for one year or two years at this rate without creating this inflation. I need not go into that, all of you know and even the Government admit that inflation has been one of the results of this Plan. If the Plan, therefore, yields inflation, if

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it raises prices which is the meaning of inflation and furthers this taxation, — taxation on what? — the kind of taxation that raises the high prices, raises the prices still further, if all these things are essential parts of our Plan, then I think that rather than depend on the Plan, it is better to look into the Plan and to examine the Plan and that is my plea on the whole today. We should look into this.

They say that in China and in Russia they had a plan. We all know, whatever derogatory opinions we might have, what has been done in these Communist States. We all admit it. All people who have gone there have returned admitting it. I should say in that connection that they have done very well in those countries. Why? The secret is not better administration, not the gradual approach which Mr. Rangachari suggests for taxation, not taxation at all. No question of taxation arises in those countries. The thing there is forced labour of the people. That is the only thing that can make plans succeed in a backward country (cheers). If you want plans to succeed rapidly and progress to be effectively achieved, carried out without waiting, without any defeatism, we must give labour. And that labour is not given, it is taken with force. That is what has been done. Not only foreigners, not only the large number of people taken as prisoners in Russia, but everybody that could possibly incur the displeasure of the Government, everybody was forced to work and that is how the dams were built and that is how many things were done. We do not know much about all this. In fact it is a closed chapter. It is behind the iron curtain. It is not possible to do such things here. Here we are simply dealing with the figures, arithmetic and soft formula. With these things, we won't be able to make this kind of plan succeed at the pace at which we wish it to succeed, unless we are prepared for all these miseries. We are not prepared for all these miseries, because these miseries leave nothing to be enjoyed afterwards. What is the

good of this Plan? Let us remember, with all our appreciation of the Plan, that this Plan consists of certain definite projects in certain definite places. Let us not be bamboozled by general talk of education, social service, health and all that. These are parts of the Plan, I know. But that is not what we are taxed for. What we have to be taxed for is something more concrete, definite projects, in definite areas in India. Is it right to impose indirect taxes and rates on transport and things like that which put a burden upon everybody in the country, without reference to the advantages attained in any particular area where the taxation hurts? This is not a disintegrating idea I am giving to you. We want unity, but we want fairness also. It would be much better to levy, if you have the courage to do it, cesses integrated to the territorial areas where large plans have been done and which will give immediate advantages to the people in that area by (cheers) way of employment, prosperity, higher value of land, everything. Both directly and indirectly many advantages are given where these large projects are carried out, and is it right to increase the price of a post card, to increase the price of a journey from here to Villivakkam and increase the price of a book packet from here to Bangalore and things like that? It is not right, it is not fair; but that is a small matter. The real thing is we should look into the Plan much more carefully. Cut the coat according to the cloth is an old saying. The Plan is a coat and we must cut the Plan according to the cloth. What is the cloth with reference to our Plan? It is our capacity to pay, our capacity to work. If we have the capacity to make people work, we can reduce the payment. If we haven't the capacity to work or to make people work forcibly, we will have to make people far too miserable by getting the money out of them.

Not only that. We propose to do legerdemain with foreign aids. We propose to do legerdemain with foreign loans. All that will come back with compound interest to us.

It is not possible to live on foreign help and foreign assistance for any considerable length of time without finally being made aware of what we owe to them (laughter). That is bound to come. All that will have to be taken into account if we really wish to prepare a proper, scientific, sensible plan which will be an instrument for happiness and not a mere tool for creating miseries to the people. Our Plan is intended to be an instrument for happiness. What is the good of simply defending it? You should defend it saying "Here it makes for happiness". It is no doubt true that if other things were all right, the Plan would be quite good. But the resources for the Plan are an integral part of the Plan. It is not merely the fruit of the Plan that we should look at. We should see what it involves.

Criticism of the budget is fairly widespread. We may not have had many meetings yet, we may not have had many speakers or reports about the disapprobation, but we sense it, we know that it is there throughout the length and breadth of the country. I get telegrams from people and letters congratulating me on the "bold" statements which I have made. Why is it bold? Is it bold to say that the taxation is too heavy? Are we so afraid now as to call this "bold"? Generally I consider it a very bad symptom, a symptom of very bad health in the country all round that I should be congratulated on this as bold. I am not afraid of anybody and I don't want any of you to be afraid of anybody in the world (cheers). There is no good of a thousand plans, if you are going to be afraid of those who sit in authority over you. The Plan will not give you happiness if you don't cultivate the habit of being bold whoever may be the person concerned. We must not be bad, we must not be irreverent, we must not be impolite, but I have to be bold if I wish to be happy. Now these gentlemen not only congratulate me on being bold, but they say "You must go now from town to town and you must go all over the country and agitate; you must now take the leadership". This

is all, if I may use Pandit Nehru's phrase, "fantastic nonsense" (cheers). How can they expect me to lead an agitation against my colleagues who have the good fortune of running the country just now? It is not the office of an old colleague after he has retired to go on agitating and leading the agitation from town to town. It is my duty to speak the truth because I am a friend. But it is not right for me to go about agitating, nor is it possible for me to go about agitating in my present condition. It is those who are hit that have to agitate. I am not hit at all (cheers). It is for those who are hit to do the agitation and to do all the work and they are competent to do it if only they will wake up and cast aside this delusion of fear that is hanging over their heads.

Now the criticism that comes from the commercial classes and industrial classes is slightly affected, I fear, by one defect. They have a silent satisfaction that the burden has been made to be shared by the poor people of the country (cheers). They have a silent satisfaction that they have been pleasantly disappointed. They feared, when the Socialist State was announced, that the rich would be soaked and that the poor would be saved. Now they find—I will come to the proportion presently, (cheers)—now they find that the burden is divided and not thrown entirely upon the rich people. It is divided a little bit among the poor people also. There is a silent satisfaction. Not only that. The greater part of the burden has been thrown upon the poor people, as anybody can see, if only he will read the budget figures. Out of 99 crores, the receipts expected from the new taxes on the rich are about 25 crores and the balance is borne by the poor. Don't you see why richer classes are happy and are satisfied. They are not happy, but there is a certain sense of happiness in their criticism. I can see that. Not only that. There are two ways of getting approval and popularity. One is by doing what is right and getting the approval of the people. The other is by approaching the organs of public

opinion. You know what the organs of public opinion are—I am using a rather pompous phrase—they are the main newspapers and the important newspapers. Now important newspapers are directly dealt with in some way or other; they get what they want. Now that is also a technique of government. It cannot be discarded altogether, but I tell you that it is only a short-cut. It is not the right cut, it is not the right way. You pretend to inflict a further rise on newsprint and then you withdraw it (cheers). Human psychology is peculiar. If a man treads on my toe and causes me pain and then freely and profusely apologises, I feel very flattered. I don't mind the pain. I am quite flattered. What a polite man! What a good man! (laughter). After all he is a gentleman! Now the duty on newsprint, we were told, was a mistake, an error, some kind of accident. This is rather strange that in the Finance Department accidental duties are imposed (cheers). There are quite a number of officials in the Finance Department of all grades to prevent such accidents. But that is not important. These newspaper people seem to understand it is not an accident. They seem to see, they seem to believe it was really an imposition and a withdrawal for which they are grateful. In an editorial dealing with the new taxes, half of a whole long column is devoted to the great benefit derived by the non-imposition of this duty on newsprint. I don't grudge the amount of space, but it indicates the climate. It indicates the climate of the newspaper office. I find all over, reading the various leading articles and editorials in various papers, a certain mildness latterly prevailing in the criticism (laughter). It has all been played down later. And many excuses and defences have been found for various items in the budget. Now that is not, I think, the way in which criticisms in the organs of public opinion should be conducted. Everybody has a right to take care of his own interest. But the Press has a certain definite responsibility and I think it is not right for it to turn the blind eye to the lowering of the

minimum taxable for incometax when they congratulate the Finance Minister on the lowering of the rate on the higher incomes. Mr. Rangachari was eloquent on this subject, just now. The lowering of the rates on the higher ranges of the incometax is welcomed. A very good thing if they could do it without taxing the wrong type of people, but they have lowered at the same time the income-tax minimum gathering in together a number of people who can't afford to pay incometax really under present conditions. And the Finance Minister gets what he has lost by that concession. His own figures show that he draws in enough revenue from the new lower income-tax minimum level, quite enough to make up for the concessions that he has given. What has he gained by this transaction? He has gained the goodwill of those above and he has gained the ill-will of those below. Is that a good budget? But leave that apart. Let us put it by. Let me deal with the general matter.

Our people's psychology is gradually getting into the personality behind things. The Prime Minister's commendation of the budget should not deflect you an inch from the criticism that you are entitled to place before the country (cheers) because it is the Prime Minister. It is not a different person in this connection from the Government. It is his Government. The Finance Minister is his Minister. The budget that is put forward by the Government is the Government's budget. It may be that all the members of the Cabinet may not have seen the budget because generally the old tradition is maintained that the budget is shown only the previous day and then too only as much as the atom bomb was shown to Stalin. The atom bomb was just hinted at to Stalin this way. A new weapon has been invented. It will be very powerful. Do you agree? All right. Now the budget is discussed in the Cabinet in this way before it is introduced. But we are not entitled to go into that. It is not relevant. The Prime Minister is responsible for the

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A NOBLE LEADER

vided we don't depend on the aids that they have to give. And the aids that they have to give, for what? Not for military defence which may be explained in the present world context, but for our financial stability: it is for our Plan we are taking aids. It is rather difficult for me to reconcile real independence with that position. Now, these are the difficulties of the situation. As Mr. Rangachari gave advice to the Finance Minister, let me give advice to my Congress friends on what is going to happen. You know how this budget has been received in the country. What will happen? What will happen is that parties opposed to the Congress will make full use of this budget. They will go about making the agitation as strong as possible against this budget and making it appear that the Congress Government is alone responsible for it and not any other explanation that we may give. The initiative will pass into the hands of parties who are opposed to the Government and to the Congress. The result of this will be that the initiative will pass to the Opposition parties and the Congress party and Congress committees and Congressmen can't utter a word in answer to these things in this country. They can't join the opposition, nor will they be able to defend the budget. And therefore the situation for the Congress as a political body, as a ruling party in the country, will be endangered by this budget. That is what I fear and that is again what Tiruvalluvar has asked me to do. The நட்டல் puts on me the duty of மேற்சென்று இடித்தல் பொருட்டு I must run forward far upon the friend and give him this advice, even giving a blow so that the hammer may take the idea into his head (cheers). That is the meaning of இடித்தல் பொருட்டு. Now it is politically very wrong, financially very wrong and for the people it contributes only misery. I am sorry, my dear friends, the lighting arrangements have gone bad. Don't be superstitious. It has nothing to do with the budget (laughter).

Sir,—It is now two decades since I left Sri Prakasam's service as his Personal Secretary. His indomitable courage and self-confidence filled me with admiration. Pleasure and pain had absolutely no significance for him. Although he bore a rough exterior he had a very soft and sympathetic heart. Yet he was a terror in the political arena. He sacrificed his all for the country's cause and for SWARAJYA of which he was the Editor. Men who worked in SWARAJYA had no attraction for money and even when pay was in arrears for several months they used to bear it calmly due to the magnetic influence of the Editor. I confess that on one occasion I did not conduct myself properly towards him. Instead of putting on a grim face over my action he treated me very kindly and gave me advice as to what I should have done. He extended to me such parental care that, when I think of it now, tears roll down my cheeks. Many who are occupying positions in Visalandhra owe their present positions to the benevolence of this noble leader and in fact they came into prominence under his inspiring leadership.

N. S. KRISHNAMURTHY.

CHAOS IMPENDING

Sir,—In spite of Government assurances that the whole burden of the taxes would not be borne by the common man, but would fall partly on the merchant, the fact remains that with every budget the prices of goods are increased in geometrical progression. Our businessmen have no compunction in raising prices out of all proportion to the increase in excise duty. The day after the budget proposals were announced kerosene was sold at six annas a bottle, when the proposed increase in duty was only 1.25 naye paise per gallon. It looks as though the merchants are just waiting for a chance to raise prices under any pretext. Far too many people criticise the budget for raising the prices, but only a few realize that

the actual rise in prices is arbitrarily fixed by the businessman.

It is a pity that the Government do not exercise any check on this increase in market prices. Whereas the total additional amount that is to be realized is about Rs. 78 crores, which works out to Rs. 2 per head per year on the average, the increase in expenditure that the common man would incur would be many times this amount. No Indian would mind contributing a little for financing the Second Plan, but his purpose is defeated when the major portion of the extra money that he pays for his goods goes to fatten the businessman.

When one considers that this is the first of the Five Year Plan budgets, it is no wonder that the future seems fraught with grave possibilities. Barely three months ago a fresh tax on dividends declared by companies was instituted. The whole policy has been reversed now, and this indicates vacillation where stability is looked for. The result of increasing prices, diminishing foreign exchange resources and deficit financing on a large scale would be to create chaos in our nation's economy.

T. S. BALARAMAN.

OFFICIAL PRACTICE AND PRECEPT

Sir,—The tall talk of "planning on a war-footing" and "arming ourselves with austerity in this war on poverty" will carry conviction to us if, and only if, practice precedes profession.

In how many hundreds of ways can austerity be practised by our government and its departments! Recently, there was an interesting revelation by an enterprising contributor to a British journal that if the crest of London Transport is altered, cutting out a few unessential lines, quite a tidy sum (he mentioned the actual amount) may be saved in painting expenditure! If the Indian Leviathan is sensitive and responsive to suggestions from the press and the

public, real austerity can be practised without any State-sponsored publicity on 'economy drives', with all the usual pomp and show, costing a few more lakhs for financing the paraphernalia.

W. S. KRISHNAN.

AGRARIAN BOYCOTT

Sir,—Some Congress Committees are said to be preaching agrarian boycott. Agricultural labourers are dissuaded from labour for owner-cultivators to paralyse owner cultivation and coerce owners to let their lands on lease. Is it proper that Congress organisations should, instead of implementing the policies and programmes of the Congress Ministries indulge in direct action, calculated to nullify the legal rights recognised by the Congress Ministry and the law of the land? Such conduct on the part of a political party in office appears to be subversive of all democratic discipline and decency. It deserves the attention of the Congress High Command, both in the Pradesh and all-India levels.

Tirunelveli. A. S. KUPPUSWAMI.

RAJAJI AND T. T. K.

Sir,—Sri T. T. Krishnamachari's reaction to Sri Rajaji's criticism of his budget proposals does not please the public. Is it suggested that just because Rajaji is not friendly to him, the criticism was adverse and does not merit any reply from him? It is a pity that a responsible Minister should get irritated by adverse criticism. Democracy can successfully function only when there is a free and frank discussion.

And who is the critic that has criticised his budget proposals?

He is Rajaji, an eminent thinker, a man of action, a man of unsullied honour, honesty of purpose, of whose greatness and goodness all countries should be proud.

Madras. A. NARASIMHACHAR.

NEW TAXES AND EVASION

Sir,—The new taxes proposed by the Finance Minister have hit hard all sectors and the universal protest raised from all sections of the public clearly shows that the

incidence lies very heavily on the man in the street. This is because the Government are keen to finance the Plan at all costs, attaching great importance to it, although the public view it only as a plan of promise and not of performance. It would be better to cut down the Rigid Plan itself than to initiate these disastrous proposals to bridge the gap between planned expenditure and resources. Also by trying at least at the experimental level for a few years, the system of "Tax informers on premium basis" now in vogue in U.S.A., the evil of evasion can be rooted out. Otherwise there will be no other alternative for the law abiding citizens but to launch a non-violent no tax campaign against the levy on essential commodities.

P. S. SUBBARATHNAM

DANGEROUS PORTENT?

Sir,—Acharya Vinoba Bhave has recently expressed the view that the State monopoly of education would make education mechanical, and would make the system of education change according to the changing political parties that might come into power. He is therefore opposed to nationalisation of schools. You appear to hold the same view.

There is no question of the State taking charge of colleges or university education. Private effort in secondary education is so widespread that there is no necessity for the State taking the control of secondary schools. Perhaps, there are a few secondary schools under private management that are in a tottering condition, and they may have to be taken by the State, if educational facilities in these localities are to continue. Nationalisation refers only to elementary schools.

It is well-known that private elementary schools are not functioning satisfactorily; while the managers receive grants, teachers are not paid their salaries. The demand of elementary school teachers has been that the State should take charge of all elementary schools. It is unfair to leave the spread of primary education to the whims and fancies of some individuals running schools. Na-

tionalisation of elementary education is the only way of bringing about universal elementary education and fulfilling the directive of the Indian Constitution.

As regards the charge that it will cause mass enslavement and mass indoctrination, it depends on teachers who may indoctrinate children even under the present system. It must be left to the teachers to dissociate themselves from all politics in their professional work. If the State forces teachers to inculcate any particular doctrines, the teaching profession and the Government at the Centre may be expected to halt the proceedings. In any case, universal establishment of education through nationalisation of elementary education should not be retarded. I see no dangerous portent in the Kerala State's venture to nationalise primary schools. This policy should be followed by other States as well, if all children are to receive elementary education.

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SWARAJYA

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15 Naye Paise

SOCIALISM IN OUR LIFE TIME

The Union Finance Minister has proclaimed the grand slogan, "Socialism in our time". Slogans are symbolic of the modern technique of advertisement in advance of achievement to capture the popular imagination. Unfortunately for the Finance Minister and the Government served by him, there is very little of popular enthusiasm left for any of the prospective advertised plans of the Government in the atmosphere of depression caused by the impending heavy taxation.

The Prime Minister seems to have sensed to some extent the sullen mood of the nation over the budget. For we find him admitting with contrition that due warning should have been given to the people before the elections about the sacrifices in store for them under the Congress pattern of Socialism. This admission of a grave omission is to be welcomed. But it is not disposed of by a mere ventilation of personal emotion on the Prime Minister's part. Governmental errors can be set right only by suitable rectifications devised to save people from the consequences of such errors. Taking advantage of the errors and doing nothing further in the matter except merely admitting the errors, has little practical significance; and if the Prime Minister had not been so securely shielded by blind mass devotion, it might even imperil his status as a dependable statesman with

action and judgment harmoniously integrated.

It may be deemed not practicable, however morally obligatory, to subject to review once again the whole of the machinery of party government set in motion as a result of the elections. But some symbolic sign of national approval for the budget to make up for the ignorance of Congress taxation plans in which the poll took place, is not only worth securing, it seems almost a matter of duty, if the Prime Minister's words have any meaning. The simplest means of achieving this approval is to make the Finance Minister resign and seek re-election again, in the full light of what he is now revealed to be pledged to as the architect of Socialism in our time. This demand has already been made by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, the most important and influential of the Opposition parties in the Finance Minister's home State.

So far as the people are concerned, they have had ample experience of Congress Socialism in action. It has meant careful preservation of British institutions signifying imperial pomp and majesty divested of their original, serviceable executive functions; it has meant an expanding military burden; a heavily multiplied bureaucratic machinery; an almost profligate increase of outlay on wasteful delegations providing

pleasure jaunts at State expense to favourites of Ministers and others in authority; the creation of a vast network of well paid posts for distribution to the favoured; corruption and waste; geometrical progression of the quantum of employment providing more men to do less work at greater expense; and the complete demoralisation of labour, the prime source of all prosperity and plenty, with pampering laws encouraging grabbing without any insistence on duties.

The Plan has become a monstrous Maloch before which people are offered as sacrifices for prevalent misgovernment covered up under the guise of prospective salvation. Even if all this is called Socialism and its oppression disguised under the glamour of that over-rated cult, it does not become any the more endurable, and a nation that can be bamboozled into a taxation burden of 99 crores admittedly imposed on it without warning is obviously not progressing democratically, it is heading towards a political and economic dictatorship masquerading as a liberal democracy.

Radiation Hazards

Dr. Monica Felton has edited, and the All India Peace Council (New Delhi) published a collection of Rajaji's speeches and writings on atomic warfare and test explosions under the title,

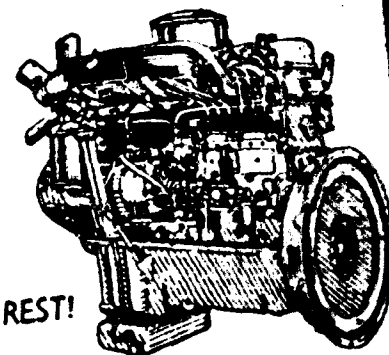


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Mankind Protests. (Price one rupee, available at all bookshops.) As many as 16 articles originally written for and published in SWARAJYA have been published in this book. In a Preface the distinguished author expresses the opinion that mankind is being led into certain calamity, casting away all wisdom and prudence, by unrestrained technology. In its collective effect *Mankind Protests* is a compendium of valuable enlightenment to the lay public of the world telling them everything comprehensible that they ought to know to become alive to the mischief the experts have been leading the world into. As Rajaji holds that the lay public ought to control government policy, it is clear that the whole teaching in the book is highly purposive. It is the cry of an anguished observer endowed with a vision of things to come, calling upon mankind to rise against the folly of its rulers and save itself in time before the momentum of the present world preparations for destruction bursts upon it, causing wholesale ruin.

It is not the lay public only that seem to be in need of the sort of warning and appeal that Rajaji has given it. The scientists, even outside the ranks of the technologists involved in the discovery and production of nuclear weapons, seem, some of them, to be in no better state. This is illustrated in a letter in the May 18 issue of the *New Statesman and Nation* under the title "Radiation Hazards" by Professor S. C. Harland of the Department of Botany in the University of Manchester. The letter speaks for itself and we make no apology for reproducing it here:

"It is desirable in the interests of fairness to comment on the speech of Lord Cherwell in the House of Lords the other day, in which he describes as muddle-headed cranks those who have been expressing fears that radiation from nuclear explosions may involve damage to the human race.

"As a geneticist who is neither a Communist nor a fellow traveller and who has considered more than superficially the biological effects of various sorts of radiation, I wish to state categorically that, as a physicist with no knowledge of biology, Lord Cherwell may be classed with the Pope and Dr. Albert Schweitzer as not competent to express an opinion on radiation

THE AGGRESSION OF MISSILES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The inter-continental missile programme is forging head. The Atlas will reach an altitude of 700 miles and then turn S.E. to make a wireless controlled flight of 2,200 miles. "The red glare of the missile" says Mr. James Patterson on behalf of the people of America "will tell Soviet Russia that America stands ready to defend the 'free' world against Communist aggression. Here is the ultimate weapon, the best possible protection to ourselves and our children who will come after us. It will no longer be necessary to draft our young men into the military service in peace time".

Everything will thus have been made entirely automatic and easy and American boys saved from military risk and toil! Nothing can be more untrue than this boast and delusion.

The rest of the world over which these missiles weighing hundreds of tons will move in ballistic trajectories and not only Soviet Russia may have something to fear and to say. Are we "free" indeed, the inhabitants of those areas may ask, if without our consent these dreadful things can be operated to move over our heads? Apart from freedom, there is the question of what will happen if any wireless control fails or goes wrong.

The governments that are not in the cold war must set about at once to examine the question whether, unless and until a federation of nations has taken place and a single military authority is legally established, such inter-con-

tinental ballistic missiles can be permitted to be shot out, whatever be the altitude from where they take their horizontal flight. Height does not extinguish the rights of nations living below nor reduce the momentum of an erroneous drop. Indeed the greater the height, the greater the danger will be from these monstrously heavy metal packages of satanic poison moving overhead under radio-controls from somewhere.

