

SWATANTRA

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M. V. C. Rau
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V. P. Sathe
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M. P. John

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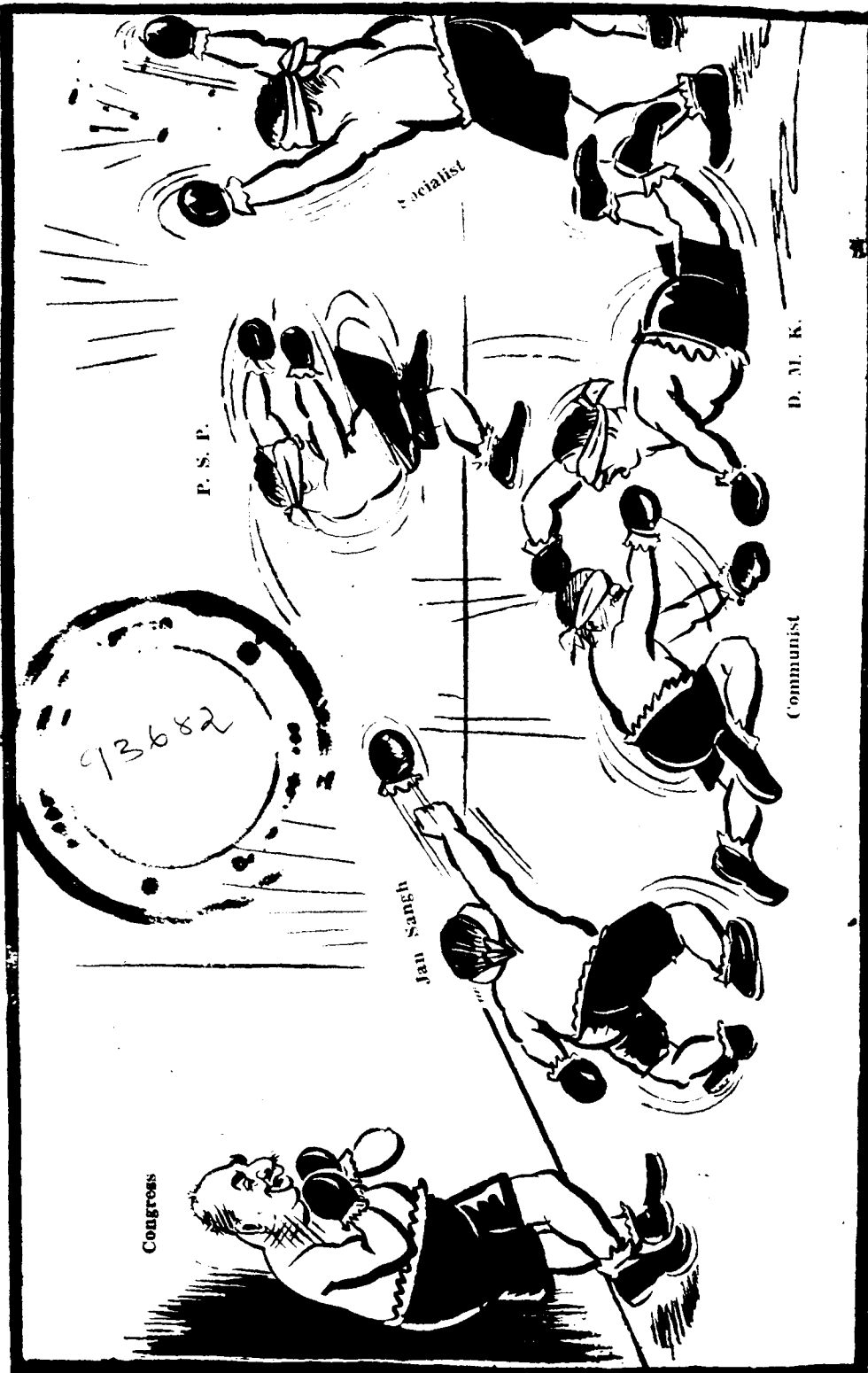
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Congress: Let the others fight it out between themselves!



SWATANTRA

Vol. XII. MARCH 23 SATURDAY 1957 No. 7

THE "TEMPORARY PHASE"

SPEAKING at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party at Delhi on the 18th instant, Pandit Nehru reviewed the results of the General Elections and characterised the set-back the Congress had suffered in some of the States as a "temporary phase". He was referring pointedly to the defeat of important Congressmen and Ministers in Gujarat and in Maharashtra. He ignored the more serious set-backs suffered by the Congress in Kerala and in Orissa. He attributed the reverses in bi-lingual Bombay to "emotionalism and linguistic feelings" on the part of the electorate. The Prime Minister's review of the election results is important because it gives an inkling of the workings of the mind which would guide the destinies of the country during the coming five years. While it should be frankly conceded that the people have, either out of their political apathy or out of their continuing sense of hero-worship, bestowed on Pandit Nehru the right to govern this country for another five years, the election results do at the same time very clearly indicate the symptoms of the deep set malaises from which the body politic is suffering and which cannot be disposed of in the summary fashion in which Pandit Nehru is inclined to dispose of them. The reverses in Gujarat and in Maharashtra which the Congress party sustained are certainly due to "linguistic feelings" but they are not a "temporary phase," as Pandit Nehru fondly hopes they are. It does not lie in the mouth of Pandit Nehru and members of the

Congress party to decry the "linguistic feelings" displayed by the Gujaratis and the Maharashtrians while they, of the Congress party, are no less subject to such "linguistic feelings."

The whole problem of linguism in India is an artificial creation of the Congress party. There was no such problem as long as the British ruled the country. It may be said that the linguistic feelings of the people were, in the days of British rule, kept under check by the political power exercised by the English language. Whatever might be the reason, the fact is there and has been incorporated into the history of India viz., the language problem which is so much in evidence in independent India under Congress rule was not in existence under the British rule. The political hegemony exercised over India for three centuries by the British is a historic fact however much we may resent it. It cannot be ignored and it cannot be set aside. It had many injurious results. It had also a beneficent result. The political unity of India about which Pandit Nehru enthuses so much is a British creation. It is an unpleasant fact which injures the vanity of Indian nationalism. But Indian nationalists ignore that fact at their peril. None of the imperialist sways that preceded the British achieved the unification of India which the British did. Today, after the British have left our shores, patriotic elements in India are out to salvage the political unity which the British have left us as a legacy. It may be that that unity was created as an instrument for the

exploitation of our people by foreigners. But the fact is there that we covet that foreign creation that the exploiters have bequeathed to us. Let us not throw out the baby with the dirty bath water. If that unity is still of value to us it has to be nurtured in the environment which suits its growth. The English language is an inevitable feature of that environment. The attempt is being made by the Congress party to preserve the political unity of India and at the same time to give up the English language which nurtured that unity. This ill-considered attempt born out of a false sense of national self-respect is at the root of the language problem in India.

There is no need to impede the growth of our indigenous languages for the purpose of preserving national unity. Free scope can be given to each and every one of the Indian languages for the fullest possible growth. The continuance of English as the *lingua franca* of India to be used for inter-state and international contacts will not in any way hinder the growth of indigenous languages. Such continuance of the language pattern of India would be in the true line of the historic growth of India's culture. But the Congress party broke away from its political moorings when it artificially conferred a privilege on Hindi, one of the many Indian languages and one less developed than the others, and assigned to it a place of supremacy. This false step created jealousies in non-Hindi speaking areas and one of the chain reactions of that jealousy is the debacle of the Congress party in Gujarat and in Maharashtra at the recent elections. The rise of the D. M. K. Party in Madras which demands the creation of a Pakistan in the South and the subjection of India to a further re-division is attributable entirely to the political foolhardiness of the Congress party in imposing the Hindi language upon the whole of India. It may be that

the people of the bi-lingual State of Bombay do not yet see the problem in this light and they clamour only for the immediate division of Bombay into two separate states of Gujarat and Maharashtra. But the political wise acres of the Congress should not forget the brutal fact that there was no demand for the division of Bombay as long as the British were here and the English language held sway as the *lingua franca*.

It is a truism which has to be recognised, in spite of the feeble attempts of a few fanatics, that the mastery of science and the knowledge of technological know-how that are so vital not only for the industrial build-up but for ensuring the safety of this country at the present moment cannot be obtained except through the medium of the English language. If the military threat of Pakistan across our borders is successfully to be dealt with and if the factories, dams and river valley projects rising all over the country under our projected Five-Year Plans are to be saved from atomic destruction, it is necessary for us to keep a vigilant watch over the progress achieved in military science elsewhere in the world with a view to incorporating every new discovery into our defence machinery. He who pretends that he could accomplish this immense nerve-racking task through the medium of the undeveloped Hindi language is either a fool or a knave and should be shunned in the interests of national safety. If Pandit Nehru and the Congress party charged with the onerous task of defending the frontiers of this great country and ensuring the safety of the millions of our population in this atomic age would enter on their task in the spirit of seriousness and humility so necessary for success, they should bend their energies to rethink their policies and their programmes in the light of facts that have occurred in Gujarat, in Maharashtra, in Madras and in Kerala.

While the first three states mentioned above have given indications of the fissiparous effects of the linguistic fanaticism which has infected the Congress mind, the last mentioned state, namely Kerala, is a grave warning of what would happen to the country if the linguistic fanaticism is allowed to grow on unchecked so as to undermine national solidarity. The tentacles of a communist political organisation are spread all over India and will take advantage of every political ferment to strengthen its stranglehold. Communism and all that doctrine implies of totalitarian rule and denial of the rights of individuals to think, to live and to enjoy happiness, would sweep over this country as it has swept over many other countries in Europe and in Asia. Pandit Nehru's

silence over the threat that is implied in the Congress defeat in Kerala is ominous. Apparently he is reconciling himself to the inevitable and he is able to view with equanimity the advent of communism over the rest of India in the near future. The Pandit has been acting on the maxim, "After me—the deluge." He is getting old. He can afford not to worry. But what about the others who are not quite so old and who will one day be thrown into the communist cauldron? What about the youth who will be driven into the slave camps to sweat and toil for the well-being of a new ruling class? The younger generation of Indians cannot afford to display that supine indifference to the communist menace that Pandit Nehru seems to evince.

SIDELIGHTS ::

MR. V. K. Krishna Menon, the alter ego of Pandit Nehru, has made a very interesting suggestion at a Bombay meeting. Since suggestions from such high personages eventually take shape and confront us as facts in real life, it is our bounden duty to take careful note of them. Mr. Menon said that all voters who fail to turn up at the polling booth on election day should be penalised. We understand that a similar law prevails in some of the totalitarian countries. Mr. Menon who already enjoys so many of the privileges available only to the rulers in totalitarian regimes is apparently bent upon a further extension of those privileges to his tribe. Penalising a voter for not exercising his franchise is sought to be defended on the ground that the state is put to such great expenditure for the conduct of the elections that refusal to exercise the franchise and participate in the elections amounts to an affront to the state and hence tantamounts to treason. Mr. Menon appa-

rently does not understand the point of view of the voter who thinks that the entire political set-up in India is undemocratic, that the elections are but a farce and that the results are pre-determined. With a party like the Congress which claims to be not merely political but national, which takes credit for having brought into being political independence from foreign rule, which claims to speak in the name of the super-human personality of Mahatma Gandhi, which boasts of the leadership of an outstanding international celebrity like Pandit Nehru, a party whose very name the illiterate masses worship and offer homage to, with such a party claiming the suffrage of the people there is no chance for any other party to win except under extraordinary circumstances which may prevail in some of the smaller areas. Under such a political set-up it is quite reasonable for the enlightened voter to refuse to exercise his franchise which is a sham and a hoax.