Equally irrelevant is the height of the test explosions. The last British explosion was, it seems, thirty thousand feet above the earth's surface. That does not render the fall-out innocuous although it may make it less spectacular. The stratosphere is above that height and will store the poison and send it down in a continuous supply, whether the explosion be seen and heard or not.

An eminent meteorologist has recently propounded the theory that the strontium-90 fall-out is more likely to settle down on the temperate northern latitudes. This preference may or may not be true; but if true it puts Japan in even a worse position than at present estimated, although the northern latitudes of Europe must also share in the greater danger. Will independent men of science, and professors of public law and enlightened leaders of thought continue their strong protests and raise their united voice for saving humanity from the insanity of the governments that stand possessed of uncontrolled power and are leading the world to the abyss?

hazards. A similar comment might be made about some members of the Medical Research Council's committee appointed to look into this question.

"The fact that the Tibetan population is able to breed at high altitudes apparently showing no ill effects from the increased cosmic radiation

is irrelevant. Organic life on the earth has, through natural selection, become genetically buffered against the existing levels of radiation. But an increase in this level, even of small magnitude, might cause numbers of anti-mutability genes, which

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Sotto Voce

The Simple Life—As Ministers see it

When Mr. Minoo Masani spoke of the Plan as having become in the eyes of the faithful an implacable God that demanded sacrifice the Finance Minister indulgently warned him "not to slip into the attitude of plagiarism". It seems a Delhi paper had already pre-empted the comparison. Mr. Masani could have retorted that he was much more anxious to avoid the imputation of trying to be original at all costs. That is the special forte of the Finance Minister who, even if he borrows an idea or two from Mr. Kaldor and the East European brains trust which Mr. Mahalanobis conveys, insists that his Midas touch has transformed the base metal.

Housing for Government servants is no new idea: it is as old as the extinct British bureaucracy. But when Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari hits upon the bright notion of providing houses for income-tax officers to save them from placing themselves under embarrassing obligations to rich men who own houses you know we are appreciably nearer the goal of "Socialism in our life-time". The income-tax officers may not feel exactly complimented by thus being singled out for special mention. But if every class of Government official expects to be steeled against temptation in this fashion it might on the whole be cheaper to hand over the country to them to farm, as the East India Company did in the days of Clive and his Nabobs.

Mr. Nehru opposes reduction of Ministers' salaries on the ground that they are none too generous as they stand. In his own case, a net salary of Rs. 1,600 after taxes are paid has to provide for the maintenance of the ancestral mansion at Allahabad and occasional stay there by himself and daughter

and this costs Rs. 900. Then there are Congress and other subscriptions to pay; the balance of Rs. 500 is not sufficient to meet his needs, such as buying "razor blades, tooth paste, etc." But he at least has his royalties from his books, whereas most of his colleagues in the Centre and the States have no supplementary income or nice nest egg.

Even the most pernicky critic of Ministerial extravagance must be disarmed by this moving glimpse into the Nehru budget. But though you and I have no ancestral mansion to maintain, we may have tumble-down old cottages in the village with a widowed aunt or grandmother piously tending the home-fires. But, the Socialistic pattern of society, far from looking kindly on such piety, is resolved that the urban wage-earner shall not be indulged in the 'feudal' pleasure of sticking to a few ancestral acres. And he is being fleeced to the limit, so that he will have no encouragement to maintain derelict houses or derelict relations.

When a Government which is so sympathetically imaginative in its assessment of the needs and the personal problems of Ministers and higher officials calls upon the semi-starving further to tighten the belt in the name of Socialism you have the very apotheosis of irony. No doubt Mr. Nehru's sensitive mind pleads for the painless plucking of the goose, plucked though she must be. He is remorseful at not having clearly warned the people in advance that heavy sacrifices would be asked of them. He freely confesses past mistakes. "We ought to have started heavy industries under the First Plan itself", he says. But confession as a public fashion is

all too often a mere clearing of the decks for new transgressions.

The musty pretence that we had solved the agricultural problem once for all by the triumphant execution of the First Plan has had to be discarded. The First Plan was no Plan at all. As for its 'victories', the Nehru Government reaped where others had sowed. It is the Second Plan of its own sowing which is bringing forth a fine crop of dragon's teeth. It was not a mistake but a piece of luck that the Government refrained from monkeying with industry as well as with agriculture five years ago. Else its troubles might have started earlier.

That reflection ought to be a sufficient answer to the plea that we cannot now cut or slow down the Plan since commitments have been made. "Cut your losses" is the first axiom of business life. And no Government in charge of a poor country and a dumb, driven people has a right to indulge in Alnascher dreams. We are told that the bulk of the new taxation will be eaten up by the insatiable Defence Budget. That is bad enough. But high-pressure industrialisation, when it is pursued as indispensable for building up war potential, is not less ridiculous in a backward economy. Scandinavia and Australia have Socialism. But they don't sacrifice the health and comfort and mental peace of their people to the ambition to achieve Big Power Status. The Second Plan can only bring upon us the fate of the frog that would swell to the size of an ox.

VIGNESWARA.

SWARAJYA

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SIDELIGHTS ::

In the twenties and thirties when I worked in SWARAJYA, the celebrated Congress daily of the Non-cooperation days, from which the name of this journal is borrowed, I had several stormy encounters with the Editor, Sri Prakasam. Looking back across the years, it seems to me that the stormiest of them occurred over the Independence-Dominion Status controversy.

Sriman S. Srinivasa Aiyangar and Sri Prakasam were then engaged in a terrific propaganda battle over the relative merits of Independence and Dominion Status. Srinivasa Aiyangar was the fiery apostle of the Independence cult. He had started the Independence League of which Tanneti Viswanadham was the Secretary. Prakasam was a staunch advocate of Dominion Status. He always took time to get started. He was like an engine without a self-starter, which had to be set in motion by someone else wielding the handle. Slow in the uptake, in the beginning of any endeavour he was extremely moderate in the language he used and the position he took up. Ignition for tempestuous momentum generally came to him from a sudden stimulus or turn of circumstances. He would then get precipitated into passionate energy and at one leap make up for lost time and reach the post of greatest danger. It is these feats of dare-devilry that won for him the title of Andhra Kesari, the Lion of Andhra.

But at the particular moment of time when my story begins, he was all for moderation, compromise, Dominion Status. I was the leader-writer in his newspaper. I could not bring myself to advocate so tame and insipid a creed. I went full steam ahead in praise of Srinivasa Aiyangar's campaign. On reading the articles concerned, Prakasam, then on tour, returned at once to headquarters, and sum-

moned me to his presence. If his lower lip quivered like a leaf shaken by the wind it was always, a signal to us that he had reached a state of uncontrollable rage. He was in this state when I answered his summons.

He pitched into me unmercifully. "You have cut my throat behind my back", he said. "I am the Editor of this paper. My name appears as the Editor. I have placed you in a post of trust. Yet, in a paper of which I am the Editor, a fact notified daily in the imprint, and in a paper in which speeches by me are published supporting Dominion Status, you have the temerity to write editorially opposing what I stand for, and everything I said in other columns. Is this not the blackest treachery conceivable on the part of a trusted member of the staff? I have been dishonoured and disgraced by you".

I went out and returned with a copy of the inaugural issue of the paper. It contained a pledge in the editorial column signed by Prakasam as Editor to the effect that "the policy of the Congress will always be the policy of the paper." I read out to him the pledge. I said: "The policy of the Congress now is Complete Independence, not Dominion Status. You were going off the rails of your own solemn pledge and I brought the paper back to the right track. Far from disgracing you, I have made you honour your pledge, and saved you from dishonour". Further, I argued, "you never informed us of a change in the policy of the paper. If you had done so, I would have had the opportunity of accepting or not accepting the proposed change. And I would have told you at once that your Dominion Status does not inspire me. I would have left. You yourself have told me several times that one should never express an opinion without feeling it".

After this outburst I thought I would be dismissed and set about disposing of pending papers and getting ready to leave by the evening. The Editor sent for me at 4 p.m. and received me with that heart-warming mixture of affability and gruffness which people who worked for him found so unforgettably rewarding. He shook me by the hand and said: "All right. Go your own way. I shall give up Dominion Status". And he never advocated Dominion Status thereafter and the controversy came to an abrupt end.

Sri Prakasam's initial reaction to any disagreement from any view of his own was one of seeming stubborn intolerance and rejection. He took decisions on the spot authoritarily. But that was not the final disposal of the matter. He was given constantly to chewing the cud of arguments summarily rejected by him without a moment's hesitation in an offhand way, and it would end frequently in the disappearance of the original cocksureness, in reversals of first thoughts, and hearty tenders of contrition.

He had no consciousness of proprietorial superiority and his appreciation of work which he thought worthy and honest, found expression in memorable phrases of exquisite graciousness. All the greatest leaders of the nation were present once at a dinner he gave in their honour in the name of SWARAJYA at the Cosmopolitan Club. I was a nervous stripling then awed by the formidable gathering. Sri Prakasam beckoned to me from the distant corner where I was sitting, and turning to Vithalbhai Patel said (pointing to me) "This little fellow here does most of the work, only my name appears on the paper". The elder Patel was then the Speaker of the Central Assembly and in the height of his glory. He turned to me and said: "I hope, my young friend, Prakasam doesn't interfere too much with you and gives you full free-

(Continued on Page 15)

NUCLEAR FALLACIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There was a banner parade of women in Sydney last Monday protesting against nuclear tests and a news-item tells us that a government back-bencher told them that "the small risk from the tests was nothing compared to the risk of an atomic war" and that as a result of this the demonstrators dispersed. How simple the argument and how quick the alleged reasonableness that responded to it! The small risk from the tests should be borne because the advantage resulting from the tests was obviously much greater—viz., the avoidance of an atomic war. This was the argument of the government member who further followed up his lecture by urging the women to "campaign for world disarmament". Mr. W. C. Wentworth—this is the back-bencher's name—believes that it is easier to attain "world disarmament" than to stop these tests which are a part of the armaments programme. It is remarkable how partisanship can pervert thought. No man believed or will ever believe that tests could prevent atomic war. That the lesser risks of being poisoned by the fall-out in the tests should be borne for the sake of the advantage to be gained thereby, viz. the prevention of atomic war, which is bound to poison everybody at one stroke, can only be characterised as a total falsehood. Atomic war is not prevented by the tests. If at all it is brought nearer.

World disarmament is not easier than the stopping of the tests. The whole is bigger than its parts and much bigger than a part of a part. The nuclear tests are a part of the nuclear programme and the nuclear programme is a part of the world armament programme. The logic of Mr. Wentworth is perfectly in accord with the insanity of the nuclear programme, which aims at destroying humanity and setting back the biological evolution of normal man in order to deter either territorial aggression or the march of unwanted egalitarian ideas.

The most eminent scientists of our time including some of those who discovered nuclear energy and showed the way to handle it, have solemnly declared—with full knowledge of the question and fulfilling an obligation of conscience—that if these nuclear test explosions are not stopped, the pollution of the atmosphere will reach levels high enough to threaten the health of the present generation and affect the biological heritage of our descendants. No degree of mutual distrust or fear can justify a continuation of the mad work of making the earth an uninhabitable planet.

The administrative head of the Atomic Energy Commission of America has suggested the holding of a conference of philosophers, historians and economists and the people of all the 'human mystic studies' so that they may evolve a method or idea by which we could cope with the 'problems arising out of the inventiveness of man'. Here is the forbidden fruit problem again. This was exactly what Jesus tackled and Christians are supposed to have accepted his solution. Mr. Strauss who has televisioned this suggestion of his for a conference has taken care to assure his listeners that in his opinion there are in medicine and biology many things that are equally serious threats to the life and the welfare of the human race, into all of which his conference of philosophers should probe. The argument for a conference may be serious or may be just television.

But the point intended to be stressed by Mr. Strauss is that as there are other serious dangers to life and health and progeny, we need not be concerned over the added nuclear danger—the old fallacy that a small addition does not matter. Nor is it small in the opinion of biologists and medical men. It is true the cells of the human body live at a temperature a little above 36 degrees Centigrade. The addition of 7 more degrees Centigrade Mr. Strauss may say need not cause anxiety when we have borne more than five times that heat. But doctors would say that at 43 degrees C. our body cells will cease functioning. Small additions are not as safe as mere arithmetic may lead us to believe. And in the field of genetic mutations the danger is beyond calculation. The truth of the matter is they want us to be more afraid of Russia and Communism than of cancer or genetic mutations, a short-sighted policy, to put it most mildly.

Way to Democracy

Democratic government is the most difficult of all forms of government to sustain. It requires sound and honest administration. It needs the spirit of tolerance and the practice of co-operation. And it also — at all times — calls for the realisation that governments — and parliaments — are not ends in themselves. They are the means to an end — to the establishment of conditions, and the creation of opportunities that will enable all the peoples of the nation to live out their lives in security, prosperity and dignity." — James Griffiths.

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IMPRESSIONS OF PEACE CONVENTION

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

The Convention called by the All India Peace Council, which Rajaji inaugurated at Bangalore last week-end, has been widely reported. Everyone now knows that Rajaji made a speech urging Britain to declare its neutrality in the cold war, and expressing the hope that other Commonwealth countries might follow the example of the Indian Parliament in demanding an end to the test explosions of nuclear weapons.

People who read newspapers carefully will also have learned that the Convention passed resolutions drawing the attention of the people of India to the grave dangers to human health and life caused by the continuation of such tests, and appealing to all Indians to shed complacency and fight this battle against universal poisoning. Other resolutions supported the demand of the World Peace Council for an ending of the tests, paid tribute to the scientists of the world who have pledged themselves not to take part in the making of nuclear weapons of any sort, congratulated the Lok Sabha on its condemnation of the tests and welcomed the recent appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to come to an immediate standstill agreement with Britain and the U.S.A. The Convention expressed its admiration of the continuous struggle waged by the Japanese people for an end to the nuclear tests and congratulated the Japanese Government on having taken up the question with the Powers concerned. It also extended its full support to the efforts being made to set up a National Preparatory Committee in India in connection with the World Conference which the Japanese Council against A and H Bombs is to convene in August. Finally, it decided to set up an Action Committee to consider what effective steps might be taken by the people of India and by the Government to give expression to the strong feeling in

the country against the policy of the nuclear Powers in refusing to stop the tests, and directed the Committee to consult with representatives of all sections of opinion in India and with representatives of Peace organisations in other countries with a view to obtaining greater co-operation in every kind of effective action against nuclear tests.

(ii)

Although most of these facts have been reported, almost everyone I have met since I came back from Bangalore has asked me, as outsiders are apt to ask people who have seen things from the inside, what was the real significance of what happened at the Convention. Since I, as a foreigner, was present as an outsider, this was a question that I myself repeatedly asked, and here is what I learned.

The most important thing about the Convention was that Rajaji was there.

This, of course, is just the answer that might have been expected. Rajaji is, as the cynics say, good publicity, and his appearance in any scene is enough to put it on the map. But this, I soon discovered, was not what the members of the Peace Council meant. His inaugural speech was, they agreed, important, but the real value of his presence came chiefly from the effect that he had on their own outlook and on their methods of work. This effect began to show itself, in fact, before the official inauguration, at a private session where delegates met to discuss the first draft of the resolutions that were to be put before the Convention. When Rajaji entered the hall these proceedings had already started. Delegates had been making speeches that were neither better nor worse than is usual on such occasions: earnest, but a little rambling, their enthusiasm for the amendments that they were proposing running away with their

voices. Suddenly the chairman rose and the audience, taking their cue, rose, too, and turned and clapped as Rajaji walked down the central aisle. But there was no fuss, no ostentatious hero-worship, and in a few minutes the formalities were over.

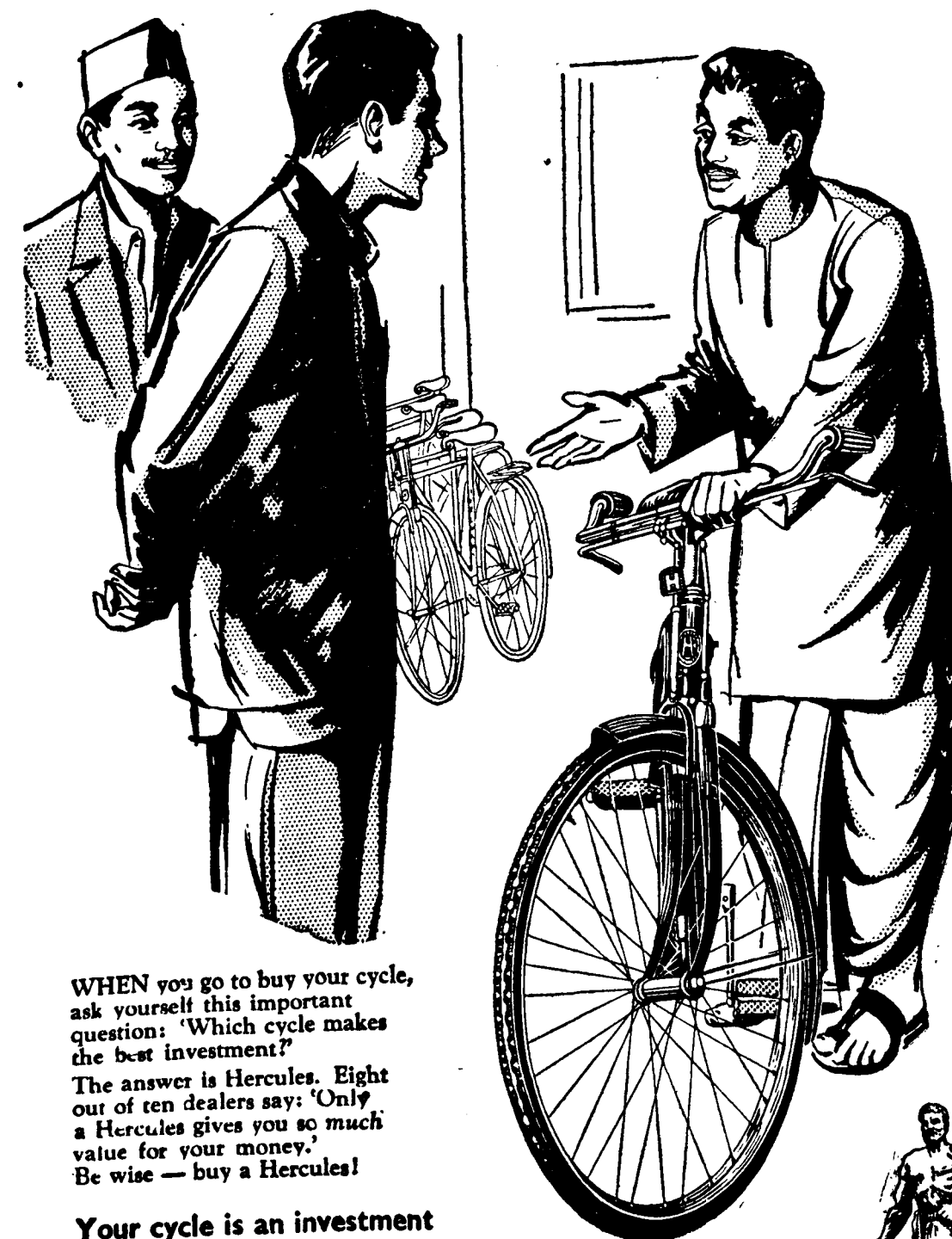
Rajaji, speaking briefly and conversationally, criticised the wording of several phrases in the resolution, and suggested how they might be sharpened to make the meaning more exact and more telling. At once speechifying stopped, to be replaced by swift, rational discussion. Self-consciousness disappeared as delegates were roused to an awareness of the gravity of the issues they had come to discuss, and sentimental goodwill was replaced by a patient search for the most meticulous accuracy in the description of facts and the expression of feelings. No time was wasted, but every disagreement thrashed out. Business which would normally have taken half a day was finished in an hour and everyone was satisfied. Rajaji had said little, and nothing that was not absolutely necessary. "If we can follow his example when he is there," one of the delegates remarked as we left the hall, "the next thing we have to learn is to follow it when he is not there—and I think we can."

It was later, in his inaugural speech, that Rajaji explained his views of how the work of the Peace Council should be developed. He stressed the moral basis of the struggle for the ending of the tests and the banning of nuclear weapons. He spoke of the need to create an atmosphere of trust and fairplay, and of the need to replace the old programme of preventing a hot-war by a vigorous effort to bring the cold war to an end. And then he went on to show how in the past the activities of the peace movement had been hampered by what was taken to be a pro-Soviet policy and by the suspicion that it was an exclusively Communist organisation. He proceeded then to point out that because there were Communists in the organisation, this was not a reason why other people

(Continued on Page 15)

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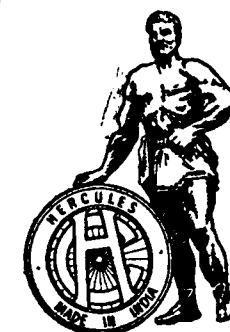
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ASPECTS OF MADRAS

TAMBARAM

It is a far cry from Tambaram to Xanadu, but it is of that stately, but mythical creation of Coleridge that I am always reminded when I bring to memory the little township that nestles at the end of the electrified railway line. In the days when the huge buildings of the Madras Christian College, then under construction, were creating a sensation in the city, I used to hear my father murmur to himself an amiable parody of Coleridge's poem,

"In Tambaram did Dr Hogg
A stately college decree".

Dr Hogg, it must be premised, was Principal when the college was removed from China Bazar Road to Tambaram.

So it is that a favourable impression of Tambaram was created in my mind. This was reinforced by the fact that I studied at the same college, though by then Dr Hogg had departed. In the early 'forties, Tambaram was still the goal of an adventure, an Ultima Thule, which one reached, or did not reach, after surmounting, or failing to surmount, innumerable perils. Tambaram has, thus, trailed clouds not only of poetry but also of romance and adventure.

This circumstance (which is purely personal) must explain the fact that I regard Tambaram with feelings of affection and its inhabitants with envy. There are moods when a denizen of the Great Wen, complaining of the fact that he has been "long in the city immured", yearns for the wide, open spaces. There are innumerable wide, open spaces nearer Madras city than Tambaram. Yet it is Tambaram which springs to my mind whenever I evocate a distant vision of rural peace. I still retain the belief that it is that entity which is still to be evolved in our country, the garden city. I still labour under the impression that to live there is to realise the dream of many a philosopher, the quiet, secluded, scholarly life. This has now become an illusion, but then a mind emptied of illusions is arid and unprofitable.

But meanwhile, it must be admitted that urbanisation has overtaken Tambaram with a vengeance. The trunk road runs through it. Now this road may be an object of beauty and joy for ever to the motorist, but as a pedestrian who has had the opportunity of walking scores of miles on it as it winds south to Chingleput and thence, on the one side to Madurantakam, and on another to Kancheepuram, I can testify to the fact that it is cruelly hard to the feet. The blackness of the tar gleams balefully as the sun shines on it. Moreover, the trunk road brings with it the motor bus, than which a contrivance more opposed to the peace and quiet of the countryside cannot be conceived. The bus is not a congenial vehicle; it possesses a sense of hostility towards its environment. It rushes through the village like an enraged dragon, breathing fire and slaughter on every side. It is the modern Minotaur.

The bus has come to stay in Tambaram. The consequence is that the rustic delights of yesterday have largely departed. To realise what the present township looked like before rude hands were laid upon it one has only to visit the neighbouring Chromepet (though "progress" is already marching towards it to lay its baneful hands on it). The characteristic Chingleput village of yesterday slumbered, but it did not stagnate by any means. There life was lived at a slow pace. Tidings of the great city, not far off, reached it occasionally, but they did not disturb the rhythm of an even tepour. I remember walking many years ago from Pallavaram to Thiruneermalai, where there is a well-known temple. I found many villages nestling by the side of the hills there. "Progress" had already invaded them, but only temporarily. It took the shape of an official who, if I remember aright, was called an "economic investigator". He made searching and, I thought, rude enquiries regard-

ing the number of cattle owned, their age and other particulars which every State nowadays demands to know as part of the inquisition it has established upon every aspect of the citizen's life. A woman I watched answering the inquisitor. She showed such perplexity and was so bewildered that it was obvious that she could not imagine why these particulars were demanded of her.

I then walked the distance which lies between Thiruneermalai and Tambaram. There was a strange quiet on the top of the hills. Barren as these are, they have nevertheless the redeeming quality of restfulness. One may fancy without much straining that the spirit of Tambaram has fled here to take refuge from the urban Tambaram, which has betrayed its trust. It must, however, in fairness be added that there still exist many areas in the township itself which are as relics of the old peace. These are to be sought as one walks towards the Vandalur hills. It may only be a fancy, but I have always felt that these hills are slightly hostile. Their vegetation appears not a little forbidding. But on the plain itself, leading to the base of the hills, there are many spots of greenery, where the noise is only that of the birds. This is real Tambaram.

As these disjointed and rambling remarks show, it is not very easy to attempt to recapture the spirit of an entity which is in the throes of a transformation. It is not true that to lament the passing of the rural scene is naive or childish. The characteristic Indian city has, in its mixture of crudity, overcrowding, lack of elementary sanitary and civic amenities, become an abhorrent object. But many of its kind are bound to spring up because of the policy of industrialisation. They must necessarily arise at the expense of the countryside. The degradation of the villages near Madras city, as it spreads its tentacles by slow, creeping means, is an indication of what may eventually overtake the country. At such a time it is permissible to recall the rural felicity that was Tambaram in the years that have gone by.

N.S.R.

OVER A. I. R.

By M. KRISHNAN

May was more notable for policies and procedural details announced by the Union Minister for Broadcasting than for programmes broadcast over A.I.R.

There was the announcement that in future a "stricter system of screening artists" by audition committees would be introduced, and that "a stricter watch" would be kept on the standard of performing artists who would, in case of any variation in standard, find such departures from the norm "reflected in their grading and the numbers of programmes given to them". Further, it was announced that in future audition tests would be recorded and not live, i.e., that the judges would hear "tape recordings of candidates' performances rather than hear them in person".

I have never been able to see the sense behind all these panels and committees of judges and stricter watches. Originally the responsibility of picking and choosing artists and arranging for programmes devolved on the men who were selected, appointed and paid to do the job, i.e., the station directors and programme staff of A.I.R. Later, for some reason, panels and committees of judges were entrusted with the job of hearing and grading music-broadcasters, such panels consisting mainly of non-official, honorary judges.

That was a basic mistake. It was a needless and public confession of professional inefficiency and lack of faith in the staff, to appoint outside judges. And naturally this move depressed and extinguished what enthusiasm for work there was in the staff.

I have no friends in A.I.R., and therefore know nothing of its organization and internal machinery. It could be that there is much hidden talent in A.I.R., and I do not know of it. But even granting, hypothetically, that A.I.R. just didn't have the programme staff and directors with sufficiently informed tastes and judgment to pick and choose its

purveyors of music, was it a wise or a fair move to shift this responsibility to honorary panels?

This shift seems, to me, to have been motivated by two delusions: first, that a man will do his job all the better if he is not paid for it and that an amateur is more efficient than a professional; second, that because a man is a Judge of the High Court or an Accountant-General (don't take me too literally over this—I mention these only as "type-specimens" of distinguished public appointments) his knowledge of the arts is trustworthy! I will go further: even if the motive behind this panel system was that men in high positions are less prone to "influence" in the exercise of their judgment, such a consideration was deluded and false. How many high civil officials all over the world have been punished for corruption and graft, in recent years! After all, however expert or highborn a panel might be, it still consists of mortals, no less prone to the failings of the flesh than the lowliest citizen. The idea that Mr. X, who is on a panel judging aspirants to distinction in any fine art, is above inefficiency or "induction" because he is the Accountant-General, is fundamentally unsound, undemocratic, and the thought of a toady and an ignoramus. Have a look at the history of any fine art, anywhere. How many of the men who have contributed to any great literature, or to a country's music or graphic art, either as exponent or as critic, have been judges of the High Court or Accountants-General?

I have argued this point somewhat provocatively so that you may come at me with the counter that it is I that am muddle-headed, and that the A.G. (I don't think there is an A.G. on any A.I.R. panel, in fact—it should be safe to mention him as the "type-specimen") is on the panel not because he is A.G., but because he is a recognized expert on Carnatic Music. So that's why he is there, is he? Very well then,

how about the many distinguished professional musicians in the employ of A.I.R.? Would you care to suggest, even tentatively, that their knowledge of Carnatic Music is less sound than the A.G.'s? And how about you and me, the men who pay for radio licenses and listen to A.I.R. music broadcasts? Why can't we have any say in the matter?

I think I can answer the last question. A.I.R. did try (if it is still not trying), long and earnestly, to get the opinion of the listener on its broadcasts. That was wasted effort, in the main, for the following reasons:

1. The majority of literate Indians do not write in to give their sincere opinion on any broadcast. The habit, which habit only can provide any reliable data, just doesn't obtain in our country.
2. When the opinion of any radio-license holder is requested on some selected programme, he still does not send in anything useful because:
 - (a) He is not given to writing in (i.e., the same as No. 1 supra), or else he has lost the reply-card sent to him, and will not spend money on stamps, being economically-minded.
 - (b) He does write in, but only to say that the wife went off to the 9-15 show, leaving him to solve the problem of the baby's feed, and the wretched feeding-bottle

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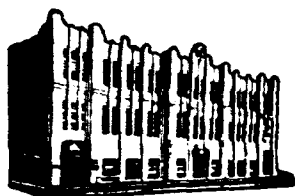
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Secretary.

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Paid-up .. "	64,70,790
Reserve & Other Funds .. "	90,50,000
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wouldn't work, not till he had spent half an hour in investigating the jam and finally discovered that he shouldn't have corked up the top with the cork from the cough-mixture bottle, and how could he possibly listen with the baby wailing all the time like a banshee?

- (c) He writes a 14-page letter to tell A.I.R. all about his own formidable knowledge of Carnatic Music and what a sensitive ear he has, and also to say that in his considered opinion a particular kriti (which was not featured in the broadcast he was asked to listen to) should not be sung, as some ignorant musicians were now singing it, in a quick tempo.

Furthermore, things are complicated by the fact that some singers and talkers get their friends to write letters to A.I.R. in praise of their programmes. A.I.R. is usually good at spotting such inspired appreciations, and sends back a smugly-worded printed form to thank the writer for his valued opinion.

All the same A.I.R. will find it rewarding to try and elicit or appraise the preferences of its listeners in organizing its musical broadcasts. Music is the one live art in our country today, for it is the only art wherein public interest is both informed and acute.

In any case, all this screening and stricter watching can do little good. You cannot treat artists as if they were school-children, upgrading and degrading them in class, rewarding and punishing them with greater and lesser opportunities, and still get any real art out of them. I do not, for a moment, question Dr. Keskar's sincerity or zeal. But may I suggest to him that even where a course of study is prescribed, and patterned, and taught, examinations can serve only a limited purpose in testing skill or knowledge, and that it is unscientific and preposterous to

claim any infallibility for them? At a tape-recorded audition a singer may (having heard of the Stricter Standard proposed) be nervous, or he may perform well below his best for other reasons. It is also possible that the tape-recording might exaggerate certain tonal values or stresses, or even at times be responsible for flaws—such things have been known in A.I.R. broadcasts from recordings.

Perhaps it will really help if all these panels and committees are scrapped, and the men who are being paid to run A.I.R. (highly qualified people, many of them) are also trusted to do their jobs as well as they know how. Too strict and needless a watch has been suffered by these good people in the past few years.

The A.I.R. Light Music Festival—termed *Sugam Sangeet Samaroh* by A.I.R.—extended from May 26 to May 28 as per the news item published in the papers, but actually extended over May 28 as well. It was, to the extent to which I listened to it, the most convincing musical argument I have heard in favour of A.I.R. broadcasting more and more "illumini-geet". This *Sugam Sangeet* programme is nothing but an imitation of "illumini-geet", and a poor one at that. There is no reason why A.I.R. should waste time and money providing a substitute that is worse than the original. Why should Tamil songs be set to tunes in North Indian ragas, as they were in the S.S. broadcast from Tiruchi on the night of May 28? And why should the people who set these songs to tunes pay so little attention to their meaning? There was no lightness in tunes of the doleful ditties broadcast. And let me give you a faithful translation of the opening line of one of these S.S. songs—it was sung in a melancholy Bageshri:

'Why this vain desire?
At dawn you may be dead.'
Comment is needless.

Science, in itself, is ethically neutral. It confers power, but for evil just as much as for good. It is to feeling, not to knowledge, that we must appeal if science is to be beneficent.—Bertrand Russell.

CENTRAL BUDGET ANOMALIES: OUT-KALDORING KALDOR

By GARGYA

THE Union Finance Minister has often expressed in characteristically unambiguous language his views against large scale deficit financing. Created money as a source of funds for the Second Plan seemed to him full of mischievous potency. He has sought to incorporate his views and build them into the framework of his 15th of May budget. In the result he has relied on excises, customs and taxation as the main resource finders for the Plan and also as curbs on inflation. The general effect has not been very different from what Charlie Chaplin portrayed in his famous picture "The Great Dictator". In the picture the Dictator seeks to decorate the counterpart of General Goering and finding that the medal-mad General had already riddled his vast chest and abdominal area with decorations, asks him to turn round and finding to his utter bewilderment even the back of the outsize General congested by a cluster of medals, fastens his award in despair on an unusual part of the General's anatomy.

By the same token, the possibilities in the field of direct taxation were believed widely to have been nearly exhausted—with income and supertax rates taking us at the highest levels to 92 per cent leaving 8 per cent in the hands of the assessee as his nett taxed income. Corporate taxation was also believed to have gone to a level where the industrialist and his incentive were nearly parting company. All this comes of being old fashioned in one's textual and orthodox notions of public finance, and what is therefore wrong with pastures new if novel?

Nicholas Kaldor has come to India's rescue. He produced a report in the course of a brief stay in India that contained many novelties. The Wealth and Expenditure taxes are his particular specialities. In fact he can claim copyright for the Expenditure tax which is his brain child—on which

he has written a book. Mr. Kaldor tried to sell the idea to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer some years ago, but that far seeing gentleman, with a shrewd estimate of what that may involve the much-harried British tax-payer in, refused to induct it into the British taxation system.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. John Matthai has examined the Indian taxation system with rare thoroughness and competence. Their knowledge of the incidence of diverse taxes on the Indian tax-payer had led them to make recommendations that took account of our difficulties, though there may have been, here and there, some odd unrealistic suggestions. The Commission was knowledgeable in its assessments and constructive in the additional tax sources suggested. But apparently the exigencies of Plan finance were such that the Commission's suggestions were found not to take them far enough. We are thus inaugurating the Kaldor era in our financial history. India has always welcomed things exotic. The Congress Government in particular has secretly worshipped at exotic shrines with greater fervour and for longer periods than the Communists ever worshipped Moscow and nobody has twitted the Communists more than the Congressman on their cult of a distant Fatherland.

The effect of the excise duties on matches, sugar, coffee, tea, paper and the increased post card rates and railway fares constitute direct and immediate inroads into the home budget of the wage-earning and fixed income classes. Not less so are the increased customs duties on 90 articles of import. There has been a great deal of talk on the floor of Parliament by the Ministers of Food and Agriculture, Commerce and Industries and by the Finance Minister about holding the price line. Nothing has bewildered the wage

earners and the salariat who have, in helpless silence, watched prices spiral up significantly in the 3 or 4 months preceding the budget, more than this tall claim. In fact the suspicion is that figures that are produced by the Finance Ministry's statistical branch have no relation to the dismaying actualities of consumer prices. However, the Finance Minister has come out with excises that cannot by their size and percentage be absorbed by the producing industries and he knows it. So the prices have risen since the budget on all articles of consumption on which additional excises have been levied and in sympathy therewith on other basic articles of consumption. Nothing can be more directly inflationary than the excises and customs now announced, so far as the middle and small income groups are concerned. The effect of pumping Nasik currency into circulation may take time, but excises make a direct hit on prices. The objectives of keeping prices in check and inflationary forces under control have been defeated.

The Finance Minister indicates he wants a check on consumption and welcomes it. What are the objects of the Plans (First and Second) one wonders: Are they not to increase living standards? To make people increase their earnings and their capacity to consume? We are a chronically under-consuming country, deficient in nourishment and in the caloric content needed for sustaining basic working capacity. We are also underclothed and underhoused. The subnormality of our capacity as consumers in every sector is vouched for by every internal and international statistical survey of our living conditions. It seems therefore sad that we should be made to believe that we are very much like the citizens of U.K. who are asked to consume less. Austerity has a significance where living standards are high, but austerity and consumption checks in a country that has not been able to ensure two square meals to its citizens can only mean that the economic well-being of the citizen is a subsidiary objective, what time the Moloch of the Second Plan is sought to be pro-

pitiated. The Second Plan is a means and not an end and country-wide distress caused by widening domestic deficits — the terror of the thrifty Indian housewife — can only lead to a state of settled improvidence, from which it will be difficult to retrieve the wage earning citizen. Foreign exchange is very essential — but we do not improve our industrial capacity in order to cater to external markets first, but to meet home demand. Checks on consumption in the form of excises in a country that is trying to emerge from sub-normal to normal consuming capacity are indefensible.

The excise duties on cement and steel are bound to put up house building costs further. In no sector has the coefficient of inflation gone so high as in house building — with direct increase in building materials, with visible and invisible increase in wages (where man-hour-output has been reduced to half of two-thirds, as it has been all over the country, the rise is invisible though substantial); and on top of this has been superimposed the additional excises on cement and steel.

The cement industry is still a private sector activity and great expansion schemes are under way — with the Finance Minister himself in his former mantle as Commerce and Industries Minister being the most zealous sponsor of expansion programmes. The industry was refused an increase of Rs. 2 per ton recommended by the Tariff Commission in 1953 as involving the consumer in great hardship. Within a few days of their refusal came a five rupee excise duty on cement which was added on to the consumer price and the consumer could presumably stand such an increase where Government was the beneficiary. Then came the State Trading Corporation, to which the entire industry was obliged to sell the cement by a Delhi fiat. Then came the consumer price fixation of cement at Rs. 102-8, a drastic increase indeed and that for an interesting reason. We are short of our needs. We have to import one million tons to fill the gap. The import price of cement is Rs. 100. This has to be sold at a

loss to the Indian consumer. The Indian-produced cement must therefore be sold at Rs. 102-8 alongside of imported cement and the difference between what S.T.C. pays to the Indian producer and receives from the consumer was expected to finance the trading in imported cement. The price was fixed in reference to one million tons to be imported. This quantity could not be imported — as foreign manufacturers were unable to oblige us to this extent. We have imported about a twentieth of this quantity — and our loss on import is very small. The profit on Indian cement sold has accrued to S.T.C.'s coffers. The loss to be subsidised or recovered is small and has no relation to the profit actuals. From all this, the Indian consumer has an opportunity of judging who is the exploiter, the industrialist who makes less than a fourth of what this new statutory intermediary the S.T.C. is making or the Government. The curious thing is that the Government who is the major consumer of cement today for Plan projects, in paying the increased excise of Rs. 15, is merely transferring money from one pocket to another — debiting the public sector and crediting central revenues. The private consumer is at a disadvantage. The position in regard to steel is not very different. The increased excise will put up consumer costs of Tatas' and Indian Irons' output and Government as major consumer will be effecting book entries while the private consumer will be paying more. The Government units of production now under erection will collect a higher consumer price in due course, as we shall have by then got used to higher consumer prices and ensured the profitable working of these high cost public sector schemes.

The common man's immediate concern with the bundle of direct taxes is the reduced floor of income-tax level from Rs. 4,200 to Rs. 3,000. This increases the number of assesseees by a few lakhs. In the Deshmukh period, the floor was raised in order to rid the department of uneconomic work from the revenue point of view. The reduction in the

floor cannot on balance mean much to Government, while a large number of small income earners will be called upon to budget for tax payment on top of higher living costs. The small earner knows very well what high indirect taxes he is paying for articles he consumes, apart from sales taxes to his State and a direct levy was unnecessary to make him feel he is contributing to the Plan. In fact no man is putting up with greater sacrifices than the small income man, because of the rigours of inflation he has so patiently borne for years now. The reduction is not worthwhile — and considering the augmented area of assessment and discontent it creates — it would have been statesmanly to avoid it.

The increased tax on companies was perhaps to be expected and may not work serious hardship, while the increase in bonus tax on companies is an aggravation of an iniquitous impost. The reduction in dividend tax, the softening of the rigours of personal super tax and the bifurcated slabs of personal taxation in respect of earned and unearned incomes are all welcome and constitute the incentive promoting items of taxation — so long as they are not read with other imposts. The wealth tax is an extraordinary impost on property. Assets yield income which in turn is taxed. Why should wealth be regarded as an improper thing to own, while Government wants to improve its revenue from the income it brings? Why should the sources of such incomes be impaired and sabotaged by a levy? How is it different from that Communist brain child — the capital levy? Why should the mere fact of a house standing on its foundations and other items of property be taxed for the mere fact of their being assets apart from the income therefrom which is presently taxed at municipal, State and Central levels?

Why should public companies be called upon to pay the Wealth tax? Public companies are formed to promote an industry as one or two individuals cannot find the money to set up an industry. The principle of joint stock enterprise is that to initiate some type of economic activity, a number of

THE ANDHRA BANK LTD., MASULIPATAM

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER 1956

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
CAPITAL :				Cash	1,09,75,491	11	3
Authorised capital	1,00,00,000	0	0	Balance with other Banks in current account	20,53,899	10	11
Issued capital	50,00,000	0	0	Investments at cost	3,17,79,268	3	6
Subscribed capital	48,99,000	0	0	Advances	6,13,12,878	12	0
Called and Paid up capital	34,41,460	0	0	Bills receivable being bills for collection as per contra	86,73,393	2	4
Reserve Fund and other Reserves	16,63,000	0	0	Constituents liabilities for acceptances, endorsements and other obligations per contra	13,20,690	11	6
Deposits and other accounts	9,28,18,480	4	4	Premises (less depreciation)	6,06,744	2	7
Borrowings from Banking Companies Agents etc.	60,45,295	10	7	Furniture and fixtures (less depreciation)	4,18,489	14	8
Bills payable	14,14,832	11	9	Other assets including silver	12,26,162	8	3
Bills for collections being bills receivable as per contra	86,73,393	2	4	Non-Banking Assets acquired in satisfaction of claims	45,969	10	6
Other liabilities	30,78,639	12	6				
Acceptances, Endorsement and other obligations as per contra	13,20,690	11	6				
Profit and loss account	1,57,196	2	6				
Total	11,84,12,988	7	6	Total	11,84,12,988	7	6

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Chief Accountant.

T. R. BHAGAVAT,
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people agree to pool their resources and deliberately create a large asset as a producer of manufactured goods. The egalitarian principle is peculiarly irrelevant here—for there cannot be anything socially or economically improper in an industry being organised. The Kaldor report does not approve of the Wealth tax being applied to public companies. A company which has created a large unit of production which has not commenced commercial production will only add to the other handicaps by paying a Wealth tax on its assets during the period it is not gainfully employed. This is verily a case of out-Kaldoring Kaldor and it is hoped the Finance Minister will see the unwisdom and economic indefensibility of this impost on public companies.

The Expenditure tax is a naked piece of double taxation of income. Incomes over Rs. 60,000 are heavily taxed already. Rs. 60,000 income suffers a tax of Rs. 22,553 as earned and Rs. 25,752 as un-earned income. The intention is to levy a tax on all expenditure over Rs. 24,000. The first Rs. 10,000 in excess of this is to be taxed 10% and at Rs. 50,000 excess expenditure level, the tax will be 100% or Rs. 50,000. This purports to be a tax on wasteful and ostentatious expenditure. It would be good to know whether the Finance Minister would in a time of steadily mounting living costs be able to determine arbitrarily with the tape measure of a currency that has shown such amazing capacity for depreciation, what is a fair ceiling for spending in India? The same income bears income and super taxes and in the course of being spent on consumer goods suffers sales taxes and on top of these is now proposed the Expenditure tax. The Wealth and Expenditure taxes are intended by Kaldor to be not only revenue earners but a comprehensive fiscal curtain round the assessee. The assessee with Rs. 60,000 income will have to keep accounts of all his income and outgoings and as he is most likely to be a victim of the Wealth tax, will have to spend a great deal of time in taking stock of his assets, his income and his expen-

diture, all in order that he may pay a major part of his income as tax.

The Government of India is very keen on implementing the Second Plan in the manner that they have agreed to phase. The end of the first year however found that the cost of several projects had gone up. This necessitated a revision of the Plan budget. The budget just now presented has prominently on its instrument panel the accelerator of inflation. The indirect imposts including the customs duties on 90 articles portend rising prices and in their wake increased wages. It is not the reluctance of the Indian citizen to pay taxes to the extent asked for that is likely to hamper Plan implementation, but the inflationary forces which are

likely to increase Plan costs and prove the biggest obstacle in carrying out the projects according to schedule. The resources planned to be obtained are based on several assumptions including those made about external aids and gifts. The non-fulfilment of these expectations is likely to add to the burden on internal resources. It seems essential therefore to recognise that public co-operation at whatever strain to Indian economy, which may be offered, is unlikely to meet the requirements of the Plan and it may therefore be necessary to extend the period of the Plan and to concentrate in the coming four years on the more essential projects comprised in it. (This article was received prior to the withdrawal of some of the excise imposts by the Finance Minister.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

ERASING NAMES UTTERLY ILLOGICAL

Sir,—I had the opportunity to go through your fine magazine when I called on a South Indian friend. I was interested in the excellent editorial (?) "Sidelights" in which you criticised Mr. Naicker's movement.

We in Bombay get but little news about this movement. But I, though a Parsi, have followed it as best as I could for the simple reason I had been in Madras for long.

Why should 'Brahmin' be erased from signs? I think it is utterly illogical to obliterate names when names have a special meaning and advertisement message. I often stepped into a restaurant with the name 'Brahmin' for the simple reason I relished the preparations of the Brahmins who have built up a reputation for a certain type of good cuisine, a modicum of cleanliness, and other virtues. In my travels abroad, and in my long residence in Bombay, I was guided by signs too. An Italian restaurant was my choice when in a certain mood. This had nothing to do with the degree of my love for Italians. How odd if the name 'Italian'

were to be erased for the reason one could not stick Italians?

Similarly if I cared for pastries I walk into a Greek restaurant, and often in many places the word Greek or Italian is blazoned on the board. I do not want to multiply instances.

We like people for what they are, for their intellectual acumen and culture. It would have been thoroughly wrong if Brahmin restaurants prevented non-Brahmins entering, but this being not the case, the E.V.R. movement is without foundation.

As a free Indian I'd like to know where I eat, the company I mix with, and God forbid that the State should intervene. Love for fellowmen is a result of self-education and not due to the influence of name tags.

Bombay.