The attempt of Mr. Menon to brow-beat the voter will be resented by the more intelligent section among the voters.

Did Mr. Menon ever hear of the non-co-operation movement conducted by Mahatma Gandhi? Of course, Mr. Menon was not in the Gandhi camp in those days and he never participated in non-co-operation. The principal feature of that movement was the boycott of the elections held under the Montague-Chelmsford Reform Act. The Congress rejected that Act and boycotted the elections held under that Act. Millions of voters all over the country responded to the call of the Congress and refrained from exercising their franchise on the polling day. If Mr. Menon were in power in those days he would have thrown all of them into the jails. Since jails could not have accommodated the millions of offenders he would have fabricated concentration camps for their benefit.

Laurels have been heaped on Mr. Krishna Menon for the great eloquence he displayed at the U. N. O. in presenting India's case on the Kashmir issue. Pandit Nehru's kept press has played up Mr. Menon's personality and bored the Indian reader with pages and pages of his speeches day after day. As a palliative to tired nerves we offer the following caustic comments of the New York correspondent of the weekly *Vigil*:

"The New York Times habitually prints the complete text of speeches on important occasions such as India's defence of the Kashmir policy. But Mr. Krishna Menon talked for seven hours. What could any newspaper do with 200 pages of verbiage? In the United States, to talk at such length is considered bad manners, and the reporters became so outraged that they refused to notify their papers even of the high points of his remarks. On another day Mr. Menon spoke for two

hours. The papers recorded this fact but reported not one hint of what he said. Instead they added this malicious conclusion: 'In the afternoon Mr. Menon announced that he would speak for ten minutes. He therefore spoke for fifty-five. The Indian point of view has ceased even to be recorded because it has been presented so wrongly.'

The Suhrawardy regime in Pakistan is in the doldrums. The "one unit" scheme for West Pakistan is fast disintegrating. Khan Abdu Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, is still intent upon achieving the independence of Pakthoonistan. Sindh and other territories in the Western Province resent the supremacy that the immigrant Muslims from India are exercising over them. More than all, there is the militant move of Maulana Bhashani demanding complete political autonomy for the forty-five million people of East Bengal who form the major part of the population of Pakistan. Although the demand for autonomy by the East is still qualified by the concession to the Centre of the three subjects of Defence, Currency, and Foreign Affairs, the last restricted only to its political side, the display of the spirit of separation is so exuberant that the time may soon arrive when the concession may be withdrawn and the demand will be for full sovereignty. It appears as though the move for political unification of Pakistan has altogether failed and the very existence of Pakistan can be saved only by a timely decentralisation of power and the recognition not only of East Pakistan but also of the various component parts of West Pakistan as autonomous units. Not all the heroics displayed by Mr. Suhrawardy to infect the Pakistanis with anti-Indian hysteria nor all the importations of jet bombers and atomic missiles from the U. S. will avail the Pakistan government in holding together a starving and rebellious people.

SARHU

PEDLAR'S PACK

A news-item of the week which bids fair to have far-reaching repercussions is the publication by the Mysore government of a three-man committee report on the construction of the Mysore State New Assembly buildings. The contents of the report, the timing of its publication as well as the forthright manner in which it has concentrated its attack on one individual—the ex-Chief Minister of that state—are not only sensational in themselves; but they bid fair to lead to chain-reactions—elsewhere. If so it would be to the ultimate good of the country. Briefly stated, Mr. Hanumanthayya is said to have functioned as a chota Moghul, issuing, modifying and countermanding—all orally or with dubious authority—orders in connection with the plans, details, estimates, additions or deletions to the architectural and artistic ensemble of the buildings as a whole.

This is not as singular as might seem at first sight. The capital defect of our existence during the last seven or eight years has been a pervasive proneness for authority briefly residing in ministers to run amok. Had the Jeep and allied scandals been dealt with in a less lackadaisical manner, and the offenders either brought to book or at least decorously cashiered, the autocratic hierarchy in the lower rungs might have had the fear of God put into them. But when they were pooh-poohed or denied with brazen assurance by the highest in the land, it became covertly a sort of *carte blanche* for the smaller fry to go forth and do—likewise.

At least in the case of the Mysore ex-Chief Minister, there have been no charges of venality or corruption or nepotism. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that this would finish him—politically speaking—at least for the present. For there is no knowing how in a democracy, real or so called, the villain of the piece today might not pop up to-morrow as the saviour of the country or—the caucus! History abounds in such metamorphoses from the days of Alcibiades downwards. If the present access of self-righteous indignation among the

Mysore ministry should remain constant, there ought to be an impeachment or attainder to follow. That would tone up the administration far more than the repetition of text-book homilies on ceremonial occasions.

It is said that when thieves fall out, honest men come by their own. But rarely do such welcome results follow when politicians fall out. Ten to one, the matter is hushed up without however arresting a radiation of corruption more deadly than any associated with atomic falls out.

In the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Humayun Kabir referred to the great increase in the road mileage in the last five years and added: 'Roads, it should be remembered, were one of the important factors in developing emotional integration in the country.'

Little did I dream that our country's roads

Through linear aggregation

Would do the work of lyrics and odes
In our emotional integration!

In answer to a question in the Lok Sabha, Pandit Nehru admitted that our propaganda in foreign countries, specially on the Kashmir issue, has not been adequate.

Foreign opinion however seems to think that it is our facts that are not adequate.

Mr. Gunnar Jarring has been following Polonius's advice: he has been giving every one in Pakistan his ear, but few his tongue. Speculation is therefore rife as to what his own reactions are. It is considered unlikely that he will be more expansive in the course of his parleys with our leaders at Delhi.

Thanks to the presence of Mr. Gunnar Jarring

There's a cessation of Indo-Pak sparring:

But at Karachi

He said nothing catchy,—

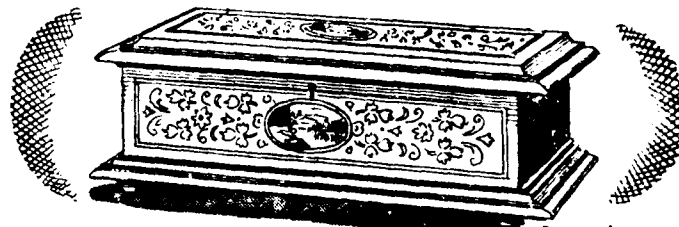
Nor will he

at Dilli

cause a shock

By premature or partisan talk.

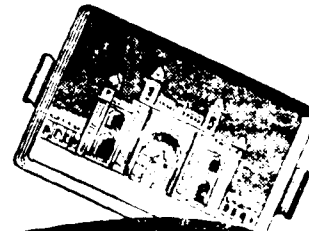
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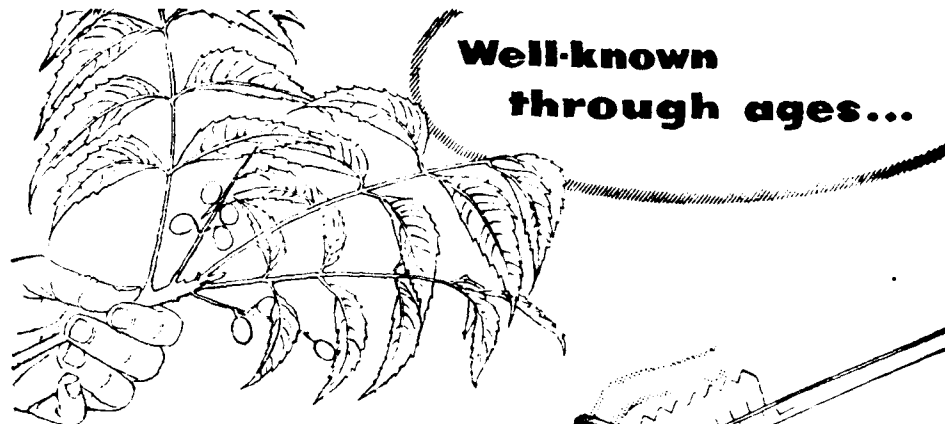
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POST MORTEM

By AZAD

THE Congress megaphone which had been turned full blast for months together has at last been gratified with results which were mostly foregone conclusions. They have been hailed as a triumph of democracy as a vindication of Congress policies and as a mandate to go full steam ahead, but whether to Coventry or Queer Street, remains to be seen! In an atmosphere reeking with such smug self-satisfaction, it might seem perverse to strike a discordant note such as is suggested by my title. However, a victory presupposes the defeat of an opposition; and as something in the name of natural justice is due to those who have fallen, here is my tribute to them—the more so as they may come back to life sooner than later. People in the middle ages thought that it would be a good thing for their souls if they reminded themselves of the death's head during their feasting. While it is still customary for our wedding celebrations to be rounded off with a lament for the dead who could not be present on the auspicious occasion! While the crowds all around me are shouting: Long Live Democracy!, here are my private and personal tears at its death for the *nth* time. I anticipate that all the stage-properties will be withdrawn and stored up in the nation's lumber room for the next five years, while the miscellaneous rabble of crowd-catchers and vote-catchers proceed to cash in their gains as occasions serve.

By and by, we will have complete statistics of the elections all over the land. Quidnuncs and experts will use them to draw the most contradictory conclusions and inferences; and everybody will be sent away fortified with increased faith in their own pet delusions or doxies. But a few

fundamental truths stand out and stare at us. It is to these that I propose to draw attention for the benefit of those who believe in the still small voice, or can see below the surface.

First and foremost, a minority of the country's electorate alone has cared to go to the polls. Some regions have polled a little more heavily than others; but the over-all average for the entire country is unlikely to be more than fifty per cent, if so much. It may therefore be asserted that the majority did not care for the elections either way. In the background of our own traditions and age-long history, this majority represents the primordial inertia of matter—*prakriti*. There has been the unenviable distinction, throughout world-history, of fulfilling a merely statistical purpose. Their political credo is summed up in the defeatist dictum: 'What does it matter who reigns; it's all one to us, whether it's Rama or Ravana.' Tyrants, dictators, demagogues, starry-eyed idealists, political bosses and caucus-cabalists all take them into account directly or indirectly, blatantly or sub-consciously. God himself cannot do anything with them. Wherefore, Dante exclaimed in a moment of supreme exasperation: 'Hateful in the sight of men and God are these crowds who deserve neither praise nor blame!' He devised for them a special area in hell where they continued with unruffled complacency to eke out their purposeless existence, —unaware of their miserable lot and oblivious to anything higher to which they could aspire. It is of this crowd that foreigners used to grow lyrical in the good or bad old days of the British power; for they used to admire their *pathetic contentment* under the British Raj. The Blimps too made

them show-pieces to justify their exploitation of the country. (By the way, we are doing it in our turn now, when we tell the world that Kashmir is an ideal holiday resort, and any one could go and see for himself what an earthly paradise it has been made by Indian bribes and battalions.)

The second fact that emerges from the elections is that a minority of the minority alone has voted Congress back to power. This is a fact of stupendous significance; and yet no one has so much as dreamt of it or of its bearing on our future developments. The anomaly of it is that a minority of the population has managed to capture a comfortable majority of seats in all the legislatures. This is tantamount to a fraud on the electorate which the law itself allows. How it has been brought about is a long story. But one obvious cause of it is the existence of a single, determined, well-equipped and resourceful party driving a juggernaut over the rest who are disorganised, splintered, and behave like political babes in the wood.

Take almost any contested election in any part of the country. Umpteen candidates seek the votes of the people. To all intents and purposes, they behave like men let loose temporarily from Bedlam or a mental hospital. The majority of them know full well that they have no chance of winning through. But they have their private axes to grind, personal scores to settle; a few who are simple enough to believe in ideals and who are willing to back them by an *auto da fe* fall victims to hopes and promises held out by so-called influential groups, most of whom are a species of mush-room adventurers flourishing during election times alone. The result is that a formidable opposition is divided and dissipated to facilitate the monotonous triumph of the party with all initial advantages arising from possession and pre-emption.

In effect therefore we have the operation of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is frankly the imposition of a minority will through dubious methods on a quiescent, supine or disorganised majority. This is communism in practice; but since it has come to us with the inevitability of gradualness, it has not provoked any adverse repercussions except in a minority of intellectuals whose honesty and disinterestedness are in direct proportion to their ineffectualness.

But in politics it is almost axiomatic to say that every rule has its exception. In a vast country like India, it is impossible to exert pressure at all points with the same amount of force. Some of it is inevitably dissipated in the process of distribution. For in spite of all the handicaps of the opposition, it has made a pretty decent show of itself. For look at Kerala, Orissa, even Bombay and Gujerat—the last of which may almost be described as the apostolic centre of Congress-Bowdlerised Gandhism. What has happened in these areas can doubtless be put to a variety of incompatible or contradictory uses. But I suppose even Pandit Nehru will have to admit that his magic writ does not run in those areas with the infallibility that has flattered it elsewhere. Let us probe these weak joints in the Congress armour, not so much with a view to score a barren point or two in debate, but rather with a view to discover if they contain or offer a chance of the country shaking off the yoke of the bullock which has come to replace the British yoke.

Kerala is almost a text-book case. It is the only area throughout the country where literacy is comparable to Western levels—being above 78 per cent. It has no doubt too an agrarian, a communal, a religious and sociological problem all inextricably mixed with one another. The omnibus panacea of the Congress which has been all things to all men has

failed to work there. A decisive majority of the voters have refused to be thrilled or gulled by the Congress siren. If an educated and compact electorate could give such an unambiguous rebuff to a party which has been flattening the rest of the country with its steam-roller progress, it is a matter for eventful relief to the country itself.

In Orissa on the other hand, the remark has been made that feudal or near-feudal conditions still prevail and that the Congress has failed to rouse the people to a proper appreciation of their rights and privileges. Such a pose of being far in advance of the times seems quite engaging to contemplate. But when the record of the same Congress elsewhere is subjected to closer scrutiny, it is found that for the sake of electoral advantages, it has not scrupled to affiliate to itself notorious Quislings of the departed British power; and thus displayed a case-hardened cynicism which makes mincemeat of its protestations of moral impeccability and political rectitude. Heads I win, tails you lose—is a sound rule of conduct for opportunists; and Congress in its progress down the slope has become more and more seduced by its successes.

In Bombay and Gujerat, it is a somewhat different kettle of fish that begins to smell. That freak of political immaturity which was improvised to save the face of the Congress High Command and that was boosted by an array of Congress gauleiters—Bilingual Bombay—bids fair to go back to the melting pot. The current official reaction to the spectacular defeats of some outstanding protagonists on the Congress side to dismiss them as a passing phase of emotional disturbance or aberration. It is in fact an unmistakable indication of a process of *emotional dis-integration* of the country which is at work; and so is well calculated to cut at the very idea of 'emotional integration' which has sometimes

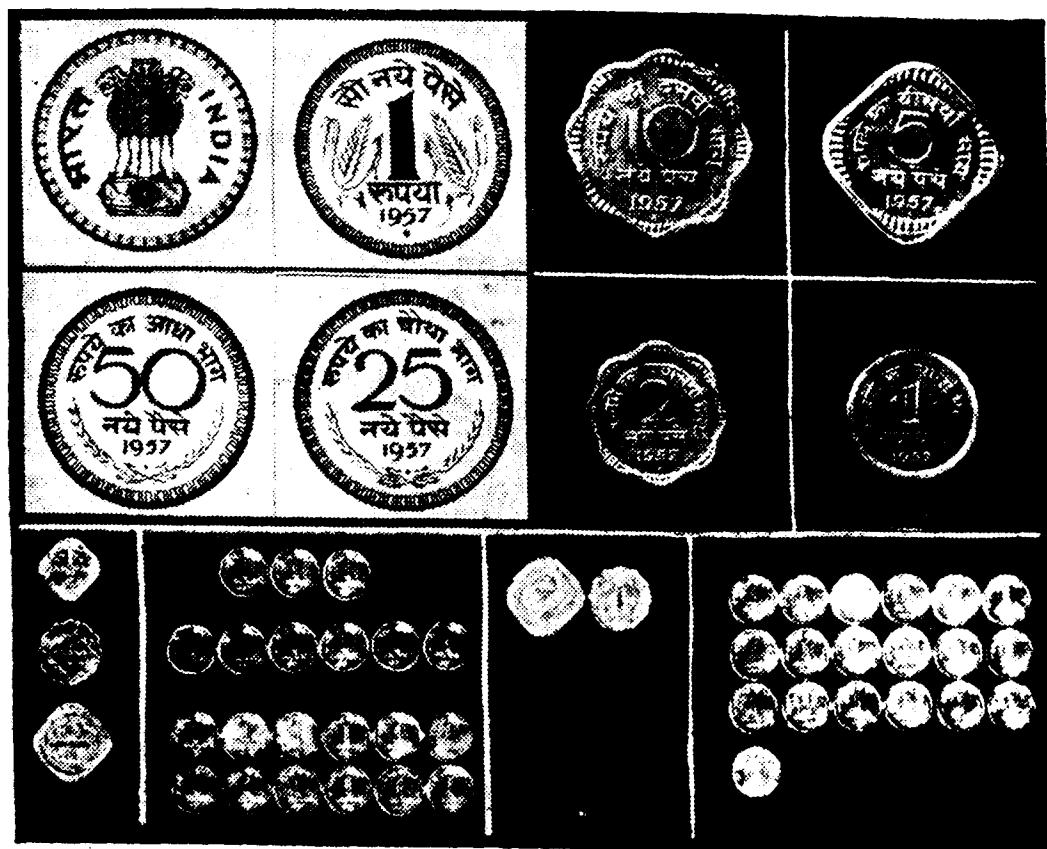
been put forward by Pandit Nehru as the only cement to hold together his ramshackle but domestic *imperium*. Just as he is exploiting a crude kind of nationalism to keep his hold on the country, so sections of it brooding over their own local brands of the same nationalism will never rest content until they get what they want. Here is a pretty big pie which is making, and which Pandit Nehru will be called upon to eat humbly and publicly in good time. But the chief point to bear in mind is that the over-all majority so much trumpeted about shrivels or disappears at the first rude touch of reality. For unless the gulf between the opposing groups is bridged through seasonable and politic surrender and compromise, the method of counting heads will inevitably be superseded by the rival one of breaking them.

Coming back to our own state, the trend of voting has revealed new prospects which will certainly not be pleasing to the powers that be. If we may take the city of Madras as an index of the rest of the state, we may state as incontrovertible two unpalatable propositions. The first is that the communal ass is wearing the Congress skin, but not so completely as to submerge the identity. The new trinity that has emerged is that of the Congress backed by caste and cash. In the Gita it is said that the combination of Sri Krishna, Arjuna and the invincible bow will ensure success always. This modern trinity has more potency. Secondly, the leader of the Dravida Kazhagam has received a trouncing that he will not forget in a hurry; in fact the elections have been his Philippi. The D. M. K. has polled more votes than the D. K. as such. In the key-constituency of South Madras where the D. K. leader staked his all, the majority of the non-Brahmin vote—a crushing majority of them, I should say—voted against him and his nominee. It is the Brahmin vote that salvaged the Brahmin candidate. More it was the

Iyengar vote that saved the Iyengar candidate in the last resort! Nothing else gave him his minority victory. Strictly speaking, the Finance Minister has lost the confidence of the majority of the electorate, and should under ideal conditions have resigned his office. But through a jugglery of figures and the vagaries of the ballot-box, he has usurped a place which is not his by rights. Had he stood for the North Madras constituency, he would have come uncomfortably at the bottom of the poll. By the same token, the Congress secured a Muslim from Triplicane, and not a Hindu. If, for instance, the candidates set up for Triplicane and Mylapore for the State Assembly had changed places, both would have been

defeated! This proves that communalism is not only rampant, but that the Congress is doing all it can to nurse it and capitalise it. But as we know, the official attitude is one of unqualified denunciation of casteism. Is Pandit Nehru a new-born babe not to know these rude realities of the Tammany Hall over which he presides and from which he sends out his henchmen to secure power for the Congress! If so, I can only exclaim: 'Tell me another!'

The net result of the elections is to wipe out such incipient vestiges of an opposition as were painfully taking shape. The national chariot is forging ahead with gathering momentum; when or where or how it comes a cropper is in the lap of the gods.



The new Decimal coins which will come into circulation on April 1, 1957.

March 23 1957

SWATANTRA

13

AMAZING PILLS FOR MENTAL ILLS

By BEN ROSE

Perhaps the greatest advance this century in psychiatry, tranquillizer drugs have had a powerful effect even on patients considered hopeless.

A surprised and slightly sceptical husband showed up suddenly at a mental hospital in Verdun, Que., holding an affectionate letter written by his wife, a patient in the hospital for 15 years. For eight years she had been unable to write anything coherent to him. Then came this letter, a model of orderly thought processes.

The hospital staff was nearly as surprised to see the husband as he was to be there. His wife's letter was a tipoff to an amazing improvement in her condition, a remarkable by-product of a remarkable drug, chlorpromazine. It had its 1st clinical test in North America at this, 1,650-bed Verdun Protestant hospital near Montreal.

A MAGIC DRUG

The recovery in long-term patients who were thought to be utterly hopeless was one of the developments the doctors did not expect. They knew the drug was having a powerful effect on newer patients with lighter symptoms, but it was not until patients inactive for years began to ask for work, and amazed relatives started to show up at the doors, that the other side of the story came to light. These remarkable recoveries were coming after treatment of six months to a year. Several patients hospitalized for eight to 10 years have been discharged and now are working full time again.

This story is only one of the surprising angles in the chain of events that led to Dr. Heinz E. Lehman, who came to Canada from Germany in

1937, bringing to his new land the honour of being in the forefront of perhaps the greatest advance in psychiatry in half a century. Chlorpromazine, a derivative of a coal tar chemical, and reserpine, a snake-root drug from India, and a host of other drugs known as tranquillizers, have caused a quiet revolution in the treatment of mental illness. They are credited, for instance, with being among the main factors in the yearly discharge of more than 80 per cent of the patients admitted to Alberta's mental hospitals.