C. N. VAKIL.

FREEZING OF A STATE LOAN

Sir,—The freezing for twenty years of the Soviet State Loan amounting to 260 million roubles virtually means confiscating Rs. 30,000,000,000 (at the official exchange) of Soviet workers and

peasants who had been forced to subscribe to various government loans during the last ten years at the expense of their personal needs. Some people might have voluntarily contributed towards the State Loan in expectation of gains in future believing perhaps the words of their rulers that their money would be worth several times after Russia stabilised its economy, but now they have come to know the real worth of their money! In a democracy, if the government cheats and swindles workers and peasants like this, it will be thrown out in the very next general election but the people in the Communist countries have to endure it in silence. The people living in Communist heavens can perhaps appreciate the value of democracy better than those living in the free world. Bangalore S. S. BANKESHWAR.

PAUL PAYS!

Sir,—On assuming the Finance Minister's gadi, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have stated that his policy would be that of Robin-Hood — Robbing Peter and paying Paul.

When the naya paisa came into force, postal rates were raised but the common man was pleased that the retail rate of post-card was 5 naye paise and that of local card was 3 naye paise, equivalent to 9 pies and 6 pies respectively. But nothing can escape Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's ingenuity. Paul's pleasure was shortlived.

Already the cost of living is steadily mounting and with the increased tax proposals we do not know whither we are drifting.

The budget will come out unscathed in Parliament, thanks to the Congress Party's brute majority. R. SRINIVASAN.

Radiation Hazards

(Continued from Page 2)

are at present holding down the existing mutation rate, to mutate. We might then get mutation on a large and violent scale in some forms of life. This might be partly an advantage in some species though probably not in our own.

"A further point of importance is that radiation from some types of nuclear explosion could cause mutation in pathogenic organisms and perhaps viruses. If a new and more

vicious race of rust of wheat arose in this way, it might sweep across the wheat growing areas of the world, and drastically reduce our bread supply for a long time. New human viruses might also arise.

"This is not intended to frighten Lord Cherwell. It is just to ask him not to consider himself an expert on mutagenic agents and mutation effects when he isn't one. I, as a biologist, am very frightened indeed about radiation hazards, principally because I can imagine many kinds of unpleasant biological happenings in the future. And my fears are shared by many eminent geneticists who work in this field."

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

dom in doing your work." Sri Prakasam retorted: "What Vithalbhair, you do not know what you are speaking, he sometimes gives me a little freedom". The whole table went into an uproar at this.

The foregoing is a recollected summary of what I said at a recent condolence meeting to mourn Andhra Kesari's death. I am setting it down here at the request of some friends who were present at the meeting and others who were not. Being now beyond the vanity of wishing to see myself reported in the Press, I can afford to give the reporters of the dailies and their censors the sub-editors this tip: "Do not lose a good story, especially when it tells of the departed great in whom the public is likely to be interested, in your pursuit of big names and empty noise."

SAKA.

Impressions of Peace Convention

(Continued from Page 6)

should withhold their support. The movement was open to everybody: but, like Harijan entry to the temples, it was not enough to open them in law and theory; it was also essential that everyone working for the same objectives should enter the movement and give it their support.

He had already shown what his own support meant, but he showed it again the next day when he presided over a working session and, before it was over, undertook to give his help and advice to the

Action Committee when it was set up. "From now on," said Pandit Sundar Lal, glowing with enthusiasm, "we can look to Rajaji as our guide, philosopher and friend." The phrase was more than a cliché.

But the real meaning of Rajaji's presence at Bangalore was summed up in private by a young man who when we met before the meeting, had remarked cynically that great names have their uses as names and were often more valuable than the people to whom they belonged. Now as we parted, he said to me with an earnestness that I had not expected: "You know, Rajaji really is a great man."

I laughed, and asked: "Didn't I tell you?"

But the young man was not laughing. He was serious. He said: "I knew that he had a great brain. But the kind of greatness that the world needs today has to be founded on love and respect for ordinary people. This week-end has taught me that Rajaji is a great democrat. That is the kind of leadership and following that we need if we are going to save the world."

BOOKS ON ECONOMICS

Rs. A.

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<i>Elements of Pure Economics or the theory of Wealth</i> by Leon Walrus	.. 31	8
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<i>History of Economic Analysis</i> by Joseph A. Schumpeter	.. 93	0

K. MAHADEVAN,

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MADRAS-4

ther the emphasis laid on it should not be redistributed. It is certainly desirable that its great prizes should become available in five years, but considering that this is not possible unless at the expense of public suffering (though only for a limited period), it must be considered whether it is not advisable, perhaps even necessary, to rephrase the Plan so that its ends may be achieved in, say, seven or eight years. A little delay will prove acceptable to public opinion. The alternative is perhaps the failure of the Plan.

Two Thousand Scientists Have Warned

Dr. Ralph Lapp, atomic scientist of the United States of America, has testified before the special Congressional sub-committee studying radiation dangers. On Wednesday June 5, he said that there was so much radio-active matter in the atmosphere already that in Washington itself one could wipe a tissue over a car top and cause a 'geiger counter' to respond readily. He has suggested that the United States might consider creating a "human sperm bank" to carry on succeeding generations in case of a nuclear war. The grim irony of this suggestion may perhaps be explained to the uninformed. The genetic effects of radio-activity, Dr. Lapp believes, will be so serious that to maintain the race of American citizens in health and normality, a bank of sperm of normal health may have to be opened (like the "blood banks") for fertilisation in future generations! Dr. Lapp is not a layman or 'fellow-traveller'. He is one of the group who worked and rose to prominence during the World War II in the metallurgical laboratory of the Atomic Weapons Project of U.S.A. (called the Manhattan Project). It was the project that produced the bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After the war, among other things, he has been head of the Nuclear Physics Branch of the Office of Naval Research and Director of Nuclear Science Service in Washington. He has de-

IKE'S EYES OPENING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

At last President Eisenhower has recognised the "world-anxiety" over radio-active fallout. Mr. MacMillan tried to make out in Parliament that it was all crankism and laymen's ignorance. President Eisenhower has been compelled to admit what everybody knows, that there is grave anxiety all over the world and that the demand for an immediate and total ban on the test explosions can no longer be ignored or obstinately resisted. What the U. S. President now asks as a precedent condition for the halting of nuclear tests is an effective 'framework of disarmament agreement' into which this immediate ban could be 'fitted'. He also adds that we must have a total ban on the use of nuclear weapons if the tests have to be permanently banned. The world would hail a total ban on the use of nuclear weapons. But what stands in the way? As far as one can see Russia has over and over again offered it and it is the distrust of this side that halts the offer from immediately becoming an agreement. If offers must for ever be distrusted, how can we ever secure a ban of the use of nuclear weapons 'for ever' such as now President Eisenhower asks as a con-

dition precedent for halting the tests? We are going round and round like a kitten chasing its own tail.

The whole or nothing at all is a sterile formula. The immediate and urgent step would be also a fruitful step. It stands put off by reason of this formula.

And even if we solve the whole before we tackle the urgent part, is there a reasonable attempt to end the strife in that way? One fails to see it. In spite of all these bleak circumstances, I feel good days are coming for there is an upheaval of conscience among all the great and good men. What better solution can man invent to meet the complaints of satelitism on both sides of the Iron Curtain than what has been now seriously proposed by Khrushchev that all the military forces of the United States and Soviet Russia be withdrawn from Europe? This proposal if accepted by the West would end the cold war in its worst aspect. It is an unanswerable proposal but it has been answered by America. "It is an attempt to drive a wedge between allies" says President Eisenhower. That is to say, it is an attempt to end the cold war!

clared it as his opinion that limited and small-scale atomic wars which are the hope of the West in their present day military circles, is a futility. (*Atoms and People* by Dr. Ralph Lapp: Harper). He has already expressed the view emphatically in this book that "the decision to use the bomb (over Japan in 1945) will rank as one of the greatest errors of judgment on the part of U.S. officials".

Dr. Lawrence Snyder, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, said on Friday June 7 that the President was "a little out of line" in

under-estimating the value of scientific opinion protesting against further nuclear tests. "Certainly the men who signed the appeal" he said, "knew what they were talking about. Some were physicists, chemists and mathematicians, of course; but the majority of them were highly competent biologists and all of them have intimate knowledge of radiation effects". 2000 scientists led by Nobel Prizeman Dr. Linus Pauling have appealed for a ban on nuclear tests in a signed petition.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



Sotto Voce

To Heaven by the Service-staircase

The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa conforms to the age-long tradition of official Christianity in keeping faithfully in step with the State when influence or even survival depends on this. The master-race of the Union is pursuing with systematic ruthlessness the policy of apartheid. If the black or brown man cannot be wholly eliminated from the sacred land, let him be kept discreetly out of sight and smell. He must be herded in locations of his own, made to live the basement life of the slavey and at last find his way to Heaven by the service-staircase.

But the Afrikaaner is European enough to be as avid for soul-savings as the Salvation Army itself. It is the sublimation of the primitive instinct to hunt for scalps which marks the Occidental from every other member of the genus homo. To the modern European Christianity is chiefly useful because it is a good westerniser. No wonder that the official Press of the Union Government hails the decision of the Dutch Reformed Church to establish a separate Church for the Indians in Natal as "an event of great importance for the non-white Christians of Natal". This confers on apartheid the utmost respectability by suggesting to the Indian Christians of Natal that the new Church will automatically raise their status by keeping the native Africans out of their congregation.

No doubt it is shrewdly calculated that this should be some salve for the bruised self-respect of the Indian Christian who finds he cannot enter a White Church. Evangelical Christianity has always displayed consummate virtuosity in summoning snobbery to

its aid. From the days when Robert de Nobili paraded in the robes of a Brahman Sannyasin to attract high-class converts down to our own times the Catholic Church has shown itself even more subtle than the other Christian persuasions in accommodating those practices which might help to make the new faith less strange and uncomfortable to proselytes. The self-consciousness with which the 'Brahmans' in a Southern town in my college days who had an exclusive colony of their own, flaunted their sandal paste caste-mark and their extra-thick upaveeta as they sat on their pials, was a complex which Freud might have recognised. But it showed Rome as the better strategist.

Still the crucial problem of evangelical politics in this era of exacerbated nationalism is to reconcile the zeal for wholesale conversions with the need to maintain the purity and prestige of the herren-volk. The first White preacher of the Indian Church in Natal which apparently will continue to have White preachers in spite of the mono-chrome composition of its laity — is clearly aware that the Indians' passion for racial equality may prove an awkward complicating factor. It has probably been responsible for the slow progress of Christianity among the community. While in the past few decades millions of Africans have been won for Christ barely five per cent of the Indians have embraced the faith.

And these are mostly from the Hindus. The Muslims, says the Revd. J. Pretorius, are a tough proposition. The proselytisers therefore prefer to concentrate on the Hindus. And they have high

hopes of the outcome of the Indian evangelists' zealous labours. It may be that these evangelists themselves are not wholly immune from those egalitarian sentiments which are so widespread among their Hindu compatriots. To that extent they might find it less easy confidently to command acceptance of a faith which has been so largely mixed up with White superiority.

But the White directors of the evangelical movement are no doubt confident that Christianity can still act as a powerful solvent of ancient ties. In India itself the Indian Christian community long held aloof from the main currents of the national life. The Government which was in a position to bestow large favours, was not supposed to interest itself in the evangelical work. But the British authority not only consistently encouraged the separatist mentality in the religious minorities. It taught the Indian Christians to look up to the Europeans as their cultural exemplar. This was apparently considered the best way to build a second line of defence for the Raj.

If a new and energetic assault is made on the faith of the Hindus of South Africa, our 'nationalist' politicians cannot be acquitted of all blame. They have, for long years, helped unconsciously but nevertheless effectively, to weaken the Indian settlers' healthy resistance to cultural erosion. The British power used to send ambassadors, *ad hoc* and ornamental, to teach the Indians the sovereign virtue of patience. These goody-goody folk thought it incumbent upon them to exhort their fellow-countrymen "to do in Rome as the Romans do". They forgot that our neo-Romans in Natal were not there on a six-week trip. The Indians were asked to abjure their traditional mores and way of life in order to become "good South Africans". If muscular Christianity decides to profit by this age-long softening who shall blame it?

VIGNESWARA

THE PARADOX OF LAND REFORM

By T. S. BALARAMAN

The problem of land reform in India is one that is of prime importance, agriculture being the main occupation of nearly 70 per cent of the population, but the steps proposed to be taken strike one as retrograde rather than progressive. Fragmentation and poverty are at the root of the anaemic state of our agriculture and it is recognized all round that something must be done to stop the one and eradicate the other. Our Governments bandy the word 'ceiling on land holdings' as though it is the only thing required. Indeed the different states seem to vie with each other in advertising guaranteed sovereign remedies in the form of slogans like 'Land for the tiller', as though it were some patent medicine.

The term "land for the tiller" would mean that every one of the tillers would be given a plot of land for himself, that is, the available land would be distributed among the millions who depend on land for their livelihood. Ridiculous as this is, it is the notion that has been given to the illiterate villagers by the ruling party in their recent vote-catching drive. Peripatetic Acharya Bhava is trekking the country with his panacea for all land troubles, Bhoodan. Even the Congress, in spite of Mr. Nehru's and Mr. Dhebar's half-hearted speeches, is rather skeptical about it. The net result of all this loose talk of land reform is to scare the bigger landholder who feels that his land is sliding under his feet.

In this connection a short study of the history of land reform in England would be of advantage. In the middle ages agriculture was the main pursuit of the Englishman and their land was cultivated under the open field system, much like the present day system obtaining in our country. Later there was a scramble for land among the middle class merchants, who by possessing land would have the social status of squires, when the monastery lands were

thrown open to the public. Then the new land-owners started enclosing their lands with fences. Later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most of the small fields were acquired and consolidated by the larger holders as large holdings are necessary for the application of scientific methods of production. The Government aided in this process, with necessary legislation. Further agriculture was always given the required support in the form of bounties. Outdated as the corn laws were in later days, at the time they were introduced they gave the much needed fillip to the local agriculturist and helped him tide over the bad years following the Napoleonic wars.

It would be a travesty of the facts to say that anything like a scientific method of crop-raising is followed in India. So far no Townshend has come forth in the midst of our agriculturists and, in spite of large quantities of Sindri fertiliser being dumped all over the place, the system of agriculture obtaining here is not much different from what was followed a thousand years back. Rather the position is worse now. The large holder is not interested in stepping up the yield of the land, since the State has the intention of taking his land out of his hands for the benefit of the country at large, while the labourer and the tenant have no incentive to work since they are promised a share of the spoils. To expect the labourer, who at best can lead a hand to mouth existence, to save up and apply scientific methods of farming is the height of folly. The position of the middleman, the tenant, is very ambiguous. The tenant neither owns the land nor tills it. But the Madras Government has decided that he deserves sixty per cent of the yield for merely staying on the spot. From the landowner's point of view his holding is fast changing into a white elephant and he feels that the best he could do with his land would be to sell it.

Reports on the functioning of agricultural co-operatives reflect an atrophied state of affairs. The best farms are those run by some of the large land-owners who have pooled their resources. The general standard of the co-operative farms is so low that the inference is that co-operative farming is not suited to India. In the smaller farms those who have joined the co-operative societies have done so only under the mistaken impression that the land would ultimately be given to them. Even labouring under this misconception their efforts have been poor and yields miserably low. If, instead of trying to graft the agricultural system of a foreign country amongst our countrymen who have an ancient system ingrained in them, the States render necessary aid to the land-owners, our food problem would be nearer its solution.

The large holder is the person who has the means to and is capable of increasing the yield of the land by modern methods of manuring and rotation of crops. Instead of encouraging him and giving him reasonable safeguards, the Government seem to be intent on a policy which fosters trouble between the landlord and the labourer.

It is regretted that on account of an attack of 'flu Saka could not write his weekly feature Sideliights for this issue.



SOME GOOD OMENS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

ON 22nd May at a news conference President Eisenhower said discussing the situation about the disarmament negotiations:

"I think our first concern should be making certain we are not ourselves being recalcitrant, we are not being picayunish about this thing. We ought to have an open mind".

It is a very good omen the American President has suspected recalcitrance in his own side. When either of two parties seeking to come together in peace is in a mood of recognising one's own drawbacks, there is great hope. Another good omen is that the American press recognises that "the whole world is now pressing for disarmament". The quotation is from the *New York Times*.

Admiral A. W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, (who became notorious for a provocative statement about the use of nuclear weapons some time ago) expressed the opinion in an interview on 19th of May that "we cannot trust the Russians on this or anything. The Communists have broken their word with every country with which they ever had an agreement". It is ever well that President Eisenhower has gone out of the way to dissociate himself from this attitude as is clear from the words quoted above spoken by him three days after Admiral Radford's statement. 'Picayunish' is American slang for a petty small-minded approach. It comes from the name of a coin of very small value in currency in some parts of the American continent. The U.S. President has warned his own people against the pettiness of overdoing distrust or fighting over trifles. No agreement can ever be reached for disarmament or for that matter anything else, if one adopts the Radford attitude. It is the direct negative of co-existence and a harking back to the Hitlerian thesis of implacable hatred and 'liquidation'. When any terms are offered or settled and

we desire to come to an agreement, we must take promises at face value. There is no question of trusting. 'Any agreement reached must be self enforcing, not dependent upon trust. Trust is irrelevant'. This was the view expressed by many American officials. This too is not a bad feature although it is put in a different way. It indicates clear thinking as distinguished from hardened prejudice.

The disarmament problem hangs very greatly on the German situation. West Germany goes to the polls this September. This is their third national elections. The battle will be fought over the issue of unification with East Germany. This is the over-riding political objective for all West Germans. Dr. Adenauer and his Christian Democratic party advocate a policy of hoping to achieve this through the pressure of a military alliance with the Western Powers. To this end he has bound West Germany into the Atlantic alliance and undertaken to raise troops to be placed under NATO command. The opposition party, the Social Democrats, claim that unification can be achieved only if West Germany disentangles itself from the West and starts independent negotiations. They point out that America has shown recently in her own interest willingness to deal with Russia on disarmament without giving priority to unification of Germany demonstrating the fundamental weakness of depending on sanctions based on outside military power. In September next the people of West Germany will go to the polls and decide what they consider to be the better way to unification. Any interference in the elections by putting up foreign political alliances is not likely to help. It is unlikely that Dr. Adenauer will make the mistake of inviting resentment by making it appear that America seeks to interfere in the free votes of the people of Germany with his party's connivance.

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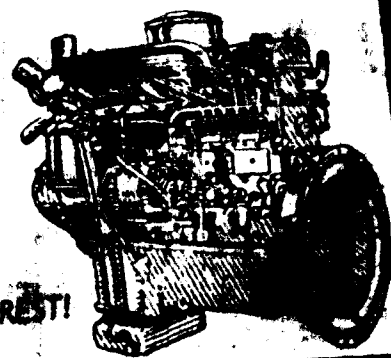
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SWARAJYA

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15 Naye Paise

MADRAS

"AUSTERITY"

The fundamental weaknesses of the country's economy have been laid bare by the Draconian extent of the tax proposals in the Central budget. That levies, in many cases of a prohibitive nature, should be laid on over one hundred articles of common daily use is an indication of the great demands made by the five-year plan of development. It is not a mere coincidence that an acute shortage of foreign exchange should also have made itself felt at the same time. The effect of the Plan is to be perceived in both the fields, the high taxation and the fall in resources of foreign exchange.

The first Plan has succeeded in its purpose. But its very success led to the formulation of another plan on a more grandiose scale. When its details were announced last year, there were not wanting many percipient critics who drew attention to the fact that it was over-ambitious, even unwieldy. It appeared to them that the authors of the Plan had allowed zeal to outrun discretion and that they had exaggerated the capacity of the nation to be able to pay for the vast projects contemplated. These fears have, unhappily, been realised, even to a greater degree than could have been anticipated.

The proposals in the Central budget have been of benefit to this extent that they have destroyed the false complacency which has often been substituted for clear thinking in regard to the Plan. The nation has, as it were, awoken suddenly to the realisa-

tion that the glittering prizes held out by the Plan must be paid for by money and by hard labour. These concepts are common enough in many politically advanced countries in the West. It is common knowledge how, for example, Britain embraced "austerity" almost as if it were a national religion, and rescued itself by its own exertions. Such a happy ending (if an ending has, in fact, been reached) is very difficult of achievement in a country like India where, owing to various historical causes, discipline and order among the public are at a discount.

In politically mature countries economic goals are accepted as points of division among the parties. The merits or demerits of Socialism provide such a distinction there. But here in our country politics is not being transacted along these grounds. The controversies are still religious, sectional and linguistic, if not positively "racial". Under these circumstances which indicate that freedom is hardly adequate under the modern conditions, it is idle to expect a programme of "austerity" to be implemented as it should be if it is to prove successful. The mass of the people, to put it plainly, have no conception of subordinating their desires and inclinations to the paramount needs of their own government; they are not disciplined enough to that extent. The State may impose its ordinances in this respect on its own servants, and it may expect

obedience. But the vast majority of people in India are not Government employees, and from them it may expect only incomprehension and incuriosity, if not positive hostility. They simply cannot comprehend why they should be expected to subordinate their desires to the need, impersonal and distant, of the State. Unless we have misread the character of the present-day Indian people, it does not seem to us likely that any savings will be effected to any appreciable extent from the "austerity" which has now been decreed.

The Union Finance Minister has evolved some truly strange methods of countering the overwhelming criticism raised against his taxation proposals. One vital part of them he has sublimely dismissed by declaring that the statesman who gave expression to it "is not my friend". But perhaps he will be surprised to learn that of the paramount importance of implementing the second Plan his critics are agreed with him, though his utterances, querulous and splenetic in many cases, do not often suggest this. Such great hopes have been raised by the Plan to which, in fact, the future of the country has been mortgaged, that it is inconceivable that any responsible section of public opinion should seek the failure of the Plan. But now that the enormous extent of the burdens its successful implementation has laid on the people has come to be realised, it becomes a question whe-

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A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

THE SWAN IN THE SOUTH

At times it is hard to say whether a bird shown in bas-relief on a lintel or pillar is a swan or a goose, but this is a swan undoubtedly. It is a swan decorating the lintel of the main doorway in a rustic mansion, carved cleanly in the wood, and probably not more than 40 or 50 years old. However, in spite of its comparatively recent origin, it is a typical Indian swan in all ways.

There are pelicans at Pulicat and flamingos in the far South and, who knows, perhaps there are openbills at Oteri, but you are unlikely to see a swan anywhere in South India outside a decorative panel or frieze in stone, or wood. Except in zoos, of course. Our zoos usually feature swans, but then these are imported swans, from Australia and equally remote places. The swan as a free-winged bird is rare anywhere in India and unknown in the South.

That does not, of course, prevent its frequent use as a decorative motif in our sculpture. The lion was never known wild in South India but it is not only frequently featured in our classical sculpture but also often in a more authentically Indian way than in the Greco-Buddhist carvings of the North. The swan, as a decorative motif, is well known to almost all schools of our classical sculpture, and everywhere has much the same morphological identity. In fact, the only bird with which it can be possibly confused on occasion, in our art, is the goose, as already said.

Since our sculptured swan is a mythical bird entirely, it need not and does not have any resemblance to the living bird. It lacks the characteristically elongated neck of the swans of avi-fauna, and its tail is much more curvaceous and involute. Moreover, does it not have a crest? Over this question of crest, two opinions are possible. You may construe the scroll-like projection above



the nape as a crest, a nuchal crest such as spoonbills have in the breeding season, or you may construe it as the other end of the ornamental leafy twig you see near the breast. For years I thought our swan was crested, but now favour the other view. It is not just that I am tired of holding the same opinion for years!

In our literature and folklore, too, the swan is a mythical and not a realistic bird — naturally so, for it was never known here. It is credited with the remarkable ability to separate milk from a mixture of milk and water — scholars have been advised, in ancient, didactic Tamil verse, to emulate the swan and absorb only the worthwhile stuff in the promiscuous literature they imbibe.