They are not cures (doctors are not even sure how they work) but few question their dynamic role in the mental hospital picture today.

ACCIDENTAL STUMBLING

Chlorpromazine was stumbled upon by French scientists looking for an antihistamine that could be used as a sleeping tablet. Up to that point the search had been for an antihistamine that would not make people drowsy. Its effect in calming animals with induced neuroses provided the key to its possible use in mental illness.

A French drug firm published literature describing chlorpromazine at many mental hospitals in Canada and the United States, including the Verdun hospital where Dr. Lehman, assistant professor of psychiatry at McGill university, is clinical director. The material lay on the shelf in his office for a couple of weeks. Finally he took it home one week-end and read it through.

In April, 1953, he began a two-week pilot project on a small group of patients. They presented the usual picture of sedation—they were quiet and drowsy. But Dr. Lehman and his associate, Dr. Gorman Hanrahan, noticed one startling difference. Under this drug, the patients would instantly "snap to" after a light touch on the shoulder, answer questions briskly and carry on a conversation with a clear mind.

Dr. Lehman then ran a test with the drug on five volunteers from the staff. Again the calm, but alert, picture developed. Next came a clinical test on about 70 patients and Dr. Lehman was the first to publish a paper in English on the tranquillizers, with a few U. S. doctors close behind. Since then, 1,000 or more scientific papers have appeared on chlorpromazine and other tranquillizers. New drugs of this type make their appearance regularly. In the United States the sale of tranquillizers runs to about \$100,000,000 a year. One large Ontario mental hospital uses \$10,000 worth every month.

Chlorpromazine seems to work by acting on the central nervous system, the master switch of the human body, toning down messages from this switch-box so that there will be quieter emotional response. But unlike other sedative type drugs, the tranquillizers do not damp down the brain. This leaves the patients free to think clearly, as the Verdun researchers quickly noticed.

Dr. Lehman speculates that he was the first to run a test on chlorpromazine because he is married to a French-Canadian, speaks French at home (one of the five languages he knows) and the first literature on the drug was in French. U. S. psychiatrists had to lose precious time waiting for translations.

Another reason the Canadian test showed striking results while earlier ones in France were indifferent is because, as Dr. Lehman puts it, "we were more audacious in our dosage.

There is a terrific spread in dosage on these drugs. They run from 50 mg. to 4,000 mg. and it is impossible to tell before hand what is the proper one for any patient."

The tranquillizers produce side effects, some serious, in a minority of patients and their use must be closely supervised. Not all psychiatrists agree on how important they are in promoting recoveries, but there is the fairly universal conclusion that they do help to take a patient "over the humps," so he becomes more receptive to other forms of psychotherapy.

At Verdun hospital, for example, it used to be that only two-thirds of the patients could attend parties and dances. Now, after treatment with the tranquillizers, all the patients go to the parties, which are often considered as beneficial as medical treatment.

NO RETURN TO HOSPITAL

Dr. Lehman believes the most important long-range benefit from tranquillizers will be in helping ex-patients to adjust to stress in their workaday lives so, they won't break down and have to return to hospital. There have been earlier discharges from many Canadian mental hospitals, but the relapse rate has been high.

But under maintenance therapy at Verdun (the patients come back to the clinic every two weeks for an interview and a fresh supply of the drug) it has been cut by two-thirds, from 30 per cent to between five and 10 per cent. One patient has been on maintenance therapy for three years and is doing well, while several patients have maintained their recoveries for more than a year.

At the moment the chief use of the tranquillizers is in drastically shortening the time in hospital of patients who would have recovered under older methods of treatment too, but at a much slower pace. They are getting well in weeks, instead of months or years. Even better still, the drugs

may, under careful supervision outside, make it unnecessary for people to go to hospital at all.

On the first 63 patients treated by the drug at the Verdun hospital, 13 recovered, seven were much improved, 27 improved, and 12 were completely unchanged. The drug headed off a breakdown in four others.

After a few years' experience, the hospital was also able to report these benefits: No patients under restraint; 200 patients instead of 50 wandering freely around the grounds; the locks off the doors in some wards; shock treatments cut by half, and 70 instead of 10 patients able to go home on week-ends.

Chlorpromazine and reserpine, as well as other tranquillizers such as meratran, have also found a place in other important areas of medical treatment. The French-produced chemical is used to help relieve pain, especially in advanced cancer cases. The rauwolfia plant derivative from India is valuable in treating high blood pressure and hypertension. Meratran eases the transition period of alcoholics after drinking bout. Tranquillizers also lessen the suffering of drug addicts being treated.

It is too early to tell how much the new drugs have increased the discharge rates in mental hospitals all across Canada as there is a two-year lag in these statistics. At the Verdun hospital it boosted the discharge rate by about five per cent. Hospitals in the United States have reported increases up to 30 per cent.

The average length of a patient's stay before discharge from mental hospitals in Canada in 1954 was eight and a half months, compared with 15 months between 1940 and 1945. The new drugs may have played a small part in this, but undoubtedly there were other factors as well.

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IN LIGHTER VEIN

A prominent statesman was the guest of honour at a banquet where the speeches introducing him were many and long. When at last it was time for him to give his own speech, the hour was late.

Rising to his feet, he put aside his prepared notes and looked out at his audience with a tired smile. "I have been asked to give an address," he said, and "I shall beg the privilege of giving my own. It is number 513 Robinson Street, and with your kind permission I shall repair there at once."

Two dairies were engaged in an advertising war. One of the companies engaged a dare-devil racer to drive a car round the town with large placards reading: "This dare-devil drinks our milk."

The rival company came out with placards twice as large reading: "You don't have to be a dare-devil to drink our milk."

"What does this mean, 'Under Entirely New Management'? That's the same old management there."

"Yes, sir," replied the waiter, "but he's married again."

The doctor coughed apologetically at his patient.

"I don't like to mention it, but that cheque you gave me has come back."

"That's funny, Doctor," remarked the patient, "so has my rheumatism."

"I've had a worrying time filling in the forms the insurance people sent," said a wife to her husband. "They asked such awkward questions. They even wanted to know the state of my mind."

"How absurd!" replied her husband. "I suppose you left that blank."

A recruit was trying to dodge military service.

"I'm afraid my shyness might prevent me from joining any actual fighting," he said.

The M. O. replied cheerfully: "That's all right, old chap. We've got special trenches for the short-sighted ones. Right close to the enemy—you just can't miss seeing them."

"Yes, I can honestly say my husband is the only man who's ever kissed me," said a housewife to her friends.

"Are you boasting or complaining?" queried another.

A schoolmaster, giving a music lesson, inquired whether the pupils had any favourite anthem they would like to sing.

"God Save the King," said one of the lads.

"Now, tell me, what name do you think of the National Anthem?"

"Because," replied the boy, "then it's time to go home."

Jack, the sailor, had broken with his girl. After ignoring several letters requesting the return of her photograph, he received one threatening to complain to the captain.

Deciding to silence her for all time, he borrowed all the pictures of girls available on the ship from his pals, and sent them on to her in a parcel with the following note: "Pick yours out. I have forgotten what you look like!"

A man rushed excitedly into the smoking car of a train.

"A lady has just fainted in the next car," he cried. "Has anybody got any whisky?"

Immediately several flasks were brought out. He seized the nearest one, tilted it back, took a long drink, and returned it, saying, "Thanks a lot. It always did make me feel sick to see a lady faint."

IS PAKISTAN A STATE?

By P. Y. DESHPANDE

GEOGRAPHICALLY, historically, socially and politically Pakistan was an integral part of India up to the 15th August, 1947. The Machiavellian genius of British Imperialism deliberately forged a political dilemma before the Indian national leaders in order to force them to accept the partition of India as the price of freedom. The State of India was artificially cut up into two parts India and Pakistan. This was an outrage against geography, history, human society and politics, i.e. against the very natural and organic laws of State formation. Dissociating parts of India from its natural and organic whole was a man-made atrocity against the entity called the Indian State. The dissociated and truncated part of India now called 'Pakistan' constitutes not a State but a political vacuum artificially created to serve the ends of British imperialism at the cost of both India and Pakistan.

A POLITICAL VACUUM

Consequently, Pakistan's foreign policy is a dictated policy of Powers that seek to fill up the political vacuum that is Pakistan. Nature abhors vacuum, not excluding the political one. Foreign powers may go on trying to fill in the vacuum called Pakistan for any length of time; but this cannot transform what is essentially a vacuum into a political State. It can only play the role of a thorn by the side of India and a breeding place for political intrigue and filthy power politics.

The recent Security Council resolution has revealed the stark reality that it was a grave mistake to have agreed to cease-fire and sought the intervention of the U. N. O. It was exceedingly naive on the part of our Prime Minister to have handled the

Kashmir issue in the way he did. He failed to see that Pakistan was not a State but a political vacuum controlled by alien powers and the aggression on Kashmir was an alien inspired plan to extend the area of this vacuum to the detriment of India. To have thought in terms of a cease-fire and a reference to the U.N.O. for the purpose of protecting Kashmir from the aggression was to have fallen a prey to the machinations of alien powers. India was then able to drive away the aggressors beyond the borders of Kashmir. It was India's natural, legal and moral duty to have done so. We failed in this duty because we failed to evaluate Pakistan as a political vacuum controlled by alien powers. And so long as we continue to persist in this folly, our foreign policy will continue to lack the strength of reality.

Pakistan is not a State and could not be one except on the basis of an integrated policy for foreign affairs, defence and communications for both India and Pakistan. The Government of India must recognize this reality and shape its policies accordingly.

Even after nine long years of its separate existence, it cannot complete its constitution and hold elections. India cannot afford to allow Pakistan to remain in this chaos, if she wants to survive as a free and independent nation. India must take firm and positive action. Foreign affairs, defence and communications of India and Pakistan must be integrated. It is a challenge to the governments of both Pakistan and India. If the present leaders of India and Pakistan have commitments to the contrary, the people of Pakistan and India must throw them out of power. India and Pakistan cannot have different and opposing political destinies. They are destined to have a

common political future. It would be a crime against geography, history and the social and political being of both the countries not to recognize this reality. It is only on this basis that Pakistan will cease to be a political vacuum that it is today and become a State alongside of India. Religious and communal passions must not be allowed to interfere with the task of accomplishing such an integrated policy. This way lies peace, freedom and prosperity for both India and Pakistan.

CHILDISH AND UNREAL

Our foreign policy as conceived by our Prime Minister, although said to be independent, is wholly unreal. It is building castles in the air, a game which may become only children. Our Prime Minister's love for children is well known. Not being a child, he clothes his castles-in-the-air with high-sounding platitudes of world

peace, non-alignment and 'dynamic neutrality'. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Our earnestness for world peace should be pruned by our maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with Pakistan on an unshakable basis. To ignore this basic fact is to run away from realities.

This foreign policy of ours has landed us into unavoidable troubles in the Kashmir issue. It has made us friendless in world politics and dangerously vulnerable from all sides. In refusing to recognize the one basic reality of Pakistan as a political vacuum, we have drifted away from all realities. This drift, if not halted with the grim determination of political realism, may soon reduce India herself into a political vacuum. India must shake off her senile tendency of indulging too much in fondling her political infants raised to the pedestal of national heroes.

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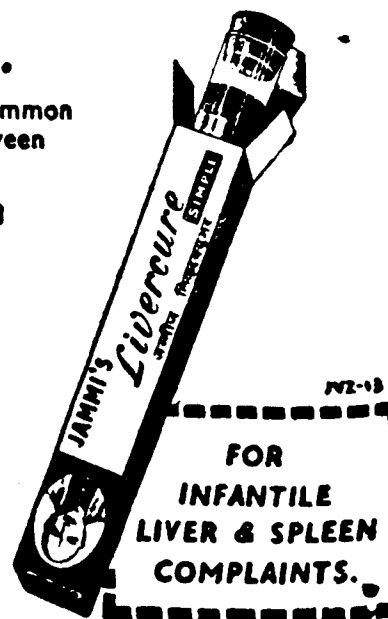
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PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS IN AMERICA

By ALBERT ELLIS, Ph. D.

MANY recent books on sex and marriage relations discuss the pros and cons of premarital affairs and virtually all of them wind up by being against them. Few of these texts, however, give an adequate discussion of the issue, while failing to list many advantages of such relationship.

Just for the record, it might prove interesting to make a fairly complete list of the advantages and disadvantages of sex participation among the great American unwed. First, let us list, and with some degree of critical judgment appraise, the alleged evils of premarital copulation.

THE "EVILS"

1. *The dangers of venereal disease.*—Although uninformed and unintelligent people still are fairly frequent victims of V. D., the infection rate among well educated individuals is fast approaching zero. With the proper use of prophylactic devices, on the one hand, and modern antibiotics on the other, the informed person who engages in premarital activity today has an infinitesimally small chance of suffering severely from a venereal infection.

2. *Illegitimate pregnancy and abortion.* Modern methods of birth control have been so well perfected today (and seem to be so much on the verge of even far greater effectiveness) that so-called illegitimate pregnancy and abortion are rare among those who carefully and consistently employ the already existing techniques.

3. *Guilt and anxiety.* Since pre-

marital relations are no longer viewed as morally reprehensible or sinful by most educated and informed individuals, there need be no intrinsic guilt attached to them. People who are anxious and guilty because of their premarital affairs are usually emotionally disturbed individuals who are also anxious and guilty about many of their non-sexual participations. On the other hand, many people today are becoming anxious and disturbed because they are *not* having premarital affairs.

4. *Loss of reputation.* People who mortally fear any loss of reputation because of their premarital proclivities are usually disturbed and need psychological treatment.

5. *Frigidity or impotence.* While it used to be feared that individuals having premarital affairs would tend to become frigid or impotent in their later life, all reliable (existing data (especially the Kinsey studies) tend to show the opposite.

EMOTIONAL RISKS

6. *Emotional risks.* Although it is quite true that those who engage in premarital relationship take risks, in the sense that these affairs may break up and they may thereby be hurt, it is also true that young people who love each other *without* sexual involvement take similar risks, and may just as easily be hurt. Besides, taking risks, and being hurt in some of the things one does, are hardly necessarily harmful to a human being, but are part of the process of emotional growth and development. Youngsters who take no emotional risks are

much more likely to become seriously aberrated.

7. *Exploitation of one's partner.* Exploitation of one's partner generally takes place when one individual (usually the male) has relations with another under false pretences—pretending that he loves her, will marry her, or something on that order. Such exploitation doubtlessly often occurs in premarital affairs: but not because of the affairs themselves, but because of the dishonesty of the people engaging in them.

Where both partners frankly have satisfactions such exploitation is reduced to a minimum. Consequently, the more open and honest, premarital relationship tends to become, the less does it remain potentially exploitative.

8. *Sabotage of family life.* It has often been alleged that premarital relations sabotage family life and keep people from marrying and raising good families. There seems to be no scientific evidence to support this belief, and much contrary evidence which tends to show that individuals who have premarital experience marry more easily, and are more relaxed about raising their children (especially about educating their children sexually) than those who rigorously abstain.

If premarital affairs really destroyed family life, the human race would have long since died out: since young men of virtually all times and places have usually liberally engaged in such affairs.

9. *Sex without love.* Premarital affairs, it is alleged, lead to sex without love. This is sheer nonsense: since most of the great love affairs of human history, such as that of Heloise and Abelard, appear to have consisted of fornicative ones. Sex, no matter how it is indulged, normally creates and enhances love.

ENEMY OF LOVE

Virginity, especially when it is prolonged and taken to extremes, seems to be the true enemy of love (and often engenders deep-seated hostility to others).

10. *Sordid surroundings.* Premarital acts it is said, are often performed hastily, in sordid surroundings, under the fear of discovery and other poor conditions. Perhaps this was so in the nineteenth century; but the vast majority of today's premarital acts are performed in places and under conditions which are often just as good as those existing during marital relations. And they are arranged so that fear of discovery (or any great to-do about actual discovery) is minimal.

11. *Lack of responsibility.* It is often objected that those who fornicate obtain all the pleasures of sex without any of the responsibilities of marriage. But why, if that is what they want, shouldn't they? Why must everyone marry to be a good citizen?

And, even assuming that most people will eventually marry—which, statistically speaking, is a fact-based assumption—why should they marry and assume responsibilities with every person they are sexually attracted toward, fall in love with?

12. *Subsequent adultery.* It is said that those who have premarital affairs are more likely to engage in adultery after marriage. Granted that this may be so (for there is at least a little factual evidence that would seem to point in this direction), it has never been shown that those who have premarital affairs engage in considerable adultery after marriage, nor that they were adulterous because of their premarital affairs, nor that their adultery is particularly inimical to their marriages.

On the contrary, there is some evidence that adultery may aid,

save, and stabilize a marriage rather than disrupting it and leading to its dissolution.

13. *Suspicion of adultery.* It is contended that if an individual has premarital relations with his (or her) mate he will then keep suspecting that she may, after marriage, have adulterous affairs with others.

This is simply not true: since the vast majority of those who have premarital relations (which means the majority of people now marrying in America) definitely do not keep suspecting their mates of adultery—except, of course, where they have some cause to do so.

THE SUSPECTED MATE

Anyone who would suspect his mate of being adulterous merely because she had premarital relations would be quite insecure and disturbed himself, and in definite need of psychological help.

14. *Lack of happiness in marriage.* It has been reported in several studies that individuals who have premarital relations, are less happily married than those who are virginal at marriage.

Clinical evidence would tend to show just the contrary: namely, that people today who have premarital relations are generally happier in marriage than those who do not.

15. *Promiscuity.* It is often held that if an individual has premarital relations he or she will become promiscuous. This is simply not true: since the vast majority of men and, especially, women who have had antenuptial affairs have had them with relatively few individuals and have been very far from promiscuous.

16. *Unachievable ideal.* It is sometimes held that premarital relations are often so satisfying and premarital affairs so free and adventurous, that marriage suffers by

comparison and cannot easily compete with this ideal.

Many individuals can only tolerate marriage because they have, in practice, seen the disadvantages as well as the advantages of having affairs before marriage. The more such affairs they have, the more realistic they tend to be, and the more likely they are to accept the limitations of marriage.

MAIN POINTS

The foregoing alleged limitations and horrors of premarital affairs are not exhaustive, but would appear to give an adequate coverage of the main points that are commonly raised in this connection. As can be seen by the brief rebuttals presented, virtually all these objections to antenuptial affairs never had too much validity in the first place or, if they were once valid, applied largely to conditions existing many decades ago.

Today, the same objections are largely captious and specious as far as the average intelligent informed individual who is having premarital affairs is concerned. They may well apply to the ignorant, the stupid, and the seriously disturbed; but not to the well-informed, bright, and reasonably well-adjusted young people of the society.—*The Independent.*

(To be continued)

THE RIGHT TO OWN PROPERTY

It is a mistake to belittle the importance of property rights. Respect for these rights is basic to organize society, and the instinct of individuals to acquire property is at the root of all economic progress.

The right to own property means the right to use it, to save it, to invest it for gain, and to transmit it to others. It means freedom from unreasonable search and seizure and from deprivation without due process of law or without just compensation.—*Paul L. Poiret* in *Property Rights and Human Rights.*

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By C. V. G.

WHEN people express dissatisfaction and impatience with democracy in India, they generally assume that a switch over to totalitarian methods is easy and feasible. They are unaware of the realities which India's Five-Year Plan makes known and seeks to meet. Its various development programmes take people's co-operation as the major premise and point out that there is really no alternative to persuasion to make the Plan succeed. Even if the planners decide on coercion, it is doubtful whether they would know how to go about it. The means by which the Second Five-Year Plan hopes to realise the production targets, particularly in agriculture, illustrate this.

The Plan seeks to raise production of foodgrains by 10 million tons to 75 million tons in 1960-61 which is necessary to provide 2,450 calories per adult for India's total population. The use of fertilisers and manures, improved seeds and general improvements in agricultural practices is expected to contribute 5 million out of the 10 million tons; the other half is to be yielded by major and minor irrigation works and land reclamation and land development. Any one with even a casual acquaintance with India's agricultural conditions knows how much the peasant distrusts suggestions for the use of fertilisers, improved seeds and agricultural practices and how difficult it is to persuade him to give up his traditional, antiquated methods. It is unlikely that the planners are not aware of the magnitude of the problem, though they provide very impressive statistics. The Plan expects an increase in the demand for nitrogenous fertilisers from 610,000 tons in 1955 to over 1.8 million tons and therefore provides for that much production.

The provisions made for the expansion of agricultural research and education are also very ambitious and make available a sum of Rs. 14.15 crores for the purpose. The few agricultural institutes dispersed in a few cities in the country are to be the centres of research and Agricultural departments in the States train the field workers who will be required to carry the fruits of research to the actual tiller.

UNIMPRESSIVE

India has already carried out the First Five-Year Plan, and one would like to know how far the Government had been successful in reaching the peasant and impressing him with the benefits of scientific agriculture. But it seems that it is too early to expect precise and detailed information though the Second Plan does furnish figures which indicate that the First Five-Year Plan has not done badly. Consumption of Ammonium Sulphate is reported to have doubled during the First Plan period from 275,000 tons to 610,000 tons; 1.6 million acres have been brought under the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. But when we remember that the actual agricultural population involved is 249 millions, this progress is far from being spectacular. Yet, however despairingly slow agricultural progress in India under democracy may appear to be, there does not seem to be any escape from it. One cannot imagine how the State can adopt coercion to force improved farming methods on a recalcitrant peasantry in India. At present the administrative machinery in India is not suitable for this purpose and it is too late to evolve one.

When comparisons between India and China are made and when it is

pointed out that China's greater progress can be ensured only with China's methods, the differences in the administrative traditions between the two countries are ignored or are not understood. The administrative set-up that the British perfected in India, though bureaucratic, was not coercive and the country has grown with it. To imagine that a break is possible from democracy to dictatorship and that India's rulers abstain from such a course out of altruism is profound self-deception. There is really no alternative to persuasion for economic progress which the Five-Year Plan seeks and the time factor has to be reckoned with.