May I give you some further information about this mythical fowl, and then ask for some? Swans with leonine, elephantine, human, and Yali heads are known to Southern sculpture, particularly to the Vijayanagar school of carving. That school is best represented by the celebrated ruins of Hampi, and a still-unknown gateway in Madurantakam (recently

recognized and publicised by me as an important, and probably the most perfect, example of Vijayanagar art), and to a lesser extent by the Vijayanagar-type shrines at Vellore and Kanchipuram. In regard to the last two, I fear that our recognized art critics, who have gone more by recorded and conjectured history than by any deep comprehension of the aesthetic expression of this particular school of art, have failed to appreciate the fact that at Vellore and Kanchipuram the carvings betray unmistakable signs of influences that do not belong to the Vijayanagar school (of which Hampi may safely be taken as the touchstone) — somewhat rococo influences that tend to detract from the virility of depiction that is such a feature of true Vijayanagar art.

Never mind who is right over that, our art critics or I, for that is not the point. The point is this: formal swans with unnatural heads are a feature, though not an important feature, of Vijayanagar sculpture. Such carvings are found at Madurantakam, Vellore and Kanchipuram — at all

(Continued on page 15)

own but would not grant that India is entitled to any consideration on that ground. The mood of the M. E. P. Government is friendlier but I am afraid it will simply be a case of willingness without will. Still it is worthwhile exploring every possibility.

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SOUNDARYA LAHARI

BOOK REVIEW

Soundarya Lahari is a glorious hymn of 102 verses by Sri Adi Sankaracharya. The poem is devoted to the praise and worship of Goddess Tripurasundari. In the book under review it is divided into 2 parts called (1) 'Wave of Bliss' and (2) 'Wave of Beauty'. The worship of God as Mother is enjoined by the Sruti Texts in the Vedas. One Rik says, 'Durga is Vairochini radiating with penance for fulfilment of desires.' Another Rik says, 'Let us drink the water hallowed by Vedic Mantra and Devi will shower on us prosperity!' A third Rik says, 'By invoking the mercy of Durga and by surrendering ourselves unto Her we can tide over all trials and tribulations in life.' Thus the worship of Goddess as Mother is ordained by Vedas.

The poem 'Soundarya Lahari' depicts the Goddess Parvathi as embodiment of power and mercy. Swarupa (form of Devi) is described in all its details with a view to enabling the devotee to realise the vision of Ishta Devata in concrete form and shape before his mind's eye. The language of the verse is sweet and mellifluous and its rhetorical excellence is rivalled only by Jayadeva's 'Ashtapadi'.

The slokas are printed in bold type with 3 commentaries. The commentary 'Lakshmidhara' is copious and exhaustive and it elucidates difficult verses. 'Arunamodini' is also a famous commentary of Kamesvara Surin. The merit of this commentary lies in its sharp comments on Lakshmidhara's and the reasons are given for difference in views. These 2 commentaries are Advaitic in interpretation. 'Soubhagyavardhani' was written by Kaivalyarama, a pupil of

Govindasrama and therein numerous extracts are cited from Vedas and Srutis dealing with the cult of Sakti. The English translation of Sri Ananthakrishna Sastri and Sri Karra Ramamurthi Garu is precise and accurate and brings out the idea of each verse in a forceful way. All the commentaries will be helpful to an earnest juvenile devotee to solve the problem of the first approach to the worship of Mother.

There are 2 methods of approach for worship of Mother. One is extraspective and the other introspective. This edition is remarkable in that it gives the mantra, yantra and chakra for each sloka. Sree Chakra, the Empress of Chakras is printed on page 46 as illustrative of verse 22. 'Lakshmidhara' enunciates 4 grades of spiritual evolution, viz. 'Salokya', 'Samipya', 'Sarupya' and 'Sayujya'. The promotion to the higher grades depends on the nature and degree of devotion. The forms of worship are divided into 3 main groups: 'Kaula', 'Misra' and 'Samaya'. The Kaula method has been interdicted as Vamachara resulting in black magic. The Misra group treats of Dharma, Karma and Upasana. The Samaya group is most important and it has moksha in view. It teaches the means of liberating the soul from its limitations. Sir John Woodroffe has given a clear and detailed exposition of the Mantra Sastra in his 'Garland of Letters,' and he has described the method of worship in his treatise 'Serpent Power.' In this edition 6 famous chakras with the position of the deity in the Sahasrara are found in page 16. Once Kundalini Sakti is raised the upasaka becomes the master of potent sakti. This dynamic power is capable of both use and abuse. True yogins initiated by great gurus increase their power to meditate on the beauty and power of Sakti as exhibited both in the inner and outer cosmos. It leads the upasaka from Muladhara to

Soundarya Lahari of Sri Sankaracharya with 3 commentaries (1) Soubhagyavardhani, (2) Lakshmidhara, and (3) Arunamodini with English Translation and Notes by Pandit Sri R. Ananthakrishna Sastri and Sri Karra Ramamurthy Garu, B.A., B.L., with Prayagas illustrated with Yantras. Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Private Ltd., Price: Rs. 25/-.

June 15, 1957

Swadhistana, then to Manipura, that is from Rudragranti to Vishnugranti. When the sadhak has mastered the initial stages and has advanced to supreme Bhumi (foothold in yogic ascent), the ascent from Vishnugranti to Brahmagranti through the final stages of Anahata, Visuddhi and Ajna is rendered easy. In the pure mind, the Ajna Chakra is installed in the final converging point of Brahmagranti. Thus the power of the Holy Mother is merged in all its glory in the devotee and he becomes a Jeevan-mukta. This is the introspective aspect of Sakti worship. The Eternal Bliss is Ananda Lahari.

In its extraspective aspect the worship of Devi results in gains in this world itself. The efficacy of a mantra does not depend on the knowledge of its meaning. The potency of the Beejakshara will act of itself. The siddhi is perfect in mantra, yantra, and tantra by repetition of the sloka with the Beejakshara for the required number of times. Sadachara and initiation are both prerequisites to siddhi. When once the siddhi is attained it cures snake bites, negatives the adverse effect of bad stars, eradicates evil spirits and averts catastrophes. Chronic poverty is also cured. So wealth and happiness are conferred on the devotee by the Grace of Mother. Kalidasa became a poet by worship of Devi. Sree Ramakrishna Paramahansa realised the Soul's Bliss by worship of Mother.

Soundarya Lahari therefore is both a yoga and a mantra sastra. Beauty is Truth and Truth Beauty and both merge in Eternal Bliss. This is the Gospel of *Soundarya Lahari*. The Mercy of the Holy Mother is invoked by slokas 22 and 26 and surrender to Her Mercy at the first instance is sure to protect us right through in life.

This book is a useful and timely publication. The get-up is fine and very attractive. The tri-colour pictures of Adi Sankara, present Acharya with the young Acharya-elect and Sree Raja Rajeswari add beauty to the volume. It has been carefully edited. A single error in print at

page 239 in sloka 26 of the second part has crept in the word 'Tuhina Ghirina'. The letter 'ni' is misprinted for 'ghi'. It has to be corrected in future editions. The publication has attained the pink of perfection and it will win the first prize for faultless editing and finesse in get-up. The introduction, the preface by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Foreword by Sri Sankaranarayana of Vivekananda College are illuminating and instructive.

The publishers Ganesh & Co., have won the esteem and appreciation of the Heads of Mutts. They have rendered great service to Sanskrit culture, particularly to the Sakti School of Thought. The commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of Sri Sankara has its everlasting memoir in this book of beauty dealing with the 'Wave of Beauty'. It is hoped that every library in colleges and universities both in India and abroad will make it a point to add this *de luxe* edition as a welcome guest in their shelves.

G. KRISHNAMURTHI AIYAR

Small-Scale Industries

A recent circular issued by the Centre to the leading industrial organisations registered under the Industrial (Development and regulation) Act, suggested closer collaboration with small-scale industries so that small-scale industries can grow up as ancillaries to the larger ones.

The part that the small-scale industries can play in the present economy cannot be under-estimated. The future stability and welfare of our economy depends more on the development of small-scale industries than in fostering the growth of the larger industries.

The important factor, often forgotten, to be borne in mind, in the present context is the chronic stagnation in the occupational distribution of the population. On the basis of the data presented by the Census report it is calculated that about 72% of the working population is still employed in

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June 15, 1957

THE INDO-CEYLON ISSUE

By VIJAYATUNGA

THE reception given to Pandit Nehru by the common people of Ceylon has been spontaneous and whole-heartedly enthusiastic. At various receptions and public meetings in Colombo, again at similar functions at the ancient capital, Anuradhapura, along the railway route to Anuradhapura, Nehru was greeted with obvious affection by the people. When at the end of his State drive on the day of his arrival he came to the Governor-General's residence the crowds kept on crying for darshan of him. There were roars of "Sadhu, Sadhu" (the Buddhist Jai) and *Jaya Vera*. When some local VIPs also came out and stood behind Nehru the crowds shouted and asked them to withdraw. Not you: Not you, they shouted.

I refer to this because if the people of Ceylon could be asked whether they have anything to fear from the Indian workers getting the vote I am sure they would say to a man, No.

But they do fear the prospect of eight lakhs of enfranchised Indians being exploited by those with political ambitions. They also fear a small but powerful minority of capitalists some of whom have only commercial interests here and some who are interested in trade as well as in acquiring property. One can, of course, tell the Ceylonese that they have only their indolence, their lack of business acumen, their lack of the corporate spirit to blame for such a state of affairs. That precisely, the anti-Indian section of Ceylonese will argue, is why the Singhala people's interests must be protected. They will cite the case of Burma where Chettis bought up so much land; they will cite the case of Fiji and East Africa.

These arguments cannot be overlooked. There is a type of Indian, dwindling in numbers no doubt, but still active and potent enough, who contributes little to the country of his domicile except in the way of taxes.

In Ceylon too the claims of the 800,000 Indian workers on planta-

tions and in municipal "essential services" have gone by default because of this minority. There is, however, no law to prevent them from carrying out their activities which are strictly speaking legal.

While the fear of the average Ceylonese is directed against this small number, those with a real stake in the country, political and economic, fear this group of capitalists and 800,000 Indian workers who might, in their view, become a weapon in the hands of the politicians and capitalists against the Ceylonese themselves.

The issue, as far as the Ceylonese are concerned, has resolved itself to an "absorbable maximum". Ceylon can absorb just so much, no more, they say. Will the Government of India take back the rest. No use arguing with them that one cannot bodily transfer people from one State to another. No use telling them that Ceylon's own population is increasing by more than one per cent yearly and that Ceylon would be absorbing an increased population. No use arguing that agrarian conditions are being replaced by industrialization and by an expanding economy with international implications. The educated, politically-minded Ceylonese wants a plain answer to this question. Are we to absorb the entire 800,000 Indian population? They point to the fact that when applications for Registration were called 237,000 Indians (representing the whole Indian population) applied for citizenship. (About ninety per cent of these were rejected and so far 60,000 applicants have been given citizenship.) These Ceylonese say that not a single Indian, now resident in Ceylon, would opt for Indian citizenship no matter what the inducement. Things are made more difficult by the Kandyans (those Singhala people who inhabit the area around Kandy, the last capital of Singhala kings) who are unequivocal in their demand that the Indian workers be sent pack-

ing, because they take the bread out of the mouth of the Ceylonese worker.

Ceylonese employers of labour on plantations are afraid to speak out, but privately they admit that they cannot get work out of the Singhala peasant, that he is averse to discipline and regulations.

They invoke the Nehru-Senayanayake talks of 1948 and refer to the more recent Kandiyan Peasantry Commission Report.

This, then, is the background against which the Indian issue in Ceylon must be seen and approached. That the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, has the most cordial feelings towards Pandit Nehru is patent enough. Ordinarily there could not be a better atmosphere in which to negotiate a settlement of this protracted issue. But Mr. Bandaranaike is committed heavily. His party, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (The People's United Front) was swept into power on the slogan of Singhala Only. That is to say that Singhala should be the State language. There is already trouble over this with the Tamil community of the northern area. Any concession he makes towards the Indian settlers will be met with the accusation that he has sold the country to the Indians. In the very informal discussions he has had with Pandit Nehru he, it seems, raised the question of a qualified franchise for Indians, that is to say they would be on a separate electoral roll for ten years during which they are expected to learn Singhala language and I suppose what the Americans would term the Singhala way of life. Franchise has always been absolute and unqualified and this condition is naturally unacceptable.

Under these circumstances I cannot foresee a quick settlement of this issue. The Bandaranaike administration is a sort of coalition and itself walking the tight-rope of uneasy politics. The former party, U.N.P. was reactionary as far as the Indian issue was concerned. The M.E.P. will not be reactionary in that sense but any enactment that will be

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SWARAJYA

fair to the Indian settlers can only be at the peril of the M.E.P.'s existence. I must repeat that the cause of the Indian worker is further complicated by divisions and splits among their leaders.

It is difficult to convince the average Ceylonese that he is not dealing with a problem concerning South Indians alone. I have had informal discussions both individually and collectively. At an informal gathering when a Cabinet Minister of the previous Government, a Senator of the present government, a representative of the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna, and representative Tamils, Muslims and Indians were present I quoted to them what Rabindranath Tagore told me in 1940 when after a twelve years absence I went to see him. I told them that almost his first words were, "You are drawing away from us." Meaning that Ceylon was drawing away from India. That was seventeen years ago. I told them that this is an all-India question, that India can understand Indians being discriminated against in Africa or Fiji or British Guiana but not in Ceylon. I added that Indians were not indignant so much as bewildered by the attitude of the Ceylonese. I said that if in the past Indian workers contributed to the prosperity of British capitalists it was not their fault. That some share of that prosperity was left to the Ceylonese, that the Indian workers have continued to sweat and toil in the interests of Ceylon's economy, that this "floating population" has until now not upset Ceylon equilibrium, that it is not an unabsorbable number, and that in the last analysis sentiment also must play a part in any problem concerning India and Ceylon jointly.

Spokesmen for the Ceylon point of view admit readily that the Citizenship Law as it was enacted was harsh, unworkable and cumbersome. But they do not wish to yield on this point that Ceylon cannot absorb the entire Indian population. The view point of the Democratic Workers' Congress is that inducements to those who are willing to retire at the age of fifty-five and return to India might



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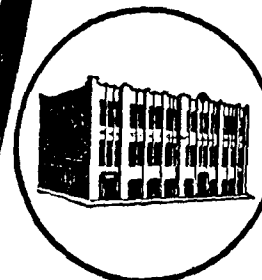
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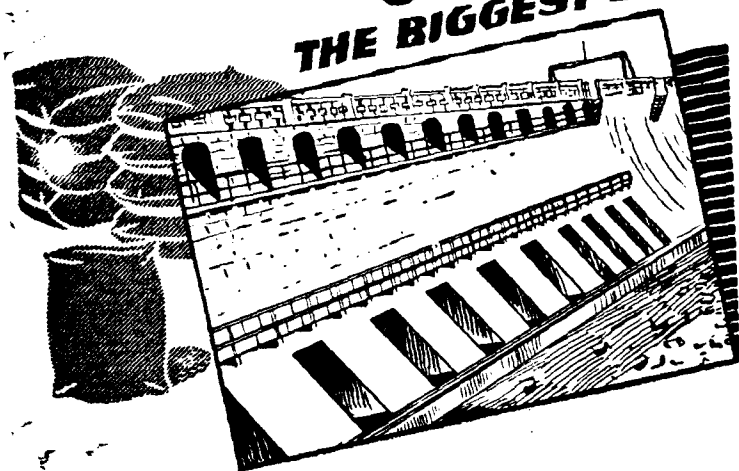
BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH AND IN THE MAJOR CITIES OF INDIA, CEYLON AND MALAYA.

be one method. Mr. Desai when he was High Commissioner in Ceylon put forward, I believe, some such proposition. Conservative Ceylonese opinion is that no inducements will make Indians leave Ceylon. At the same time these Ceylonese say that Indians will remain in Ceylon all the time owing allegiance to India. They say that these Indians have in their homes the pictures of Indian leaders, that at heart they will never be Ceylonese, that they want the franchise only in order to dispossess the Singhala people.

I must say that the question of political "weightage" is a real one as the Indian population is concentrated now. The introduction of labour unions in which Indian workers and Singhala workers jointly have a stake may be one way allaying this particular fear.

I have used the argument that in the present state of the world what we Asians require is not protection one against the other but for all Asia as against aggressive powers. But prejudices die hard; Ceylonese still suffer from a very insular outlook. They claim the Buddha as their very

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agriculture and allied activities, 11% devoted to industries with the remaining distributed over tertiary enterprises.

In the light of these facts the inapplicability of any theoretical analysis based on conditions and circumstances prevalent in more advanced countries in Europe and in Japan is only too apparent. A high rate of inflation with the soaring of prices did not fetch a high range of employment. Paradoxically inflation and unemployment have been synchronised in India.

The answer to this is in the rigidities of the economy. The rise in per capita income within a short period is not an indication of a change for the better, as much of the appreciation is accountable only to the governmental outlay under the Five Year Plan. The outlay being not directly productive, the cost structure being too high, has been inherently inflationary in character. In real terms, the status quo of the economy has just been maintained, and no change, whatsoever, has taken place in spite of the increase in per capita income. All that happened was an inflationary rise in prices which dragged along with it wages also to a high level, showing national income as risen, while it left the purchasing power the same as before. Whatever might be the type of economic machine set up, it keeps the average man broke.

Government outlay, being unproductive and inflationary in character, has not only failed to inspire activity but has also precipitated stagnation, leaving the economy in under-employment equilibrium.

The futility of a policy of "capital intensive" in an already fully employed capital structure is quite obvious. The object should be to promote and create labour intensive.

Thus the scheme of reconstruction of the small-scale industry should necessarily be coupled with the agricultural policy of the Government. Agriculture has so far been confined to planning and research which has been only institutional in character. The small-

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scale industry with its fundamental weakness of inefficient production has been totally divorced from agriculture. The need of the hour is the establishment of a decentralised industrial structure close to the habitations of the rural population, so that their energies could be absorbed into the small-scale industries which should be given a balanced development with constructive field work in agriculture. Agriculture is an inelastic occupation. Only a fraction of the growing population has been absorbed in the meagre industrial development that has taken place.

Another revolution that can easily be brought about would be to supplement the present equipments used in the small-scale industries with small power-generated appliances, the institution of thermal stations throughout the country forming the contributing factor. This, coupled with the imparting of proper instruction and guidance, would bring an upward trend in output, and bring down with it costs. The rural credit system could be easily extended to the aid of the villagers in supplying to them enough capital for the purchase of these new implements.

A line of policy may well suit one country but may be actually detrimental to the interests of another. The cultural approach should also be taken into consideration. The low standard of literacy calls for more cautious steps in advancement as the imparting of relevant instructions has to go hand in hand with the implementation of new methods of production.

A group of Englishmen engaged in plantation work were employing a lot of labour and naturally they took pity on the labourers when they had to carry huge weights and loads on their heads. The Englishmen placed an indent for wheel-barrow and supplied the labourers with them. The coolies in turn placed all the loads on the wheel-barrow, lifted it, placed it on their heads and walked!

V. BHASKAR SHARMA.

SWARAJYA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community Development work is not one of receiving or granting favours; it is one of building up the inherent moral strength of the villagers. It is a self-help programme, a multi-purpose programme touching rural life at several fronts; its object is to awaken the urge for better living and for a fuller and richer life among villagers. It is a movement of the people, by the people, and for the people. The work has to be achieved by village panchayats and multi-purpose co-operative societies. The Chief Minister in charge of this portfolio should see to the better and proper functioning of these institutions.

Several suggestions of great value have been made from time to time by the Programme Evaluation Organisation; and the Chief Minister may well convene a conference of District Collectors to consider how best the suggestions could be implemented. One important suggestion is that the District Collector should be the Chief Development and Welfare Officer. Another suggestion is that the village panchayats should be made responsible for all local planning and execution. The Planning Commission, the All-India Congress Committee and the Prime Minister have been emphasising the importance of 'rural co-ops'; the co-operative movement has been functioning for nearly half a century; yet it has not been so orientated as to serve the community development programme. It is in these directions that the community development programme has to be conducted, to achieve satisfactory results.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.
Coimbatore.

AN ORIGINAL CANON OF TAXATION

Sir,—The Finance Minister is laying the flattering unction to his soul that he is levying income-tax only on those people who are earning more than 11 times the average income whereas in other

countries people with twice the average income or even those earning only 0.8 of it, as in France, are taxed. He therefore concludes, "By any comparison, our tax structure is entirely irrational."

Therefore the only way to rationalise it, and bring it in line with other advanced countries would be to rope in all the chaperais, postmen and municipal peons because they are, as a matter of fact, earning 3 or 4 times more than the average citizen of our Welfare State. At this rate the only category of citizens who would be denied the opportunity to contribute to national welfare would be the Village officers!

R. RAMACHANDRAN

STANDARDS

Sir,—While the elected President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee resigns because he was not successful at the polls, in Madras one who shared the same fate at the polls is made the Congress chief. Do standards differ with provinces?

L. N. GOPALASWAMI

PLAN DYING

Sir,—Of the Rs. 78 crores proposed to be raised by the new taxes, Rs. 50 crores are to be spent on defence, and Rs. 25 crores on the attempt to keep down food prices. The minor concessions announced by the Finance Minister more than wipe out the remaining Rs. 3 crores. Where, then, is the money for speeding up the Plan? Why drag the Plan at all into the discussion? Why not honestly say: "The country is in danger. We need this additional money for defence?"

Let us look at the facts squarely. Pakistan is receiving arms from U.S.A., and we are increasing our defence expenditure in consequence. Fantastic as it may sound, we would appear to be committed to an arms race, not with Pakistan exactly, but with Pakistan backed to the full by U.S.A. Commonsense should tell us that we shall both ruin our-

selves financially and lose the arms race as well. In this ugly context, where is the Plan, what is its future, whither are we going? One almost thinks that the Plan is dying on account of tensions within and pressures without.

A.B.C.

THE GOOD AND THE PLEASANT

Sir,—I very much enjoyed the poem *The Gadfly* by Dr. Monica Felton. I am sure she will relish the following quotation from the Kathopanishad:

"Yama said: One is good while another is pleasant. Blessed is he who chooses the good alone, but he who chooses what is pleasant, loses the true end."

Bombay. C. R. NATARAJAN.

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE

Sir,—In his address to the A.I.C.C. Sri Nehru has made a significant statement. "In order to get ourselves elected," he said, "we try to gain the help of somebody who is million miles away from the Congress. He might help us in the election but how can we face the public and the country?"

Anyone who has even a little knowledge of Madras politics, knows how the Congress here won the elections with the active help of the Dravida Kazhagam, which is "million miles away from the Congress." But the pity is, the people who got themselves elected this way are not only "facing" the public but also the country and Sri Nehru himself must be fully aware of this. What a contrast between precept and practice!

S. SRINIVASAN.

MADRAS ESTATES (SUPPLEMENTARY) ACT XXX OF 1956

Sir,—This Act, though enacted on 19-12-1956, has not yet been brought into force. The Act is to come into force on a date to be notified by the Government. No such notification has so far been issued. The Act provides for a final judicial decision on a preliminary issue—on the legal validity of some hundreds of statutory orders of rent-reduction and estate

abolition passed by the State Government in about 1950-2 in relation to inam villages. The statutory orders were challenged by the concerned inamdars on a hyper-technical ground that the inam villages were not estates as defined under the Estates Land Act and were hence outside the scope of the enabling statutes. The technical objection was based on what was pointed out as a drafting error by Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri in a decision of the Madras High Court delivered on 11-10-1946. In the interests of elementary legal justice the draftsman's error should have been duly rectified by the Legislature after 1946 or the statutory orders for rent-reduction and estate-abolition of 1950-2 duly validated in order to cure the technical objection. Instead of adopting either of these two courses, the Congress administration has, after an amazing delay of six long years, provided a costly and ruinous luxury of a judicial decision on the preliminary technical issue. On the top of all this, the remedial Act has been put into cold storage since 19th December 1956. Is this legal justice?