OFFICIAL IRREGULARITIES

The success of India's Five-Year Plan depends as much on official persuasiveness as on public integrity. India's public services bear a big responsibility for the implementation of the Plan and nobody pretends that it is being conscientiously discharged. Integrity in public services cannot also be unfortunately taken for granted. Audit authorities and public accounts committees often report grave financial irregularities, mismanagements and embezzlements.

The total expenditure that the Planning Commission has proposed for the Five-Year period, 1956-61, is Rs. 4,800 crores on various development programmes and over Rs. 2,300 crores are to be undertaken by the State. During the First Five-Year Plan, considerable amounts remained unspent with the various State Governments because of the slow and unsatisfactory progress of development programmes. At the same time development programmes have also suffered from official inefficiency, ignorance, irresponsibility and dishonesty. A large part of development activity has necessarily to depend on local contractors for its execution and any one who has had dealings with these contractors knows the cost and the care and know-

ledge one must exercise to escape being fleeced. Officials in charge of public revenues and expenditure have a responsibility to see that unscrupulous contractors are not sanctioned sums, the major part of which goes to line their pockets. Experience in India has been that officials do not have the elementary knowledge of local labour conditions to enable them to make out correct estimates for construction works or check up those presented by contractors. This is bad enough but not so bad as corrupt officers being in league with contractors themselves and instances of such unholy liaison are not unknown or uncommon in India.

MAKE HAY . . .

An Indian official often finds nothing wrong in helping a friend of his with a job if he has the necessary influence; he sincerely believes that it is service and would be bewildered by charges of nepotism. A small town in South India did not get electricity despite the repeated appeals by its citizens. But when a member of the State Assembly became a Cabinet Minister in charge of Public Works, electric power was supplied promptly to the town, because one of the residents was the Minister's close relative. The Minister did not deny the fact and asked why his relatives and home town should not benefit during his term of office. He had no objection for similar blessings conferred on other people and towns when they had their chance.

The eventual spread of education and the consequent promotion of civic sense alone can raise levels of public integrity. In this context it is relevant to recall that standards of civil service honesty which are now very high in Britain, were far from being that in England a hundred years ago and British writers both modern and Victorian testify to this and perhaps India does not fare too badly.

Democracy has helped the emergence of political pressure groups that British India did without and the public services now suffer from their deleterious influence. During the British rule, officials had to reckon only with their administrative superiors and execution of their duties without fear or favour was possible and was not as hazardous as it is now turning out to be. Local Members of Parliament or State Assemblies with pull with Cabinet Ministers have not scrupled to interfere with civil service administration; nor do the Cabinet Ministers always have enough courage or character to disown such political associates and they have often been responsible for deterioration in administrative standards. Many officials and politicians are bringing into existence pockets of intrigue and corruption and between them the rights of the people are forgotten or sacrificed. The Five-Year Plan expects much from officials and politicians the concentrations of many of whom are on their self-interests.

MERIT PENALISED

While the standards of public service integrity and efficiency in India are not satisfactory, the Five-Year Plan requires the services to operate under conditions and prospects that are not likely to promote integrity or efficiency. Democracy has required decentralisation of power and the public services have become increasingly subordinate to the various State governments and local bodies. The conditions that influence at least one such State Government, i.e., Madras, in its recruitment to services definitely penalise merit. The Madras Government makes reservations for backward communities whose uplift they are committed to at present and those communities which have won positions successfully by merit in the past are denied employment opportunities that would

be theirs in open competition. The consequent deterioration in Madras Government services resulting from the influx of the ill-qualified, undeserving and inefficient, thanks to the Government's policy inspired by narrow political interests, is grave and if this deliberate shutting out of talent and merit is to continue, the administration will reach a breakdown in the not too distant future.

The Five-Year Plan wrestles with problems of diverse kinds but none so diametrically opposed as the serious dearth of scientific and technical personnel and mass unemployment and the Madras Government's policy of communal recruitment seriously aggravates the former. The Second Five-Year Plan requires a minimum number of 2,300 engineering graduates, and 5,940 persons trained for posts at lower levels and 22,000 medical graduates among other technical personnel, and the Planners are not sure that this required number will be available from the existing and the proposed new institutions. The unemployment in rural and urban areas is expected to be 2.3 millions and at the end of the Plan period the eradication of unemployment would require the creation of 15.3 million new jobs in rural and urban areas. The Plan frankly recognises this as impossible. Most of these unemployed men will be unskilled and uneducated and therefore unsuitable for technical and scientific jobs which badly need to be manned. While the persons who suffer from such mass unemployment owe their bad plight to lack of educational and employment opportunities for which they have a right, it is not fair to expect India in these early years of her freedom to have grown into a land of opportunity as the U. S. A. where nothing stops a man who wants to become a doctor or engineer or anything else.

WILL YOU LIVE TO BE 100?

By SUBHASH J. RELE

MAN has always sought for some elixir that would prolong the span of his existence. Many formulae have been made available but almost all proved to be of doubtful merit and none yielded any spectacular result.

The Russian Scientist Prof. Alexander Bogomolets startled the world by his discovery of 'antireticular cyto-toxic serum' or in short, A. C. S. He declared that a human being should have a normal life expectancy of 150 years. By stimulating the body's connecting tissues to reverse processes of aging it was supposed to make it possible for any one to live at least 100 or even more years.

Once more the scientists all over the world are studiously concerning themselves in the problem of prolonging man's active life. The only hope of recovery of the world economy, say the industrialists and the insurance companies, lies in the extension of the working life span. Very recently a group of American scientists have discovered that the man's chance of super-longevity may be determined as much by his personality as by his physique. Assembled from detailed case histories of more than 20% of the known white Centenarians in the U. S. A., the Dunbar study debunks several false notions regarding the habits and modes of Centenarians.

SEX LIFE & LONGEVITY

It is commonly believed that a continuous sex life reduces longevity. After a minute study of several Centenarians it was however found that a good number are sexually potent and quite active. Many have married after reaching 100. When reporters visited Mrs. Elizabeth Knoll, in Tulsa, on her 100th birthday, she vigorously asked them, 'If you know a good man who is after a good

woman send him around'. Again, the childless Centenarian is practically non-existent. Centenarians have many children as they like because they consider them a joy, not a burden.

Many hold the view that those who lead an easy and comfortable life live longer. The facts, recently discovered, however disprove the contention. It has been brought to light that all the Centenarians work hard. The Dunbar study indicates that arbitrary, enforced stoppage of interesting work helps to shorten life than extend it. One oldster in America turned over his factory to his son on his 100th birthday. But he didn't retire from active life. He went to boy's club to work. Nine years later still active in boy's club, he declared, he was working as hard as ever. In New Hampshire, William Hall, 'retired' to a farm with his son about seven years ago. The son cares for the 20 head dairy herd, while Hall cooks all the meals and does the house work. In Los Angeles, when author-educator-lecturer Hanus Von Yahn, aged 105, wants to 'relax' he retires to the workshop he built in his backyard for boys in the neighbourhood and turns out wood furniture. The facts clearly show that the Centenarians keep their interest in life and work alive to the end of their life.

CHEERFUL THROUGHOUT

Another erroneous notion widely prevalent is that the older the people grow the more irritable they become. This is correct in the case of some old men but not all. Centenarians stay good-humoured and cheerful throughout their life. Mrs. Fannie Rockwell, 106, stated the secret of her age is 'to take everything easy and worry about nothing.'

Centenarians are never victims of hypochondria. They suffer almost none of the common illness of old age. Many maintain that they haven't known a day of sickness since childhood. When interviewer asked the name of her doctor, one Centenarian replied, "I don't have a doctor, I never need one." Mrs. Mary O'Neill stated that she caught her first cold at 113 because she believed, her grandson insisted on taking her out in the rain.

Many Centenarians claim that their long life is due to the habit of abstinence. Galen, the famous Greek physician, who laid the foundation of modern medicine lived to be 140 and attributed the fact to his life long temperance. But Mrs. Catherine B. Lyons, aged 104, of Westfield, N. J., attributes her longevity to among other things 'a bit of whiskey'. The case of William Riddle of Selfkirk, of Scotland, is more remarkable. He drank countless gallons of brandy and thrived till 116. Most Centenarians have enjoyed a sip of whiskey but there are no alcoholics among them.

UNORTHODOX DIET

There is no specific or universal food on which all Centenarians seem to thrive. Most of them however stick to a particularly unorthodox diet. Cockney Phillip Loutier of Shoreditch dogmatically asserted that water was the only drink should ever be touched and he reached 105 on it. Anne Frost, a Lincolnshire housewife, lived nearly half of her life on a diet of tea and milk. Siddi Wastad, an Indian of Nagpur, claimed to be 158 before he died and was known to live on flour, rice and mutton. Mary Rogers of Penzance lived the last sixty years of her 118 on nothing but vegetables. The most amusing case is that of Elizabeth Durieux, of Savoy, France, whose principal food consisted of coffee. She stated that she drank as many as 40 small cups of coffee daily. On this diet she thrived upto 114 years. Mr. Harvey

Sparks of Kentucky, blew out 111 candles on his birthday recently. This veteran with the flowing white beard and merry eyes is still mentally alert, loves occasionally drink, eats plenty of fruits and vegetables and chews tobacco. He says he expects to live to 150.

Zaro Agha, a Turk, who died in 1934 at the extraordinary age of 160 was the outstanding example of a Centenarian. Medical men refused to believe in his age but he flaunted a birth certificate which proved that he had been born in 1774. Prominent physicians who examined him attributed his great age to an over-functioning of the Pituitary gland which gave him a natural immunity from infection.

Six hundred experts from all over the world who recently met in London to discuss geneontology—the study of long life are now pretty sure that very soon the normal span of life for everybody will be 100 years. Science has long known that there is no such thing as a 'natural life time'. Man is dragged down by disease, environment and the cumulative breakdown of his heart, liver, lungs, kidneys, veins and other arteries. Years of continuous and constant research on guinea-pigs, mice and fruit-flies by Dr. Gardner and other scientists reveal that victory over age is within our grasp. "In ten years," Dr. Gardner says, "with the proper research we could probably double the life span so that the average person could live to be above 126 years." Moreover, he could enjoy good health to the very end.

One expert who has interviewed thirty men and women Centenarians in England says that what impressed him was that they all mentioned two principal factors as the reason for their age. Each claimed to have always practised moderation in all things. And each still has a vital bobby which had kept him or her going after seventy.

STATE CAPITALISM MARCHES ON

By DHARAMSEY M. KHATAU

WHAT is now in danger of being smothered is not just the private sector in the industrial field but Free Enterprise generally. Two most outstanding recent examples of the suppression of Free Enterprise and the onward march of State Capitalism have been the nationalisation of Life Insurance and the resort to State Trading in Cement. In the range and scope of their achievements over the last twenty years, these two industries have admittedly made a notable contribution to the development and well-being of this country measured by any standard. Nevertheless, in the case of Life Insurance, a vast and growing industry was nationalised on grounds which do not bear dispassionate scrutiny. And the result has not been conspicuously successful or demonstrably in the larger public interest. Moreover, the conception that with a monopolistic position, new business will come to the door instead of being the hard won reward of strenuous field work, is already being disproved by the alarming drop in the volume of new business written since the advent of the nationalised Life Insurance Corporation. In these circumstances, it is not unlikely that far more loss will probably be suffered by Life Funds as a result of the continuing drop in new business than was ever seriously feared as a result of marginal mismanagement of their Funds by a few weak concerns in the past.

UNWARRANTED

As for State Trading in cement, the Government's reasons for resorting to this remain a mystery to this day. At any rate the reasons so far advanced are far from convincing. The Government's decision is all the more inexplicable because the conditions

obtaining in the cement industry did not warrant any such measure.

You may well ask why, since no financial loss is involved, does the cement industry oppose State Trading, particularly if this measure was conceived by Government in furtherance of certain agreed national objectives? To this I must unhesitatingly answer that the industry's objection to State Trading is fundamental. We believe that all forms of State Trading constitute a serious infringement of the right to freedom of trade in a democratic society. The mere fact that State Trading can resolve a given problem in terms of agreed objectives is not, by itself, a sufficient justification for its adoption if other solutions of equal, or superior, or even slightly inferior validity, but not involving State interference, are available, as was the case in regard to the problem of bridging the "cement gap."

Moreover, State Trading lops off the essential sales function from a basic productive industry—a function laboriously built over the years by Free Enterprise, thereby causing grave injury to it. I would also emphasise that State Trading in cement runs counter to the declared policies of Government itself as enunciated in the Industrial Policy Resolution early last year and in which an attempt was made to strike an admirable balance between State Enterprise and Free Enterprise. The continual maintenance of such a balance is of the very essence of a socialistic pattern of society, if it is to be built on the foundations of a democratic Constitution. We therefore object to State Trading in cement both in principle as well as on the merits of the case.

THREAT TO FREEDOM

Experience has shown that the concentration of economic power in the hands of Government, backed by monolithic majorities in the legislatures and operated through a well organised bureaucracy, must in course of time result in whittling down both individual freedom and liberty. It is with this larger objective in view that one must repeatedly warn the Government against adopting a doctrinaire and unrealistic approach to problems of planning and in the techniques for achieving industrial development. Issues like Nationalisation and State Trading should be conceived as mere means to an end, not as ends in themselves. Democratic countries which have experimented in socialistic economy have realised that socialism should not mean the establishment of a number of vast public corporations which only end by bring-

ing in State Capitalism and making the State an all-powerful organisation impinging upon individual liberties with heavy-handed bureaucracy and regimentation.

Enlightened Free Enterprise working within the framework of planned development is an indispensable part of the democratic set-up, for there is a close inter-relationship between socially regulated Free Enterprise and Democracy. Free Enterprise is not to be accepted merely on political sufferance or as something to be tolerated on grounds of economic expediency. On the contrary, it must be positively encouraged to thrive by appropriate incentives and reliefs whenever needed, because Free Enterprise has a legitimate and vital function to perform in national planning and development so long as democracy is the foundation upon which our Constitution rests.

THE CURSE OF LONG MEMORY

By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON

WHEN somebody offered to teach the Athenian statesman Themistocles the art of memory, we are told that he answered: "Rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would." A long memory is a disadvantage. The art of success is to move with the times; and how are we to move with the times if we are dominated by memories which the majority are without?

How inconveniently placed, for example, are we of the older generation who remember two world wars. Remembering both wars means remembering the propaganda put out in each, the promises made in each and the deceptions practised in each. Both wars were begun by the Germans. Others, no doubt, were indirectly to blame. But the propa-

ganda of the time concentrated exclusively on German guilt, and anyone who expressed any reserves about it was unpatriotic and very wicked. There was no end to German iniquity. Germany had a "black record" going back—we were told by Lord Vansittart, a former high official of the Foreign Office—as far as the days of Julius Caesar. Today German generals have become film heroes, German war memoirs are welcomed by British publishers and by the B. B. C., and German rearmament is declared essential to the defence of the "free world."

WAR PROPAGANDA

Well, it will be said, what are you complaining about? That was war propaganda. War is not an "honours" school of history, but a struggle for life and death, in which truth is and

ought to be the first casualty. You surely don't blame hard-working public servants for saying a few things in the heat of the struggle which they have to unsay afterwards?

This would be all very well if we were told so all the time; but we are not. Shaw in the preface to *Heart-break House* (written in 1919) relates how, when in the General Election which followed the First World War, he told the truth about its origin and conduct, a soldier said: "If I had known all that in 1914 they would never have got me into khaki." "That," comments Shaw, "was precisely why it had been necessary to stuff him with a romance that any diplomatist would have laughed at."

For my part I sympathise rather more than Shaw did with luckless youngsters who have to be "stuffed with a romance that any diplomatist would have laughed at," in order that they may spend their blood getting us out of the messes into which the diplomatists get us. That perhaps is because I have a particular conscience in the matter. I was exempt from military service in 1914, partly because I was in the Admiralty and partly because, even when the Press intimidated the politicians into "combing out" a few "Cuthberts," I was found medically unfit. But I swallowed quite a lot of the official propaganda of that time and wrote pro-war articles (under a pseudonym) in the old Social Democratic weekly, *Justice*. Today I would burn every word I then wrote if I had any reason to suspect that any of it survived. And if I blame myself for what I wrote in my salad days, I more than blame—I hate and despise and devote to external infamy—the dirty crew who made fools of me and of all the other young suckers of our generation.

No, I have never forgotten or forgiven 1914. Nor have I forgotten or forgiven the statesmen who in the

years between the wars deliberately allowed German militarism to survive and revive, and who only after Munich, when it was already too late, began to extemporise alliances to stop Hitler, who was then past stopping. The generation after ours had to be murdered too.

As William Morris writes:

"They are gone: there is none can undo it.

Nor save our souls from the curse;

But many a million cometh.

And shall they be better or worse?"

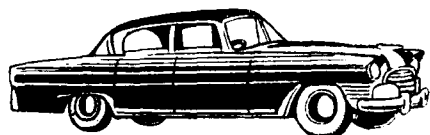
WHAT A MONUMENT!

When we with our memories are invited by present-day statesmen to exercise ourselves about "the menace of international Communism," my contempt for them passes words. It is out of their predecessors' mess of 1914 that Communism arose. If they did not exactly make Lenin, they created the opening through which he drove to power. And who are they to complain? Moreover, by trying to encircle the Russian Revolution and, after unsuccessfully trying to crush it themselves, permitting the rise of Hitler in the hope that he would police Europe for them, they are responsible for Stalinism, as surely as Kaunitz and Coburg and Pitt were responsible for the French Terror. Etonian and Harrovian denizens of Downing Street, what a monument is yours!

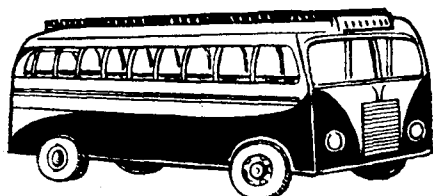
But all this comes of having a long memory. If some spiritualist will raise from the dead the gentleman who offered Themistocles a patent mnemonic, I, like Themistocles, will ask him to teach instead the art of forgetting. Then I will pretend that the world began in 1915 and that everything would be all right if it wasn't for the Reds and Nasser. I may even come to think of Sir Anthony Eden as a great statesman. But not till then.

—The Monthly Record

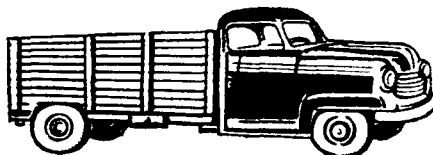
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HUMANIST PRINCIPLES RELATING TO MARRIAGE

By VIRGINIA FLEMMING

WE should unquestionably bring the whole problem of relations between men and women under the general principles guiding all personal intercourse. That means that they are governed by mutual care and responsibility. This does not solve difficult problems, but it goes far towards requiring the control of selfish and irresponsible desires and passions and towards establishing a minimum standard of feeling and behaviour, whether in or outside married life.

Second, it seems impossible, with our heritage, not to feel that a peculiarly deep and individual love is the finest context for allowing our erotic longings or sexual desires to come into action. This means that every effort should be made to create or maintain a high conception of the personal relationship associated with the full expression of sexual desire. I would suggest that any such deep and erotic devotion wills its own permanence in some form, and that the idea of permanent commitment is an invaluable part of it. Thus our feelings about our sex life become entangled with fidelity and the ideal of fidelity. It is not an external social rule for keeping people in order, although it gives rise to conflict and suffering from which there is no discernible path of escape.

Third, it is proper to consider that children are the normal result of coitus even in these days of birth control and that action is required to prevent the conception of children. Unless there are very special reasons against it, the normal couple who think they want to live together will produce some children, and these children

should be cared for by both parents in a home in which the parents care for each other, unless we revolutionise the pattern of life utterly. Thus responsibility for children reinforces the entanglement of sexual desire with fidelity through love.

There is a fourth less obvious factor making in the same direction. It is our personal need for a settled set of relationships in the world to which we are required to devote our best creative efforts. In some ways, marriage, home and family play the same sort of role in human lives as does a steady and responsible job. This is not only true of women but also of men, whose jobs are often deadening and given significance primarily by the desire to maintain a family.

PASSIONATE ATTACHMENTS

People are not generally born monogamous, and the craving of passion for eternity is belied in practice. New passionate attachments arise and may be good in themselves. Yet I do think that humanists must go very far in maintaining that a prior commitment on which a common life has been based must be protected and preserved. There is a tendency amongst humanists to talk as though it were possible and desirable to have a network of relationships of various kinds all of which may properly include full expression of sexual impulses. I wish to question this increasingly prevalent view on purely human grounds. People vary profoundly and they must make their own decisions ultimately. But I should say that the tendency is for a new strong emotional attachment to wreck an established one unless the new one

is sacrificed. If it is not deep and absorbing enough for this to be true of it then the likelihood is that it could as well be restrained. In the eternal triangle all three persons will suffer, possibly disastrously, whatever course is pursued. The very relationships which, in their own right, are most valuable and would provide the basis of the finest sexual experience are those which tend to prove most fatal to a previous marriage and which may have most obviously to be sacrificed if an established relationship is to be preserved. There is no easy way for passionate humanity.

IS ADULTERY AN EVIL?

I do not wish to be dogmatic, and humanists should put the maximum freedom on mature people within the principles of loving responsibility and the prior claim of an established commitment. Adultery is not necessarily evil in itself and it may not make much difference. But, there is a tendency for a new relationship to make its own demand for absorbing fidelity. All negatives flow from the desire first to keep up a high standard of personal intercourse and secondly from the desire to preserve and develop a relationship to which one is committed.

Internal rottenness is the best ground for bringing a marriage to an end, and I think humanists should stand for the encouragement of some people to escape from relationships which only cause mutual misery and wastage of energy. There is a strong tendency to carry on unless some new attachment intervenes, which is not always good.

The problem before young or unmarried people is whether to wait for what seems to be a definite attachment within which to yield to sexual impulses. There are serious drawbacks to adopting this principle of

behaviour. First, it may induce a harmful degree of inhibition which may injure married life. Second, it may lead people to marry unwisely as the only acceptable way of satisfying desire. Third, it means both parties entering marriage inexperienced, which may injure married life. People tend to quote clinical evidence or statistics to support whichever moral convictions they have already got. One consideration should be given weight, and that is that if we uphold the ideal of the type of love which wishes to be lasting then young people should wait for it. Indeed it would seem sad for young people to have first some experience in a state of emotion in which they did not think they wanted to love each other for ever. It is impossible to find principles which solve all problems painlessly. There is bound to be tension, conflict of goods, and suffering. Life has drawbacks and involves difficulties.