Tirunelveli A. S. KUPPUSWAMI.

COMMON MAN'S MISERY UNDER SOCIALISM

Sir,—The taxation proposals of the Central Government are recommended on the plea of their being a stepping stone to Socialism and on the desire to 'broad-base' the tax structure. How the English language allows for elasticity for bad as well as for good! The question of 'broadbasing' comes in only when there is a surplus to spare and any saving can be effected even with the strictest economy. With the middle class people, who are dependent on fixed salary, it is a question of transfer of debt from one source to another to make ends meet. If the Prime Minister finds it difficult to manage within Rs. 2,000 but for royalties on books, how does he expect people with Rs. 250 to spare anything for tax? The rupee has the same value for everyone.

While the common man is asked

to deprive himself of even the necessities of life for the furtherance of the Plan, is he made to feel that what he pays goes for the purpose for which it is sought? No. On the other hand, he knows from his experience of the administration that only a part, and probably a small part, will actually contribute to the development of production and that the major part will go down the drain of graft and corruption.

Why not, then, only the rich be made to pay, for even if there is waste, it is only their surplus that they are being deprived of. Then, there are many temples and religious institutions which can give liberally. What better purpose can their accumulated wealth be put to than for the uplift of the nation? Foreign firms, which are sending their profits outside the country, can plough them back into development schemes inside the country. The Government need not be chary of frightening foreign capital as it can take loans and pay interest on the same. Tax can be levied on air travel, motor cars, cosmetics and luxury articles. These will affect only the rich.

If the Government's move towards Socialism is meant to be implemented let the proposals of taxation be something other than the starvation of the under-fed.

K. NATARAJAN.

UNTRAINED EDUCATORS

Sir,—Can anyone teach the young, or is teaching a skilled profession? Is it desirable that somebody or other teaches the children rather than that they should go without any education? These are vital questions affecting our national progress.

Dr. Willard Givans of U.S.A. recently said that in his country they believed in putting the most highly qualified teachers in charge of the lowest classes, and teachers were paid not according to the classes they taught but according to their qualifications. The reasons are obviously sound. But in our country we consider teaching as fit means for unemployment relief. This is a double curse, for not only does the untrained teacher lack the necessary knowledge of child psychology and pedagogy,

gics, but takes to his noble profession, not as a mission, but as a stop-gap with his heart full of bitterness against his unkind fate. It will be tragic if our political bosses complacently assert that education by untrained teachers will not ruin the young. Teaching is a skilled profession, and any scheme that is based on the false assumption that any one can teach the young deserves to be condemned. And the Government of India scheme for unemployment relief that seeks to appoint only untrained teachers in the so-called "single teacher schools" stands self-condemned. It is proudly claimed in justification of the scheme, that only children who lack educational facilities in remote hamlets are served by these emergent recruits. In education, the pious philosophy of something being better than nothing cannot apply, for bad education is indeed worse than no education, and the sooner this basic fact is realised the better it is for our national welfare.

Rannad.

M. RAJAH

GRADUATION FACILITIES FOR PRIVATE STUDENTS

Sir,—The Nagpur University has decided to permit Government servants and other employees to appear privately for its various examinations. It will be in the fitness of things if the University of Madras follows suit.

There are innumerable instances of the most deserving students who did not have an opportunity to enter the portals of University for higher studies due to lack of financial or other facilities and were thus deprived of their cherished ambition of becoming graduates. It would be a boon to these unfortunate but deserving aspirants, if the University of Madras, like the Nagpur University allows them to appear privately for its examinations at least in the humanities (i.e., arts and non-science subjects). This facility could at least be extended to Government servants, employees of local bodies and private concerns.

MOWLA HUSSAIN.

CONTRIBUTION TO PARTY FUND

Sir,—Replying to the question of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee in the Lok Sabha, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari stated that the question of contribution to political funds not only by "big money" but also by other interests "will have to be gone into sometime." Readers will at once recall the editorials on this subject in the issue of SWARAJYA dated 16th Feb., 2nd March and 23rd March under the captions "Mobilising Money Power", "Ministers and Party Funds" and "Perverting Democracy". The wisdom has dawned late and conveniently when the party which derived the greatest advantage from such contributions has enthroned itself in the citadels of power. And the Finance Minister can conveniently go into this question now and lay down a code of conduct for others to follow.

S. PADMANABHAN.

Madurai.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Sir,—"Very disappointing" is the verdict by the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha on the results achieved by the Community Development Projects in Madras State. The assumption of the Community Development Portfolio by the Chief Minister of Madras State is, therefore, of special significance. His new policy of meeting the villagers, discussing with them their grievances, and passing orders, whenever feasible on the spot, in consultation with the officers present at the meeting is being studied with great interest. A final solution of

the problems is not generally reached: and the District Collector may have to convene a conference later of the villagers to explain which of the schemes are feasible. The problems of the villagers cannot be solved at one stroke or at one meeting. Whether the Chief Minister's approach is the correct one is open to doubt.

CITIZEN

A Photographer's Diary

(Continued from page 7)

these three places (and probably also at Hampi — I am not sure of Hampi) there is another panel-design featuring a swan, a vivid carving showing a human figure (who looks like a *rishi*) attacking a swan as large as himself; the man has planted one leg on the body of the bird, and is grasping a mandible in each hand, obviously trying to tear the bird in two by the beak. Manifestly this panel illustrates some story or incident from our mythology — and mythology is not my forte. Will any reader who knows this story kindly let me have it in as specific detail as possible?

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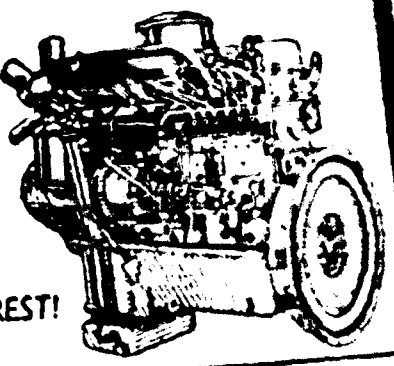
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A REMARKABLE MANIFESTO

There is no political party in the world but requires reform to remove the deteriorations that set in and corrupt it in course of time. But when a party succeeds in getting power and holds office, reform is resisted and becomes extremely difficult. In fact it is achieved only after a struggle. A remarkable instance of this truth has recently come to light from the other side of the so-called Iron Curtain which is full of meaning and importance not only for the nations ranged in opposite sides in the European cold war but also for us in Congress-ruled Bharat. The laws that govern the health and the deterioration of human groups are the same everywhere and what happens in one part of the world holds lessons for all others. At the conclusion of the war, East Germany was occupied by the Soviet Power. There was a revolt against this regime in June 1953. Mass demonstrations and a general strike ended when the Soviet army intervened and since then the Communist party of Germany holds the reins of power. The Western powers did not interfere in this struggle which was put down easily by Soviet force. Walter Ulbricht is the dictator of the East German 'Democratic Republic' just as Dr. Adenauer is the Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic. Walter Ulbricht had a powerful rival in Franz Dählem. He was also a Communist and was in fact chief of the party. The rivalry was put down by Ulbricht with a charge of conspiracy against Dählem,

which however was not allowed to develop into a trial and ended only in the deprivation of all his functions in the party. Another important Communist leader, the editor of the party's central organ was also put down in the same way. In March this year a group of Communists who sought to overthrow Ulbricht were tried and their leader Wolfgang Harich, an East Berlin professor of sociology who was greatly respected by the students of Germany was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and sent to prison.

Harich and his group of professors, editors, writers and students formulated a 'platform' for reforming the Communist party on the Polish model. Although the rebel leader and his friends were sent to prison to undergo long terms in jail, their 'action programme' was distributed in the form of a pamphlet throughout East Germany and among members of the Communist party. This manifesto is an important document and it has found publicity in an American magazine through the efforts of a Socialist veteran of the anti-Nazi struggle, Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt. Many passages in it have great importance and are of general application in the reform of parties that have seized power and resist change.

"We are of the opinion that Socialism is an objective process and is not tied to the name of a party which identifies itself with Socialism". Readers can see how great a truth this, passage holds

and its importance in the context of the Indian National Congress's creed of a Socialist state can be realised. The Constitution of the Indian Republic lays it down that its aim is to secure social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity, for all its citizens. The Constitution declares that the Republic shall promote fraternity and assure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. These objects can be attained not only by a Socialist party as the Eastern German protestant manifesto says, but may indeed be better reached and fulfilled by a ruling party that does not call itself Socialist but do better than one that ties itself to that name but has for some reason or other deteriorated in quality. The principles enunciated in Article 39 of the Indian Constitution may be followed by any party that accepts those principles and which may have already or may in the future come into existence as a result of the failure, the shortcomings and the rigidity of the ruling party.

The East German Communist reform manifesto under reference has the following most significant passage: "The domination of party members by the party apparatus must be completely broken". This presents in a nutshell the present malady of the Indian National Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statements are themselves authority for this diagnosis, although he has un-

fortunately turned out to be a diagnostician and not a doctor. Indeed occasional self-implication seems only to ease the trouble of conscience without leading to any rectification and thereby confirms and makes the disease chronic. Congressmen are tyrannised over by the party apparatus and unless this tyranny is broken there is no hope for improvement. The zamindars of the Congress shout the slogan of Discipline and defeat every effort at emancipation from the present thralldom.

The East German manifesto has another very pregnant suggestion for us. It says: "The Government must be reformed through an expanded coalition system headed by a reformed Communist party. The complete sovereignty of Parliament must be restored. In elections, the coalition must put up unity lists with several candidates for each seat so that the population can really make a choice." Every word in this paragraph has its application in the present state of Congress rule in India. Parliament has prided itself on its sovereignty but those who are in it know how little of sovereignty there is as against 'decisions of the party' and even there how little the members of the party and their real views count against the decision of the party apparatus or its Chief. The 'population' has no choice in the elections. The apparatus chooses a single candidate for reasons of its own and the people must accept him if they do not wish to dislodge the Congress. This has been the chief instrument for perpetuation of clique rule, not only in Soviet countries, but in India too.

Other parts of this remarkable manifesto are interesting too although for different reasons. It wants "complete intellectual freedom to be restored, the anti-religious campaign ended, the individual guaranteed complete security before the law" Thus there is hope for change even in the Communist party. Harich's imprisonment does not end the story because every political party, however fanatical it may be, consists of human beings. The party apparatus cannot imprison the individual. Such being the

case, why must we despair about the Congress rule in India? The human spirit cannot be enthralled for all time.

Taxes and the Plan

It has become customary to make light of the number of people affected when oppressive taxes at their expense are proposed to be levied. With an eye on the ballot-box, the niceties of right and wrong are cast to the winds, and the multitude is invited to partake sadistically in the enjoyment of witnessing numerically small sections being fleeced. It is something like getting a man alone, or in company of negligible striking power, to turn upon him in full force the mobilised attack of large masses. In some such spirit as this, presumably, the Union Finance Minister announced, in justification of some of his taxation levies, that only 6,000 spend more than Rs. 24,000 in India. If in a country with 300 and odd millions, only 6,000 spend more than Rs. 24,000 per annum, it is strange that it has not occurred to the Government how dreadful it is to saddle such a poor country with a fresh budget load of indirect taxes amounting to 70 crores.

The new taxes affecting the poor and yielding 70 crores are justified in the name of the Plan. But 50 out of the 70 crores go to new Defence expenditure and 25 crores towards keeping food prices down. It is noteworthy that the rise in food prices is itself due to Government measures and tenancy laws reducing the incentives to increased production of marketable food and also to inflation caused by undue expenditure on

the Plan. It is thus a matter of simple arithmetic that the new taxation is really not for the Plan about which so much talk is indulged in.

A certain atmosphere of emotional sympathy for the Government might no doubt be created by the effective use made by the Prime Minister of the technique of disarming opposition with self-criticism. But slogans of humility and economy should not be mistaken for performance. These slogans are generally employed to explain or improve situations where failure particularly in the elections is admitted or deplored. Those who are dissatisfied with the Congress would like the Prime Minister to turn the searchlight on the so-called successes of Congress candidates no less than on the failures. Then only the most important reasons for Congress deterioration would be comprehended.

Doles for States

Agricultural property was not included in the wealth tax proposal of the Centre simply because it fell technically in the States' schedule. Kerala has filled up the gap and the other States are also likely to follow. What about the tax on expenditure? It is just a sales and purchase tax in a veiled form. It may be taken for granted that soon the States will hand over the sales and purchase taxes entirely to Central management, agreeing to take an annual dole based on average collections of the last few years, as was done by the local boards in respect of tolls. Indeed the States are soon going to be just taluk boards in all matters except the handling of patronage and discrimination against particular communities. This is the unalterable consequence of the five-year planning done at the Centre and the one party rule that has seized our country's affairs.

Of no avail is keenness of intellect, of no avail is wide knowledge if greed seizes a man and leads him to folly—Kural.



Sotto Voce

A Plea for Co-existence

One devoutly hopes that the influenza epidemic is really subsiding. Those who have grim personal recollections of the 1918 outbreak will remember that it began as a mild if large-scale attack and the popular reaction to it was more or less the same as to the first phony phase of the second World War. But the one like the other proved a curtain-raiser to a far more terrible holocaust. The fact that the public all over the country has been promptly alerted may be matter for congratulation. But, while the congestion of cities and the conditions of work in urban centres make effective precautions against the spread of infection extremely difficult, panic on the one hand and malingering on the other seem to be having a field day.

I doubt whether the hospitals were well-advised in giving out mortality figures for publication. Whether all who are reported to have died of the influenza did die of it, whether some succumbed to other diseases which joined forces with it is a question which the hospital authorities who were overwhelmed with work, might not be able to answer. Even in ordinary times, there are, I suppose, deaths from influenza as from other common ailments. It was bad psychology to frighten people unnecessarily. And the vendors of patent medicines ought to be a little less ready to cash in on the crisis if unhappily we should have to face one again.

I exempt from this indictment the friendly rivalry with which professionals and amateurs have canvassed the merits of a number of Ayurvedic and other indigenous medicines in the public press. For these are well-known and safe recipes and have long enjoyed the status of household remedies. The

aunts and grandmothers of an earlier generation were as familiar with their preparation and use as with the daily cuisine. We, the step-children of Western science, are taken aback when we are invited to drink as a prophylactic a couple of ounces of the turmeric-chunam fluid auspiciously figuring in the arati. But don't we obediently gobble up gallons of nauseous Allopathic mixtures whose colours are even more misleadingly attractive?

The difference, of course, is that in the one case the ingredients are more or less familiar to the housewife, figuring as some of them do even in our dietary; while in the other the humble ipecac and the spicy cinnamon which goes into the toffer's *masala* are rigged up in the doghadin of the prescription writer after having been distilled, calcined or reduced to their ineluctable essence. An even more impressive difference is in the price. This traditional professional reserve of the West even in the peddling of common drugs does undoubtedly impart to the calling the appearance of a mystery. And yet, strangely enough, it is the allopath who accuses the *ayurvediya* of unsocial secretiveness in the imparting of knowledge.

When one sees the amount of havoc done by the self-doctoring of neurotic addicts who play with potent anti-biotics, one cannot but be profoundly thankful for the traditional discretion of our *vaidyas*. They did not make a mighty secret of ginger and pepper and coriander. They made to all who would listen a free gift of formulae for compounding the simples that were at their doors or could be had in the shops for a few pice. And these served to

alleviate the vast run of minor ailments. But the few potent drugs which had to be handled with the anxious wariness of the snake-charmer towards his catch were a different matter.

It is not only in the matter of taking the patient into confidence that the Western and Eastern systems profoundly differ in their outlook. Their philosophy and methodology are as poles apart. One claims to be a science, the other is still largely an art. True to the characteristic mind structure of the West allopathy has prevention and cure in more or less water-tight compartments. It was long inclined to treat every disease as unique while it took no note of individual idiosyncrasy. And, again, till very lately, it had no positive conception of health.

But the Ayurvedic and other Indian systems aimed at making the body not only free from disease but a fit vehicle for the highest *sadhana*. To talk of integrating Eastern and Western medicine is to convict yourself of lamentable ignorance. You might as well talk of integrating water and fire. But honourable co-existence is possible and might be beneficial. As a result of the prolonged neglect of the Indian system, many of the potent drugs of the *Rasa Sastra*, have been lost to us, and surgery has lagged behind. Anti-biotics and modern surgery are therefore indispensable. But so are the *vaidya* and his drugs and simples which quite adequately deal with most ordinary ailments and leave no trail of undesirable after-effects.

VIGNESWARA

Role of the Press

The role of the press is not that of a judge but that of a minefield through which authority, great and small, and at every level of policy and administration, must step warily, conscious always that a false step may blow it up. The estate of journalism is a dangerous one. It exists as a force in society to remind all those who govern that systems are made for men.—Francis Williams.

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SIDELIGHTS::

It is not merely the excessively heavy taxes that are responsible for the universal outcry in the country against the present financial administration. It is the destruction of the difference between current and capital expenditures. The traditional method of budgeting provided for only current expenditure from annual revenue. The cost of big projects involving heavy capital outlay was spread over a long period. It was raised by means of loans. Only the interest and a reasonable contribution towards a sinking fund for gradual liquidation of the loans, were charged to the revenue collected year after year. In this way the burden of big projects conferring benefit on posterity was distributed between the present and the future generations. The goose that laid the golden eggs for the Government was not strangled to killing pitch.

It was an unfortunate moment for the country when the Congress conceived the idea of the Five-Year Plans. It is not generally realised that the inspiration for the idea came from the Russian example, and certain intrinsic aspects of Russian five-year planning are inconsistent with the principles and democratic freedoms enunciated in the Indian Constitution. Confiscation of private property was the basis of the Russian method of collecting resources for the Five-Year Plans. In the utilisation of the resources, forced labour was resorted to. It was forced labour which produced the wealth which invested the Russian Plans with the success that attended them after the people had been compelled to go through a prolonged terrific ordeal.

Indian planners have not had the advantage of forced labour. It has meant losing the only chance of effective increase in productivity and success which their planning could ever have had. With an eye on the ballot box Congress has made labour more expensive and less disciplined than it had

been before. Practically in every field of effort more men at higher wages are now needed to do only a part of the work which less number of persons had been capable of performing at smaller cost before the planning began. The dead weight of expensive and ineffective labour of reduced productivity sitting tight on the national economy and pampered in that position by the ruling party for political reasons, is a factor of devastating significance that has to be taken into account in any realistic assessment of our Five-Year Plans.

Not being able immediately to go in for expropriation of property like the Russians, the Congress has evolved the Socialist pattern to pave the ground for graduated heavy doses of confiscatory appropriation and control. It has also supplemented the process by introducing into annual taxation a draconian depredatory incidence. Freedom of property, which is the basis of all other enjoyments of freedom under the democratic system of government, is being progressively challenged, and has already been reduced into a caricature of itself as it was ten years ago when the Congress assumed the responsibility of government.

For all the money exacted from the people, there is less and less to show, first because the labour force, prime producer of wealth, has declined in discipline and productivity, and secondly because with the loss of the Gandhian momentum of character in Congress leadership, people have lost hope and faith in it. Increasing greed and rapacity on the part of the rulers has only accentuated popular apathy.

Who has benefitted? First the Ministers, and then the legislators, and round about them a vast army of bureaucrats, contractors, commission agents and favourites who manage to do a very good business for themselves in the midst of the austerity injunctions that have

become the staple of Congress propaganda. We have a new privileged class of exploiters of Socialism that lives in charmed immunity from every one of the applications of privation and sacrifice imposed with ever-increasing severity on the common multitude. For this reason the Congress brand of Socialism as it is operating today in India commands no respect; it is distrusted and disliked and is looked upon with aversion.

SAKA.

The Fallacy of Socialism

The word Socialism has an attractive sound, and much of its appeal is due to the sentiment which has become attached to it. The doctrine itself, however, rests upon a series of historical, economic and psychological fallacies. In reality there is about it no element or characteristic of progress. Its principles are reactionary in the extreme.

It so happens that in this world brains, skill and character manifest themselves very differently and very unequally in different individuals, and all progress, all civilisation, is due to this fact. The higher and more effective types of brains, of skill, and of character are entitled to their rewards and society has provided for these rewards through the system of private property. To attempt to wreck all this and to endeavour to substitute a mechanical organization of our economic system for one based on free labour and private property is as reactionary a programme as could be imagined.

The fact that civilisation has not produced complete happiness, complete satisfaction, or complete justice for all men and women is due not to civilization, but to human nature. Those defects of human nature which it is supposed to be the task of education and religion to reduce or even to remove would manifest themselves with redoubled force if collectivist control of the instruments of production and exchange were substituted for the present system of individual liberty and free competition regulated by law.

DR. NICHOLAS M. BUTLER.

INTERNATIONAL BARBARITY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There are no limits to thought unless it is proved that some thoughts have the power of transmitting themselves to the injury or interference of others — a possibility that has not so far been acceptably established. Where thought takes the shape of expression or action a rule of civilization comes into play. Immoral literature and any kind of trespass on the property or the health and well-being of others are prohibited. Jurisprudence is an integral part of the civilization of man. Mankind all over the world have come to realise that one should not behave so as to cause injury or risk of injury to others. If this abstention is observed voluntarily, it is pure and simple civilization. If it is not observed of one's own accord, it is enforced by law and public opinion in all civilized countries. Law comes into action to punish any one who breaks this rule of civilization.

After these preliminary observations let us examine the case of scientists and technicians. There is an infinite field no doubt for scientific discovery, invention and adventure. The scope for experiments and trials in technology and science is vast. But the liberty to make these experiments and trials has to be curtailed when they impinge on the rights of others. An expert engineer may design any kind of engine, but he cannot be permitted to let it loose on other people simply because he himself is sure, and he wishes to try it out, that it will not injure people. One may make an automatic self-propelling and radar-directed car without a driver to steer it, which may be worked from a switch board in the technician's laboratory. He may try it in his own grounds, but he cannot be permitted to try it out in New York, London or Madras or even in a rural area. He may not even try it in colonial territory, on the ground that the territory belongs to his Government and is not thickly populated. A physician may discover a drug of which he is sure that it will confer the

greatest benefit on those who take it. But he cannot force it on the children of his neighbours on that expectation or mix it up with the food exported abroad. He may believe he can produce a vapour that can spread by itself and heal all sorts of diseases and confer other blessings on those who inhale it. But he cannot disseminate it so as to try it out on a population. He cannot choose some territory favourable in his opinion for the experiment and let off his medicinal vapours there. He would be trespassing on the rights of others even though his intentions are quite good, so long as the others have not asked him to give the benefit of his invention to them. There is thus a juristic limitation on experiments however competent the scientist or technician and however laudable the object. Much more obvious it must be that poisons cannot be disseminated and dangerous missiles tried out in countries that do not belong to the experimenting nation and whose people have not agreed to it. So also is it illegal for a government to let off poison that is bound to spread by itself and contaminate the air, the waters and the vegetation of all mankind, and this, whatever may be the objective of the experiment, laudable or doubtful, disinterested or selfish. The verdict of the experimenting nation's biologists or other scientists may be that the risk is not high but that does not conclude the matter or give to that nation the right to spread poison. When balancing the injury against the advantage to be gained by such operations, it must be remembered that the advantage is to oneself and the injury is to be borne by the whole of mankind including a number of people who do not want such experiments.

It is not difficult for lawyers to see that intercontinental ballistic missiles are a clear infringement of the rights of nations over whose heads these poison-carrying missiles are to be propelled on the assurance of the technicians hired by the experimenting Government.

Apart from the fatal and unintended explosions that may occur by accident, the mere fall by mismanagement or ill-luck of heavy missiles over the heads of men or the structures in which they live or work cannot be ruled out and these chances render such experiments covering other people's countries illegal. Actual battle-processes across the areas of the world inhabited by nations who have not joined the war would be obviously contrary to civilization and public law.

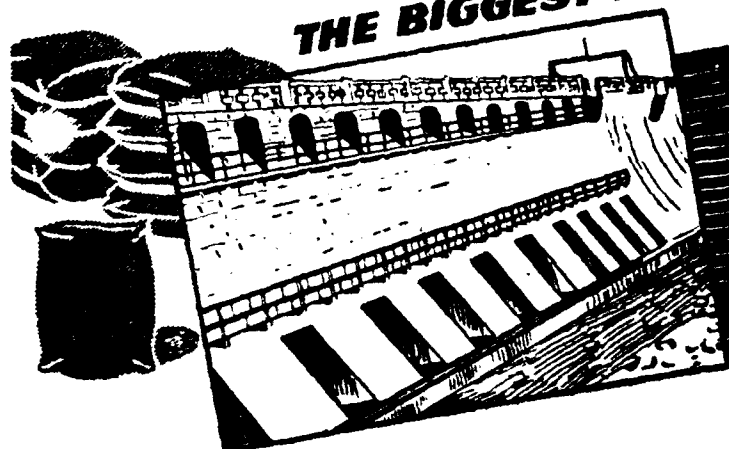
The most obvious laws that govern nations are however apt to be infringed by powerful governments; and continuous infringements or even the repeated declarations of an intention in that direction, if they are allowed to be made without strong protests from the nations whose rights are challenged, lead to the establishment of an illegal convention that such infringements on the part of world Powers have to be permitted in view of the 'advantages' accruing therefrom.

The present nuclear experiments are infringements — and very gross infringements — of this nature. The experiments are designed to protect the experimenting nation against aggression by others and to safeguard this or that 'way of life'. They are not experiments for the general improvement of the condition of mankind which even, as already explained, cannot be good justification for such infringement of other people's rights.

The probabilities of the evil consequence of the dissemination of radio-active material have been explained repeatedly by the most eminent biologists and medical men of the world supported by other scientists working in the field of atomic science. Attempts are made to prove, but with not much effect on the intelligent section of the people, that there are doubts as to the quantum of injury or percentage of risk, as if the benefit of such doubts must be given to the poisoning activities and not to the people who do not wish to take any such risks! Evidence on this head in the most striking form has been recently given by a very eminent scientist

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Dr. Lapp of America who has recommended the opening of a Sperm Bank in order to maintain normal human regeneration which he holds is jeopardised by the radio-activity that is now accumulating as a result of the mounting number of nuclear test explosions and will mount up when these preparations end in their natural termination viz war. And this scientist is not a 'fellow-traveller' or hysterical person but one who collaborated in the making of the bombs that ultimately exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 at the close of the second world war, and who still holds a high position.

What goes contrary to civilization and is backed by brute power is barbarity and the nuclear armaments and tests programme carried on by the Powers in spite of world-wide protest from enlightened people of recognized eminence is therefore unqualified barbarity. What an uproar was made forty years ago when Emperor William sought just to march his troops through a narrow strip of neutral territory! All Europe was aghast at his claim to make a trespass on neutral land and they joined to make war on him on that ground. But now the entire atmosphere of the world that belongs to all the neutral nations is being continually filled with poison that will keep contaminating the earth for forty years after the last blast, and there is an open race between the poison-spreaders. There is no resistance against this wanton and grave infringement and some scientists are canvassed to give their opinion that it is doubtful whether it will be all so terribly deleterious to mankind as the Nobel Prize winners have repeatedly warned the nations, and it is unabashedly sought to be made out that owing to this doubt we must all accept the risk! Truly civilization is on the downward curve leading to darkness.

There have been a number of occasions on which a prisoner, when sentenced, has made uncomplimentary remarks concerning the morals or the wisdom of the trial judge, but it has become the practice to ignore these, having regard to the circumstances in which they are made.—A. L. Goodhart, University College, Oxford.

June 22, 1957

SWARAJYA

7

ON HEROES AND HERO-WORSHIP

By **MALCOLM MACDONALD**

High Commissioner for U.K. in India

If you select the right hero, hero-worship is an inspiring and ennobling experience. All mortal men are human, and even the greatest of them have awful failings. But they also represent in their characters some of the grandest human qualities. If we study their lives, and seek to emulate their virtues, we have a chance, perhaps, of becoming better men ourselves.

If I may say so, I think it is especially important that boys should feel admiration for heroes, and try to model themselves, modestly, on the examples of great men. We need not confine our devotion to only one particular celebrated character. One person may excel in one virtue, but another will be the finest exemplar of some different enviable quality. So it is wise to cultivate a group of heroes who represent collectively many of the best traits in human nature. Some of them will be figures belonging to history, like the Emperor Asoka, or Abraham Lincoln, or Confucius, or Lord Nelson; and others will be men who are alive to-day, like Sir Winston Churchill or Mr. Nehru.

Courage

Let me tell you about some of my heroes, who represent various virtues. And let me start with a virtue which makes a particular appeal to boys. It is Courage. I shall tell you about one of the most courageous men I ever met. You have never heard of him, but twenty-five years ago he was famous. He was a German, his name was Dr. Bruning, and he was the last Chancellor or Prime Minister of Germany before Hitler shot his way into power. Dr. Bruning's government was democratic and liberal; and the reactionary, militarist, totalitarian Nazis were in opposition to him. They were very bitter against him, and even threatened to kill him. It was said that he never slept two nights in the same

house, but kept moving to avoid being murdered in his sleep by his political enemies.

My father happened to be the Prime Minister of Britain at the time, and one week-end Dr. Bruning was coming to stay with us in England, to negotiate an agreement with the British Government which might end some of the quarrels between Germany and the rest of Europe, and help to avert a war. The Nazis were furious that the German Chancellor should do that. They said that he was a traitor to Germany, and declared that if he went to England they would assassinate him immediately on his return.

Dr. Bruning, nevertheless, came to stay with us. I confess that I felt intrigued that our house-guest might so soon play such an unhappy part in a tragic drama, and I watched him carefully to see whether he betrayed any sign of nervousness. He was a wonderful person with the refined face of a scholar, the wise speech of a statesman, and the quiet, modest manner of a saint who cared nothing for himself. My most searching scrutiny could detect no flicker of haunting fear in his eyes as he sat at our dinner table, ate the roast beef of Old England and conversed calmly on the last evening before he left us. Yet the German newspapers that morning had announced again that the next day he would be dead.

Dr. Bruning left us to return home. The following day I opened the newspaper apprehensively, expecting to see a headline proclaiming his murder. There was no such headline. There was no news at all about Dr. Bruning. All the reports of his arrival in Germany had been censored. Next morning there was a bare announcement that he had reached Berlin safely. I heaved a sigh of relief, for he had become one of my heroes.

A friend who had accompanied him back to Germany told me later the true story of his return. When the ship carrying Dr. Bruning arrived at a German port, a huge crowd waited on the quay to meet him. They were an intensely excited and yet dead-silent multitude gathered round a space of open ground across which he would walk from the ship to a waiting train.

Dr. Bruning issued orders that no one else was to leave the boat until he had reached the train. He said that none of his staff, not even any member of his body-guard, was to accompany him. If there was to be any shooting, he did not want anyone else to get killed. He would walk alone across that fateful open space.

My friend watched the scene from an upper deck of the ship. He saw the solitary figure of Dr. Bruning step deliberately down the gangway and stroll calmly to the train. As he crossed the open space there were two attempts on his life—but both were foiled by the watchful police.

Courage is one of the lovely virtues—courage to stand by what you believe, to face all opposition,

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to be utterly regardless of self, to dare everything unto death.

Wisdom

Now let me mention another pre-eminent virtue — Wisdom. That is something that we should all like to possess. But most of us can't have it in high degree. Yet we can all be wise in small, everyday things, if we study the example and learn from the acts of truly great men.

I suppose that one of the wisest men who ever lived was King Solomon, of whom we read in the Bible. You remember the tale which reveals in a sudden flash his deep understanding and sagacity. One day two women came to him, quarrelling about the possession of a baby. Each claimed to be the infant's mother, and each begged the King to pronounce judgement in her favour, and to give her custody of the child. The King listened to their arguments and counter-arguments. It was difficult to tell which woman told the truth, and Solomon could not decide.

So he called to one of his courtiers, "Bring me a sword".

The weapon was brought and unsheathed.

Then the king said, "Divide the living child in two, and give one half to one woman, the other half to the other".

At that the first woman exclaimed, "Oh Majesty, do not do that, give it whole to the other woman, so that it shall live".

But the second female retorted, "No, the King is right. The child shall be neither mine nor yours. Divide it".

At once King Solomon knew that the woman who was ready to renounce the child was the real mother, for her maternal instinct was insistent that the youngster should live in any circumstances. The other woman's indifference proved her to be false. So he gave the child—whole and hale and hearty, alive and kicking!—to the first.

Consider the deeds of King Solomon, and of other wise men recorded in books, and learn from them about the warm sympathy, the calm reason and the cool judgement which comprise the rare quality called Wisdom.

Generosity

Not all heroes are world-famous characters. Some are humble, unheard-of citizens whom you or I meet by chance in our everyday lives. Let me tell you about one of those whom I encountered, who is for me the personification of another splendid virtue, Generosity.

He was a Chinese gentleman with the surprising name of Pong. All I know about him before I met him was that he was one of the richest men in South-East Asia. He had made not one fabulous fortune, but many fabulous fortunes in various mining, banking, shipping and commercial enterprises. At the mention of his name I conjured up a vision of an immaculately dressed, sophisticated multi-millionaire living in palatial luxury.

I went to call on him. His house was large and its entrance was stately. The hall into which I was ushered was spacious too; but it was empty of furniture and bare of ornaments. I presumed that it was in process of redecoration, and that workmen had temporarily removed all its sumptuous belongings. A little old man led me to a solitary sofa. He was evidently a retainer to engage me in conversation for a few moments before he should conduct me to the great man. He was shabbily dressed and seemed undernourished, and his hair looked as if it had not been brushed for several months. I discussed the weather with him, and one or two items of current gossip. I began

to run out of small talk, and wondered when I should be introduced to the renowned Mr. Pong.

"I suppose", I remarked, "Mr. Pong is ceaselessly busy with all his stupendous businesses".

"Oh no", answered my companion with a twinkle in his eyes. "He's got plenty of spare time. I'm Mr. Pong."

I was astonished that this little dishevelled, down-at-heel caddy, who looked as if he had not got ten rupees to his name, was the multi-millionaire. We had a good laugh, and I then began to learn how he spent his money. Afterwards I went to inspect the astonishing places that his wealth had created and maintained—nursery schools for poor children, homes for aged people, vast wings of hospitals for the sick, and a temple dedicated to his ancestors. The comfortable furnishings which were, entirely lacking in his own house were amply provided in those establishments. But no one was allowed to refer in public to the fact that he was their benefactor.

He was a very prince of unselfish Generosity—and as a result he was one of the most care-free, happiest men that I have met.

Mahatma Gandhi

Finally let me talk of a hero who expresses another virtue, perhaps the greatest of all human qualities—the supreme virtue. It is affection—Love. I do not mean the romantic sentiment between a boy and a girl, or a man and a woman, which we read about so often in novels and see portrayed so much in films—although I do not despise that! I am speaking of a larger, wider, greater love—the sense of kinship, of sincere affection, that we should feel for all our fellow-men of every race and creed and culture round the world.

I remember how astonished I was when I first read in the New Testament Jesus's words "Love thine enemies". For years I could not understand that sentence. It seemed to me so contradictory, and to ask too much of people. Indeed, my private, personal opinion was that a man would be foolish to love his



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Principal.

enemies—people who were trying to defeat him.

One of the men who taught me the truth of Jesus's words was a remarkable character who appeared in India in our lifetime. He was Mahatma Gandhi. At that time there was a bitter feud between the British and the Indians. The British ruled the country, and many Indians wanted to kick them out. Gandhi became the leader of the Nationalist Movement striving for Indian independence. I need not recount the well-known story. Eventually, partly because of Gandhi's example and partly because of British common sense, the British and the Indians were reconciled, they reached one of the friendliest agreements in all history, the British withdrew voluntarily from India, the Indians assumed full power in their own country, and the two peoples were united in a new partnership which is strong not with bonds of force but with ties of affection.

I knew Gandhiji quite well. I remember my last meeting with him. It was in January 1948, ten days before he died. I sat and talked with him in Mr. Birla's garden in Delhi. He lolled on a couch on the lawn, basking in afternoon sunshine and munching an orange whilst he conducted with great liveliness our conversation. His old body was rather like the embers of a fire, aglow but gradually growing feebler; but his spirit was like a young flame, leaping eternally bright and illuminating.

He spoke that day of the relationships between different nations. He deplored the suspicions and hostilities which existed between some peoples, and the dark storm-clouds which these caused in human affairs. And he talked of the sources of light which might dispel those clouds, and said that one powerful illumination was the renewed friendship between Britain and India. Then, with his childlike directness and sincerity, he added, "I always felt that the British would give India her freedom, because they have the bigness of mind and heart to do great things. From now on

the Indian and British peoples should be like brothers".

There are many other great men to remember in the past — famous soldiers, statesmen, scholars, philosophers, artists and saints. And there are splendid men alive with us to-day, stupendous figures like the grand war-leader in England, Churchill, and the noble man of peace in India, Nehru. Do not be ashamed of admiring heroes. Do not be shy of hero-worship. Hero-worship is one of the means by which you learn how to conduct yourselves as true men, how to develop in yourselves the right qualities of character and spirit, and how to become, perhaps some day, heroes yourselves.—From an address delivered at Sherwood College, Nainital on 5th June 1957.

Statues

THE ropes and crowbars are felling statues in Delhi now. Warriors of the British past, giants in those days, are carted from pedestals, one by one, by night.

Great Britain, sensitive, may complain at this. After all, the men in marble and stone acted by their lights. Some were brave, principled, humane: if they honoured Britain, they honoured India, also.

Yet it is hard to see why India should do otherwise than discard these relics of a subject past. They glorify an era when India's people were not a nation, and not free: they recall obedience to an alien name.

Perhaps the manner of removal could be softened — a plea for understanding and even a sense of humour; a pledge of friendship not affected by this eagerness to banish landmarks of dominion. Perhaps, even, some statues should stay — of educators, scientists, benefactors, devoted beyond the claims of empire.

But certainly, for the main part, the statues should go. They are incongruous in free India, as George Third would be, standing in chiseled granite on Fifth Avenue, New York.

Delhi.

JOHN E. FRASER.

June 22, 1957

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JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE

A BOOK REVIEW

In England, there seems to be no sudden transformation in the character of the press in recent times, or the structure of the profession as a whole, and the old order, good or bad, survives. It is some consolation to lovers of literature and good writing that even the national dailies still manage to find enough space for readable features of different kinds that provide ample scope for original writing. Though purely literary (or seriously literary-political) periodicals like *Life and Letters*, *London Mercury*, *John O'London's*, the *Strand Magazine* and rather highbrow reviews like the *Criterion* and the *Horizon* have fallen by the wayside, it is encouraging to see that serious weeklies like *The Spectator*, *The New Statesman and Nation* and *Time and Tide* are alive and refuse to lower the flag. If there is nothing as stale as yesterday's newspaper the same is perhaps, in a sense true also of the ordinary weeklies of last week. And it must be deemed an act of temerity to publish an anthology of selections from periodical journalism. A perusal of the two volumes, one containing choice pieces from the thirty-five annual files of *Time and Tide* and twenty-five of the *Listener* makes the reader think that there can be much in a periodical (worth its name) that stands a second or third reading and quite a number of broadcasts (planned with imagination and written with intelligence) that are not only worth hearing but can be profitably read in print.

Viscountess Rhondda has been the editor of *Time and Tide* since its very inception in 1920. This

neat vigorous, conservative but independent weekly bears on every page the impress of the brilliant and combative founder-editor, mellowed in her experience, but as youthful and tireless as ever. It cannot boast of unlimited resources, and as Lady Rhondda herself says in her Introduction, it has had to work with a limited staff comprising a manager who has been there for 30 years, an accountant who has been there for 25 years, and a sub-editor (the only one in the office) who has been there for over two decades, and knows, as if by instinct, what the *Time and Tide* sort is in every line. Lady Rhondda's article of faith, as editor, is as follows: "I try never to accept an article or a regular contributor for any other reason than that I like the article or the mind of the contributor. The office rule is firm on this point. Nothing is to be accepted, even if an emperor has written it, if it is not worth reading. Anything is to be accepted, even if a charwoman has written it, if it happens to be good. Moreover, I will always gladly accept anonymous writing from a noted writer if for some reason he prefers not to sign it. The writing, signed or unsigned, is the one thing that really matters".

One wonders how many journals, with far better resources and a much higher standing than Rhondda's would choose to be handicapped by such self-imposed obligations. She has, however, done no harm to the quality of her journal by her methods. Her stock had gone up in the eyes of thinking men. G. K. Chesterton, like Bernard Shaw and Gilbert Murray, was among those who contributed voluntarily to the columns of the weekly where the women are not content to remain in the background. What is a wife for if she is not good for a housewife, asks G.K.C., but we do not regret the sight of his going down in the fight as he puts up a mighty show with the weapons of faith against the machine guns of rea-

son. The editor reveals that Shaw, who lived on an austerity diet, dropped in at the office at lunch hour one afternoon and polished off a full plate of ham sandwiches (in the course of a lively argument) which he would not normally have touched with a pair of tongs. He writes on his conception of democracy in which a cabinet of thinkers is more vital than the present cabinet of Ministers or House of Commons.

The Anthology is arranged into sections like ideas, people, travel, politics, poetry competitions (including parody) and book-reviews on lines very similar to the arrangement adopted in the *Listener* anthology. Virginia Woolf, with a refinement of sarcasm and wit that reminds us of the iconoclastic genius of Lytton Strachey, contrasts the very colourful and lively descriptions from the memoirs of the Queen of Rumania, who proves that royalty can write, with the innocuous and inane remarks in the halting prose of the diaries of Queen Victoria who belonged in the words of Dizzy, to the privileged fraternity of "we authors". Book reviews are sometimes read with a slightly greater interest than publisher's catalogues and Blake's "The Unknown Prime Minister" is noticed at length by Bonar Law's son, who sees in his father a deep and complex personality that belies its simple and unassuming exterior. Aldous Huxley tends to be too heavy and metaphysical on the rays of the moon. Randolph Churchill sets a parody competition on what some of the leading papers would write on the imaginary burning of Churchill, Lady Astor and Nye Bevan. 'Lower than Trotsky' frowns the *Daily Worker* parody which flaunts the slogan 'Fry Bevan' with all the well-worn clichés of the proletarian that are familiarised by Orwell's "1984".

To those of us whose ears are waxing rusty with the hand-outs and statistics put out in human voice by local broadcasting the Third Programme and other features of the B.B.C. must come as a violent shock. The broadcasts over there are chosen,

obviously not because their authors are principals or professors of Government colleges or otherwise high up in the official hierarchy but because they have something worth while — often original — to say on the subject. The *Listener* is not merely a list of programmes

or a record of set speeches but a journal in its own right, with a personality and reader-interest. An editorial and some book reviews — done with more than casual interest — and poems give it a completeness comparable to other journals in the field. Richard

Church, a poet, novelist and literary critic, whose acquaintance with current writing could be gauged from his book on 20th century authors, has done a good job of work in garnering a sizeable volume of memorable broadcasts from the old files of the *Listener*.



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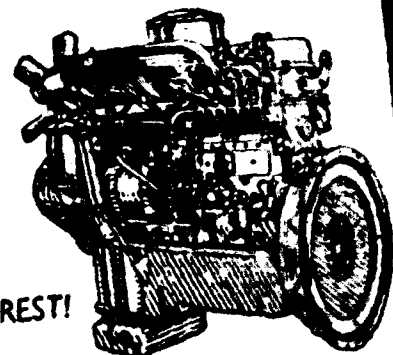
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15 Naye Paise

THE PLAN IS THE THING

Rumour has notified that the Finance Minister of India is shortly going to America to obtain liberal aid and co-operation in all sectors. We are getting deeper and deeper into the very entanglements which in view of our politics commonsense dictates we ought to avoid.

"Aid without strings is not a practical proposition. The strings are bound to emerge sooner or later, if only in the form of an inevitable and natural preference for their own views on the part of the givers." These words are not paraphrased but entirely quoted from an eminent American writer in a recent issue of a leading journal.

There is not much distinction between aid by way of loan and aid by way of gift. Those who are in need or money feel 'obliged' as much by a timely loan as by a gift. And this obligation is understood by both sides. The main political objective of all the forms of assistance devised by America, be it to European countries or to Asiatic national governments and the interest of the American people as well as Government in the economic progress of undeveloped countries centre round the desire to see that the politics of these countries do not run in 'wrong' directions. When this motive is kept in mind, it will be easy to see how much loss of independence — how much of 'string' — is involved in each transaction of aid. "Ambit gratitude" is the name given by American psychologists to the adverse feeling

fostered in the people of all countries that receive aid from America and who for a strange and yet natural reason dislike America and Americans. The universal dislike of the United States among friendly nations is frankly acknowledged in the columns of the American press. Indeed it has driven a large section of America's people back to isolationism. But isolationism is not a practical policy now for America. The United States is and must remain the leading nation of the anti-Communist bloc. The moral tensions accruing from this situation are almost intolerable.

Must India go on adding to it? The question arises because India's neutrality is by now a firmly settled policy and the neutrality is

not the 'benevolent' type but a type that rouses anger in the self-righteous hearts of the good men and women of America.

Again, it is the Plan that drives us into known errors. Taxation beyond bearing capacity, taxation that is bound to break the Plan itself, taxation that jeopardises orderly rule and loyalty, and the seeking of aid running counter to our proud politics as well as long term wisdom — all these spring from the same grand error, a plan that appearing to plan for progress and prosperity, has turned out to be planned inflation, planned pushing up of all wages and salaries, planned high cost of living all round, and what is more ridiculous — a steady rise in the cost of the Plan itself.

Co-operative Farming

THERE is no doubt as to what is the basic problem in any plan to change the way of life either in industry or agriculture. It is whether men and women will take conscientious interest and put forth their whole energy in producing for the community and not try to work for their own personal advantage, stealing their time and energy for that purpose? There is no doubt in spite of all the Fabian arguments that there is a magic in property that is not to be equalled by any amount of patriotism. One way of life seeks to exploit this very power of personal interest, — the incentive of private competition to increase and improve production and re-

duce cost, and the mathematical principle that the total result to the community will be more or less equal to the sum of the individual parts. Much has been said about the waste involved in competition. But more can be said about the inherent tendency of the individual to save for himself whatever he can, and about the rock bottom of incentive, viz., personal advantage. The heroic emotions, the courage and the energy that can be whipped up temporarily during a time of national danger or crisis cannot be evoked and sustained continually through the period of mere hard work. We have then to depend on other and more individualistic

for this anthology. The spoken word in congealed for readers in search of good prose and verse into the printed word. In addition to poems by Walter de la Mare, W. H. Auden, Edith Sitwell and others, we have intimate reminiscences of Asquith and Lloyd George (one cannot think of two great men who differ more from one another) by their distinguished daughters. The Falstaffian figure of Chesterton looms large here too and we get the childhood memories of amazement at the first look of trousers being carried by his butler. Memorable occasions with the strange suspense of the night before the war and 'the finest hour' that gave birth to the winged words of Churchill, among other things, are recaptured in cold print with little loss of the fervour of the moment. Veronica Wedgwood brings back to life some characters from history. Dylan Thomas's recollections of childhood can be read with Compton Mackenzie's first meeting, as a boy, with Henry James. Whether it is literature, journalism or broadcasting, it is all memorable writing in which the best words are found in their best order.

D. ANJANYULU.

The Superman

MAHATTANA RAHASYAM, (By Sri Mother (Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry).)

In this work one may easily recognise the artistic finish and the free play of Sri Mother's imagination. A ship which is bound for a world's conference bent on promoting peace and good will among mankind gets wrecked in the trackless waters; and six illustrious figures accidentally get into a boat. Each one narrates his own experiences. The politician unfolds his knotty problems. The literary artist describes the flight of his imagination. The scientist realizes the utter futility of his experiments and achievements. The painter acknowledges the defeat of his noble intentions and ideals. The manufacturer is convinced of the futility of his worldly aim. The athlete recog-

Continued on Page 15.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDUCATION AND INDOCTRINATION

Sir,—I disagree with your correspondent Sri R. Srinivasa Iyengar (re.: his letter in SWARAJYA dated 1-6-57) where he suggests that teachers are powerful enough to indoctrinate children even under an ideal system of education. Now-a-days teachers are not so powerful and independent in spirit. A teacher friend of mine, old enough, now retired, has admitted that he, with his own mouth taught children that Shivaji was a 'mountain rat' and that the 1857 war of independence was only a 'sepoys mutiny'. When questioned whether he was convinced of what he taught, the answer was 'no'. Then what made him indoctrinate children so? Evidently the then curriculum, the power of the State on the educational system, the need for his bread, etc., and of course the main reason was lack of the spirit of independence and national pride. This was the case with almost every teacher then and even today it is so—with only a change at governmental levels.

I fear Sri Iyengar has taken a very casual view of the power and politics of modern governments. No doubt it is unfair—as Sri Iyengar points out—to leave the spread of primary education—in fact any education—to the whims and fancies of some individuals running schools. Neither it is fair to leave it to the whims and fancies of the party in power. It would be fair and proper in these circumstances if the educational field is ruled justly by any body, formed for the specific purpose, strictly representing the culture and traditions of the land, consisting of members with enough cultural and educational background, and with nationalistic spirit dominant in their way of thinking. Let them formulate, guide and control educational policies and let the government discharge its duty in giving all its support—financial and otherwise—to promote these policies. There need not be any doubt that individuals—teachers or managements

—will go against those policies and 'indoctrinate children' marring national and educational interests.

Vijayawada T. L. NARAYANA

RECKLESS SPENDING

Sir,—I learnt through a news item in the local dailies that the Government of Andhra Pradesh have decided to construct a new building to house the proposed Legislative Council. I am really at a loss to understand why our benevolent Sarkar is bent upon spending public money in such reckless adventures, at a time when the people are over-burdened with new taxes.

V. SHANKAR.

PICNIC AT PAGALMEDU

Sir,—On 8th May, officialdom, headed by Sri Kamaraj drove to Pagalmedu, a village near Avadi. There, in a pucca pandal erected for the purpose, the grievances of the people were tape-recorded. The essential propaganda was of course arranged by carrying a bus-load of pressmen to report the show.

How many villages do the administrators hope to cover this way? With all the local bosses sitting around, what are the prospects of the meek and over-awed villager expressing his clear and frank opinion? Why tape-recorders? How much did it cost to organise and carry out this picnic to Pagalmedu?

W. S. KRISHNAN.

DIFFERENT YARDSTICKS

Sir,—While Pandit Nehru defends the high salary of the Ministers by saying that Rs. 500 of old is now worth more than Rs. 2,000, should not the same yardstick be applied when income-tax is sought to be levied on a definitely poorer set of people who earn only Rs. 250 per month which in the old measure would mean only Rs. 60 per month? If however the tax is to be levied at all, will not these employees under the very administration of these

Ministers be entitled to ask the reasons for this separate treatment?

L. N. GOPALASWAMI.

ELECTION OF MINISTERS

Sir,—The Labour Party in Australia, since 1908, established a custom whereby the Prime Minister as also all the Ministers are elected by party members, leaving the Prime Minister only the task of allotting portfolios among those elected. The practice was introduced because some sections of the party complained that men got seats in the Cabinet who had been merely friends of their leader.

The advantages of the Australian system are:

The leader is relieved of the responsibility of selecting his colleagues and incurring the displeasure of the left-outs.

The leader cannot be charged with nepotism and favouritism.

The leader will be stronger after the Cabinet is formed as the unsuccessful aspirants for Minister's places will have only themselves to blame for their failure.

The Ministers will look up to the whole party for their power and will not try to be too dependent on the Chief Minister as at present and will not be under a continuous fear of being left out in case of a reshuffle.

The leader will not be a dictator but will only be a head dependent on the strength of all the other limbs of the body.

There will not be constant manoeuvres by the disgruntled to overthrow the Cabinet.

There will be a stable Ministry which can function without fear or favour, being the chosen representatives of the party.

Dr. SRINIVASAMURTI.

Visakhapatnam.

Book Review

Continued from Page 14.

nizes the melancholy waste of his bodily prowess.

Each one seems to be on the brink of destruction. A stillness broods over land and water. An unknown person who is in the boat and a boat appearing in the blue haze of distance. The boat symbolizing a new life dawning on the

world. It is the arrival of a superman who can alone herald a new era. Neither the politician nor the painter nor the literary artist can solve the baffling sense of mystery, for art itself is a refined kind of sensuousness; and one must go beyond art.

Sri S. Sankaranarayanan, the Tamil translator, is to be congratulated on his fidelity to the original and his fine rendering of it.

R.S.D.

Reflections of Sri Aurobindo

CHINTAUTIYUM MINOLIYUM. (By Sri Arabindo. Price Eight Annas. Arabindo Ashram, Pondicherry.)

This is a piece of excellent translation in Tamil of the random reflections and jottings by Sri Aurobindo. Mr. P. Kodandaraman has caught the aroma of the original; and his rendering has a peculiar charm of its own.

Sri Aurobindo's reflections reveal in an abundant measure the wide sweep of his intellect and supreme mellowness of his understanding. They point to a wealth of spiritual experience which lies beyond the pale of ordinary human understanding. They are characterized by a robust optimism which makes man look beyond the mists of death.

R.S.D.

MONAKKURAL by Sri Gangadharan. Price: Eight Annas. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

In his work the Voice of Silence, the author has brought home to us that true happiness is not born

of the senses. Abiding peace and joy dwell only in the innermost sanctuary of one's own being. It is easy to drift down the stream of life; but to fight one's way up requires heroic courage and endurance. This work which is the result of long obstinate questionings with life and its tangled problems has an authentic note of its own.

R.S.D.

The longest pigeon-homing races I know of in Europe measured 919 miles from Barcelona in Spain to Askham in Lancashire. In North America there was a race from Manitoba in Canada to Texas in U.S.A.—a distance of 2,000 miles, which was won in 43 days, 10 hours. The longest pigeon homing known was fantastic. It wasn't a race; but the bird homed from Schaboe Island in South-West Africa all the way to Nine Elms in London—a distance of 5,400 miles. The exhausted creature dropped dead one mile from home.—Percy Cope, an expert on racing pigeons.

TWO OUTSTANDING BOOKS

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What is Science?: 12 Eminent Scientists and philosophers explain their various fields to the layman in essays specially written for this volume—edited and with an introduction by James R. Newman. 15 75

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urges and direct them skilfully to national advantage in spite of their basic egoistic character. The following extracts from what has been contributed to an American journal as a survey of conditions in Soviet lands may serve to illustrate what has been said above. The purpose of the report of the American journal was to present a condition favourable to a rift between Soviet party dictatorship and the peasantry. But apart from that political aspect there is the more basic feature of how best to exploit individual urges and energy for the benefit of the community as a whole—is it by creating a conflict between individuals and community or by utilising the competition between individual interests for the automatic advantage of the community? Nowhere is the basic wisdom of stooping to conquer made clearer than in the agricultural field. The conflict between individual and community interest is so obvious in farm production that it is next to impossible to ignore the superior force. Kolkhoz is the Russian term for collective farming. It is practically the same system as the co-operative cultivation which has often been recommended by agrarian reformers in India in connection with the Socialistic pattern or the whole village variety of the Bhoodan movement of Vinobaji. There is no better way of correcting our plans than watching and analysing the results of what has been done in other countries.

In one Armenian collective, "many kolkhoz members neglect their duties, violate the kolkhoz charter, and work mainly on their private plots or loaf in the streets of the village." Despite the presence of 30 Party propagandists, 300 peasants, including "many" Party members had failed to meet their "work-day" quotas.

In Georgia, "there are manifestations of private-property trends, of indifference toward the development of the collective." In one kolkhoz with 441 members, only 16 worked regularly for the collective; in another, 104 of 154 able-bodied members were chronic absentees. While shirking their duties in the collective, some peasants were gathering wild

apples and pears, producing vodka from them, and selling it on the market. They were also gathering timber beyond the 6 cubic meters each is allotted for his own needs and selling it.

In one Byelorussian kolkhoz, "many able-bodied kolkhoz members participate poorly in collective labour and do not fulfil the work-day minimum."

In one kolkhoz in Azerbaijan, 300 members were assigned for urgent work during the cotton-picking season, but only 120 to 150 appeared in the field; in another, the turnout was 90-100 instead of 200; and, in a third, 400 out of 500 peasants came to work in the first few days, but the total quickly dwindled to 280-290.

The contrast between the peasants' unwillingness to work in the collectives and their zeal in their own tasks leads to various forms of private enterprise on the kolkhozes:

In Kirghizia, a kolkhoz illegally went into business leaving state-owned land to private individuals. After the harvest, the latter were to pay 25 centners of corn for each hectare leased and keep the rest.

In Georgia again, peasants and even entire kolkhozes shipped their wine and other products to various parts of the USSR at a large profit. As a result, planned deliveries to the state went unfulfilled. The Georgian Council of Ministers was compelled to adopt a special resolution to check this form of private enterprise, which is noted "in many districts and kolkhozes."

The manpower shortage which has developed since the war in Soviet agriculture has led to the expanded use of female labour and to certain emergency measures, such as the use, in Uzbekistan and elsewhere, of high school students during harvest periods. The manpower shortage is officially explained as due to the rapid growth of urban population. But another cause of the shortage is the peasants' abstention from the work of the collectives:

After a Latvian kolkhoz had attributed its lagging production to insufficient manpower, an investi-

gation revealed that only half of the members worked regularly for the collective. The peasants' private plots, however, were in excellent condition: "You can see immediately that they are tilled with great care."

In one Azerbaijani kolkhoz, most of the cotton-picking was done by the women, while the men spent much of their time in the village tea-house. A newspaperman who went out to report on the harvest was outraged to find a group of peasants taking a sunbath. But if peasants sunbathe rather than work, that is not what is generally meant by a shortage of manpower. It is pure sabotage of the collective effort.

What all these news items add up to is, quite simply, peasant sabotage of the collective-farm system. To be sure, this sabotage did not reach sufficient dimensions to damage last year's excellent crop. The cases cited are probably somewhat exceptional, and they were publicized to prod local authorities into taking more drastic action against "shirkers" and "loafers." The great majority of Soviet peasants cannot avoid working for the collective, not only because they are constantly driven by a vast army of Party officials, instructors, policemen and propagandists, but because they need their share of the kolkhoz's output in order to live.

We are indebted for these quotations to the *New Leader*, a weekly published by the American Labour Conference on International Affairs, Stroudsburg, Pa. U.S.A.

Everybody has always complained that their own age is an age of vulgarity. In a sense, I suppose, this twentieth century, with the spread of popular education and the amazing expansion of all means of communication, might be described by dyspeptic people as more vulgar than any previous century. I do not share this attitude of reproach, partly because I like a little jolly vulgarity in life, and partly because I am perfectly sure that this century is not as morally or socially vulgar as the nineteenth.—Sir Harold Nicolson



Sotto Voce

The Power Game

Mr. Nehru has been constrained by political exigencies to kick up a lot of dust that obscures the real nature of the new Hindi agitation in the Punjab. I am no admirer of fanaticism. I have absolutely no sympathy with the particular brand of chauvinism which figures as the 'Galloper' of Hindi imperialism. But in seeking to defend the so-called "regional formula" on its linguistic side, the Prime Minister's uneasy diplomacy continually darts up every avenue of digression that opens without coming to grips with the real issue.

The Prime Minister says that he doesn't like the Arya Samaj, to whose cultural and religious activities he pays tribute, associating itself "in a movement of defiance on a plane which inevitably is a political one." He does not however object only to direct action. He seems to be against cultural and religious bodies going in for politics of any sort, however academic or innocuous. He contends that politics are for politicians and that others should keep off the grass. For a religious organisation to play politics is "neither good for religion nor for the organisation nor for politics".

This is a kind of *idee fixe*, a King Charles' Head with him. He has long been in the habit of comprehensively dubbing everything he does not like as communalism. In doing this he forgets not only the history, but the fact that the Congress has been communal with even less justification than most. Every concerted attempt to register a grievance or to gain an end by mobilising sanctions is instantly political in character. And culture, language and religion being the very warp and woof of a community's life, must inevitably find a political orientation. Their aims are thwarted.

From the days of Peter the Hermit to the days of Samarth Ramadas, the militant religious leader has been among the principal levers of political change. Not a little of Gandhiji's extraordinary hold over men's minds was due to his investing the political fight with the halo of a religious crusade and wielding almost the powers of excommunication of a Pope. Oddly enough Mr. Nehru referred Swami Atmananda to Acharya Vinoba Bhave as a recognised authority who could help him to distinguish true satyagraha from communal obstructivism. But Acharyaji is himself the most stunning example of how politics could be manipulated in support of one's own religious and cultural dogmas.

If it is wrong for the religionist to make a tool of politics it should be no less wrong for the politician to employ religion to gain his ends. In one breath Acharyaji denounces with revolutionary fervour the craven need for security that makes Ministers cling to their jobs like limpets. In the next, slipping into the way of thinking which your dyed-in-the-wool revolutionary cannot but regard as rank reaction, he calls upon people to replace Rama by Hanuman as a cult god. He hopes that this will make them emulate Hanuman's elemental energy. This is anthropomorphism in reverse. But while an infidel like Ingersoll was excoriated for suggesting that that was how religious myths arose, the Acharya is hailed as a statesman among saints and as a saint among statesmen.

When Mr. Nehru says that this is the first time in its history that

the Arya Samaj is indulging in politics he shows a sublime unawareness of the character and history of the movement. Its formidable founder Swami Dayananda Saraswathi was, his chroniclers explain, prompted to disengage the Vedic teaching from the later accretions of superstition by a childhood experience. But this reformist movement was inspired to dynamism by precisely the same zeal to save Hinduism from the incursions, cultural and spiritual, of Islam as Sikhism itself had been a century earlier. It is part of the irony of history that fighters on the same side later come to fight each other.

The Hindus of Haryana Prant in the new Punjab are a Hindu minority in a Sikh 'region'. They resent their children being compelled to learn Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script along with their mother-tongue Hindi even in the primary school. Punjabi which is spoken by Hindu and Sikh alike can be written in Nagari script. But the Sikhs insist on Gurumukhi, which was a by-product of their birth as a separate religious community, being learnt by every child in the region. And that is just the reason why the Hindus will not have it.

The fanaticism of the Sikhs here is nowise different from that of those Hindi imperialists who demand that Nagari numerals should replace Arabic numerals. In the Punjab they are being given a taste of their own medicine. But the Congress cannot very well say this; for in the Punjab it is doing the bidding of Sikh communalism from a desire to placate an overbearing local majority. In principle this is in no way different from and can be no more defended than the truckling under to the power-intoxicated Hindi majority which seeks to impose Hindi on non-Hindi populations all over the country.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

The five man enquiry committee appointed by the Andhra Pradesh Government to investigate the boat disaster that occurred near Bhadrachalam in the Godavari on April 10 has now pronounced the verdict that nobody was to blame but the system. It is common knowledge that 201 persons perished in the river mainly due to overcrowding in the boats that ferried them across. It was not a stray occasion of unexpected overcrowding that could not be foreseen and provided against. It was a day of the year traditionally marked by heavy pilgrim traffic. Whatever may be the system in vogue for transporting the pilgrims across the river, it is a simple axiom of commonsense that the duty of insisting on the observance of the safety limit in the loading of passengers on to the boats belongs indubitably to the police. Yet the committee of enquiry, confronted with the tragic fact of admitted overloading which resulted in more than 200 deaths, have gone out of their way to pay a handsome tribute to the police on bandobust duty. We are told that the committee has absolved the policemen and pronounced the dictum that "they had done their best under the circumstances to check overcrowding in the boats". It is not for nothing that the Inspector-General of Police in the State was one of the members of the committee responsible for this outrageous declaration.

When it is mainly the conduct of the police that is the subject of enquiry, what is the purpose served by drafting to the committee the head of the police department himself? These committees of enquiry are treated as of no account when they discover grave flaws in administration impugning the credit of high officials. Then the Government rush to the rescue of the impugned officials and reject the committee's report. But when blame is foisted on a low underling, swift and stern action follows. After the Ariyalur train disaster, the Government

promptly accepted the report of the committee of enquiry that was appointed, because it completely exonerated the railway administration of all responsibility. But quite the reverse was the Government's attitude to the Mahaboobnagar train disaster enquiry committee. This committee is as competent as any that could be got together for the purpose it was entrusted with. It consisted of a high court judge of distinguished record, an outstanding engineering expert and a retired chief engineer of railways. But by means of a majority verdict it put the blame for the accident squarely on the Chief Engineer and the Divisional Engineer. For a long time the Government delayed even publication of the report and eventually did so after loud protests in Parliament. And it rejected in toto the findings of the committee.

They have discovered a watchman as scapegoat! He is charged with having failed in his duty of keeping close and continuous watch on two bridges separated from each other by two-third of a mile. This problem of vulnerable bridges in the vicinity of Mahaboobnagar has a rather lurid history. Two years earlier, 200 persons had died in the railway disaster at Jangaon, and the Government Railway Inspector specifically recommended that the condition of the bridges demanded close looking into. At Mahaboobnagar itself it transpired that the cause of the accident was the heavy concentrated rainfall in the catchment area which the vent-way of the bridges nearabout was utterly inadequate to carry. Breaches of the line occurred in consequence. It was not as if the authorities had no warning of impending danger. They paid no attention to the condition of the bridges for two years even after the danger of the situation was signalled to them with terrible loss of life at Jangaon.

Overlooking the drawbacks of the higher railway authorities, the

Government foist culpability on a poor watchman for having "tarried much longer than was justified or necessary at bridge number 223" during the fateful night. This is little short of 'fantastic nonsense', because it ignores the fact that the same watchman, alert despite handicaps, had detected the breaches on the Mahaboobnagar side and the accident occurred before he could hasten to bridge number 229 nearly a mile away. To blame a watchman who was burdened with a work beyond human capacity, shielding higher officials who should have foreseen the danger and averted it, is a measure of the honesty and good sense imported into investigations of this kind under Congress auspices.

It was not an act of God but negligence to which the heavy loss of life that occurred at Mahaboobnagar is traceable. It is cowardly to twist reality and divert responsibility for all these tragic happenings from high placed officialdom to a poor and helpless watchman who certainly exhibited a higher sense of duty and dignity than his superiors. Nothing serves to blacken Congress rule and undermine the credit of the ruling party in public esteem as incidents of this kind which are growing day by day more frequent.

SAKA

Happiness

Happiness must be tricked. She loves to see men at work. She loves sweat, weariness, self-sacrifice. She will be found not in palaces, but lurking in cornfields and factories, or hovering over littered desks; she crowns the unconscious head of the busy child. If you look up suddenly from hard work you will see her, but if you look too long she fades sorrowfully away.

Human happiness is the true order of growth, the sweet exhalation of work, and the seed of human immortality born secretly within the coarse and mortal husk. So many of us crave the odour without cultivating the early growth from which it proceeds; so many wasting mortality expect immortality!—DAVID GRAYSON.

June 29, 1957

NEW POLITICAL VALUES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is time that some one should earnestly point out to Congress as well as Government that after ten years of independence, a great psychological change has taken place in the public mind. Public feeling has taken a definitely new turn and even the minds of common folk have taken on this new phase which should lead to serious re-thinking on the part of those who are responsible for national affairs. The change is this. The people have revalued patriotism. They see that they cannot sacrifice the desire for good government at the altar of the history of independence. The people now value good government as they value food, cloth and fuel. They want good government as they want the latter. 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 and that a government run by our own people is not necessarily a better government than what one had under the bureaucracy which worked under the British Secretary of State for India.

The rich, the poor and the middle classes all feel that they want really good government as they want healthy food and durable cloth and good fuel. Good government is made up of justice and executive authority vested in efficient, diligent and honest men who do not work for political parties or groups but for the people as a whole. They want the government to be run by officials who do not become party tools. They do not want the public service to concern itself with helping the politicians to be returned to office once again.

It is not denied that some attention is given to good government. But it is no good giving that attention with an eye to the next elections or the raising of party contributions. The motive must be as in other matters

affects the quality of the work done.

The new phase in public opinion is marked by new political values, and it is fairly universal and noticeable at all levels. One cannot hope therefore to ride the same old horse and manage the battle. If the changed situation is not recognised and the ruling party drifts, with some make-shift arrangements for 'mass-contacts', and if no alternative party comes into being, democracy will break down. At some stage the warmth of hero-worship is bound to cool down, and then some form of fascism is bound to come into play to satisfy the universal craving for good government. We must learn the lessons of history in the other backward and colonial areas of the world and save the situation before such a thing happens.

Any government can levy taxes and build roads, bridges, and irrigation works. We cannot hope to make the people believe that these are the gifts of the Congress. These things can be done by honest democratic governments as well as by any fascist government. The people cannot be expected to associate the Plan for all time with the Congress as a special favour obtained from it. They know now that the Plan is just a plan of expenditure of the taxes which the people pay. Plan publicity will not save democracy. It can succeed and it must fail in the

same measure as America's attempt to win over Europe to her side by the Marshall Plan. The difference in favour of the American enterprise is that the Marshall Plan did not levy taxes on the people of Europe to cover the plan expenditure. India's Plan is just a long term budget giving to the party in office an additional reason to continue in office.

If there is no prospect of a good and strong Opposition balancing the ruling party, the alternative is not to feel proud of the invincibility of Congress but to devise measures for filling the gap by developing scope for free and open discussion and criticism and by constructing a bridge between the party Apparatus and the people. The Almighty Party Apparatus is sapping the strength of the people and that is fatal to democracy. Before party candidates are finally chosen the people must be consulted. It must be open to the constituency to set up other candidates from the party and compel the party apparatus to accept those who actually command greater approval among the people in the constituency. The party apparatus is apt to set up idols with clay feet depending for ever on the support of the party apparatus.

Had there been a well-balanced Opposition mechanism, there would be no need for preliminary appeal to the people in the choice of party candidates such as is indicated here. But as things are at present the statutory election on the British model is not enough.

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