What humanists can do is to admit room in the last resort for responsible individual choices and to refrain from picking upon adultery and divorce from amongst all human sins to penalize, as the churches do by exclusion from Holy Communion and from the social life of the Mothers' Union. We can preserve a sense of proportion and see backbiting, calousness, lack of public spirit, and a host of human vices as being graver than most of the faults in the sphere of sex relations. We should be alert to condemn all abuses of and ill treatment within marriage. Browning's *Ring and the Book* symbolises all the evils that have gone on within marriage blessed by churches. The greatest principle of all is that of mutual care and responsibility which should govern all relationships between men and women in or outside marriage.—*News and Notes*

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

By M. V. C. RAU

The 24th of this month is Longfellow's 75th death anniversary.

THOUGH seventy-five years are now past since this American poet died, and English poetry has been steadily taking several new turns and trends, the spell of his poetic charm on all students and readers of English poetry continues unabated.

ONE OF THE BEST BOYS

Right from his school days, Longfellow displayed a distinct brightness of intellect and noble quality of manners. As a boy brought up in very upright and graceful traditions at home, he was first sent to school at the age of five—to a school nearby his home in Portland Maine, where he was born. Unlike American children who nowadays complete their schooling at the age of seventeen or eighteen, he entered college at the age of fourteen, at Brunswick and graduated with distinction at eighteen. Both at school and college, he was considered one of the "best boys," bright, pleasant, active, industrious and "remarkably solicitous always to do right" as his mother said of him. A certificate from his school, which he earned at the age of six read: "Master Henry Longfellow is one of the best boys we have in School. He spells and reads very well. He also can add and multiply numbers. His conduct last quarter was very correct and amiable—June 30, 1813." One of his classmates at college, was the celebrated author Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Longfellow developed a strong taste for reading from his very early days. The greatest of his favourites was Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, which "fascinated his imagination and excited and satisfied the desire

of his mind." "I was a school boy when it was published (in 1819)," Longfellow himself recounted, "and read each succeeding number with ever increasing wonder and delight." *Don Quixote* was another favourite with him. He also began writing at this stage and even when he was thirteen, some of his poems were published in a local newspaper. He continued to write and contribute poems while at College, particularly to the *U. S. Literary Gazette*. He generally received a dollar in payment for each poem and one publisher awarded him a free subscription of his newspaper, for a year.

After finishing his college course, he worked as a lawyer in the office of his father, Stephen Longfellow, who was a lawyer and legislator and whose second son Henry was. But he found it not to his taste and told his father so. "The fact is," he wrote to his father, "—and I will not disguise it in the least, for I think I ought not—the fact is, I most eagerly aspire after future eminence in literature; my whole soul burns most ardently for it, and every earthly thought centres it."

Soon after his graduation, he received the timely offer of the post of Professor of Modern Languages, by his own college at Bowdoin. He accepted it with delight and in this capacity, had to undertake a three year trip to Europe in 1826, to study the European languages. This trip to Europe and a second one he made later had very good effect on him, creating in him a love for the Old World. On his second trip in 1836, however, a misfortune overtook him, in the death of Mary S.

Potter, a woman of rare charm in mind and person, whom he had married five years earlier, owing to ill-health on the voyage, hardly six months after they started.

Among the most outstanding of Longfellow's works are *A Psalm of Life*, *Evangeline—a tale of Acadie*, *Excelsior*, *The Song of Hiawatha* and *Village Black-Smith*. *Psalm of Life* and *Excelsior* particularly make a special appeal to all youngsters, with their simple but striking message and motto. The first of these which the poet then called, "a voice from his inmost heart" still continues to be the voice of many thousands of hearts. The gladness of living and living well, which Longfellow has proclaimed as the main theme of the poem is typical of his nature and his passion.

From the literary point of view, Longfellow's poem *Evangeline—a tale of Acadie* is considered his masterpiece. Critics thought some of its lines as surpassing the best pieces of poetry ever composed before. *The Song of Hiawatha* in 1855, again, was an outstanding success, selling ten thousand copies in a month and forty thousand in six months.

Four years later, the degree of LL.D. was conferred on Longfellow by the University of Harvard to be followed later by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with similar honours.

THE BELOVED OF CHILDREN

The "spreading chestnut tree" described in Longfellow's poem *The Village Blacksmith*, another of his versatile works, carries a very interesting and touching incident about it. This horse-chestnut tree, which stood in the Brattle Street in the estates of Cambridge, was looked upon by the City Government as an obstruction, making the street very narrow. The authorities, therefore, decided to cut it down. Longfellow was greatly perturbed by this decision as he had strong poetic sentiments for it. But

the Corporators not heeding such emotional sentiments, brought the tree down. Upon this, a public proposal was made to the City Fathers that the children of public schools should all contribute and make a chair out of its wood for their beloved poet. The plan was joyfully carried through and a handsome, large arm-chair of a black colour, with arms and cushions of leather, was presented to Longfellow as the famous 'Children's Arm-Chair' on his 72nd birthday, in 1879. This Arm-Chair which had also an exquisite carving of horse-chestnut leaves and blossoms on its back, with its leaves and burs at other points, carried, in addition, some touching inscriptions on it.

"To the author of *The Village Blacksmith*, this chair, made from the spreading chestnut tree is presented as an expression of grateful regard and veneration by the children of Cambridge, who with their friends join in the best wishes and congratulations on this anniversary, February 27, 1879."

Longfellow acknowledged this with a poem of thanks to the kind children.

One of Longfellow's greatest qualities that won him universal love and admiration was his extreme kindness and benevolence towards one and all. In spite of his straining, heavy work, he managed to find time even for casual visitors and enquirers. The story goes that once when an ordinary visitor was undeservingly taking heavy toll of Longfellow's precious time frequently and a close literary friend of Longfellow objected strongly to it, he just said, "Why Charles, who would be kind to him, if I were not?"!

Longfellow died on March 24, 1882. Only five days earlier, he had caught a chill that brought about illness to him. Never was the death of a poet mourned so universally with such profound, heartfelt regret.

His poems will always continue to carry "sweetness and light" to all hearts and homes, as household favourites, in every civilized land.

Short Story

By Ambasanker

WISH-FULFILMENT

She suddenly sensed a new point of view, but had not yet the requisite courage to see it squarely in the face . . .

KALPAGAM — Kalpagam, where are you? A pause, and then the same old wheezy voice resumed: 'D-e-e-e-e-. Kalpa-a-m! Disappeared as usual. Something is being burnt out in the kitchen, and no one to mind it. Lazy, stupid, slattern, good-for-nothing, Saniyan! Shouldn't wonder if she is gossiping with that neighbouring virago. What she finds to talk about, I can't imagine. 'I say, Kalpa-am,—she repeated in a shriller tone which indicated impotent exasperation. 'Coming, mother' answered a voice from the purlieu of the backyard. The tone in which the word 'mother' was uttered clearly indicated that the point of reference was the mother-in-law; it conveyed the right blend of perfunctory honour and ill-concealed annoyance. A minute later a young woman came in with a brass-pot full of water, swinging her hip and her disengaged arm in a rhythmic motion that is one of the unnoticed graces of Indian womanhood. Hearing her foot-fall, the old woman resumed her Jeremaid: 'I have been crying myself hoarse this half-hour: no use of telling you again and again not to leave anything over the fire when you're not there to attend to it. You know you can't cook, and you won't do as you're told: I shouldn't wonder if the curry has been burnt out to ashes . . .'

The old crone sprawled in the court-yard within sight of the front door and within the smelling-range of the kitchen. She must have been past eighty, and was officially blind

and deaf. But she had an uncanny gift of picking up stray remarks when they were uncomplimentary to her, and of seeing things which were intended to be hidden from her. Her naggings of her daughter-in-law were non-stop and variegated. They all stemmed from her major disappointment that she had failed to gratify her senile longing for a grand-child.

Bhaskara Pattar her son, had a fractional share in the perquisites of the local Amman temple, and the old woman hated the thought of the line becoming extinct and the share passing on to other and more fecund agnates. Pattar had been a gay dog in his youth, and had raised quite a respectable crop of domestic and wild cats. His wife and three children, two of them boys, had been smashed up in a bus accident, and so he found himself in middle age without those props which alone would render advancing years tolerable. His mother gave him no peace until he agreed to her wishes, and chose a hefty girl from the country endowed with qualities of hand and hip to ensure that she would be the mother of his children and cook according to his tastes. He picked her out from a prolific family, primarily with a view to reduce the amount of dowry to be paid in the case of such a second marriage. The combination of two such disparate desiderata as the ability to cook well and conceive as a matter of course has been approved by immemorial experience. For even after the sex-hunger peters out through efflux of

time, the hunger for food (and tastily pressed at that) survives to the last, and what is worse, demands diurnal and dictatorial gratification . . .

Kalpagam disappointed him on both counts. For she remained sterile after nearly five years of marriage, and she proved an atrocious cook. Her want of a due sense of proportion in regard to the required quantities of tamarind, chillies and salt,—the trinity presiding over tasty food—registered a versatile range of failures which were staggering. Kalpagam was a good-natured, simple-minded girl and had a breezy laugh with which she brushed aside all critiques of her culinary lapses. She had neither beauty nor any refinement; but she had the assets of youth, health and a well-set figure.

Pattar was an easy-going man who made the best of a bad bargain. He had the ensemble of the *blase roue* whose type may be studied in the miscellaneous establishment proliferating round our temples. His marriage to a young maiden in her teens raised ribald comments in his own fast set. Some said that he was not yet old enough to need a nurse; others added that he was not young enough to marry again. Although such remarks were open secrets, they somehow failed to reach the Pattar's ears to his peace of mind.

* * *

'The meal is ready' announced Kalpam to the atmosphere in general, and proceeded to lay out the leaf with an ostentatious splash of water on it and the ground. 'Um,' grumbled the old woman, 'one has to dread it, and yet one can't be without it either. What luck, ye gods! To be blessed with such a daughter-in-law!' And she dragged herself half-crouching and half-sidling. She encountered some stones in the first mouthful. 'Siva, Siva,' she cried in agony. 'I think you put in the stones on purpose to vex me. When Lakshmi was

alive how different things were! So neat, so tidy, and such wonderful cooking. Maharaji, she was too good for this world.' Kalpagam continued silent; she had come to know that her predecessor in office was the only, unique, impossible She, and left it at that. 'God might have been a little more merciful: the children—or even one of them—might have been spared.' But I must pay for my past Karma I suppose; and here is the chutney done without salt! I should like to ram it down your throat—how do you think you would like it? What an all-round dud you are: You can't cook, you can't be economical and you can't bring forth children. Sterile, useless creature . . .'

Poor Kalpagam felt guilty on every one of the counts and could only seek her revenge by aggravating her failures and lapses. But she always felt the reproach of sterility most keenly of all. She splashed the butter-milk in an over-flow on the leaf, and would gladly have drowned her mother-in-law in a deluge of it . . .

II

It was a starlit night which threw the darkness around into stronger relief as it was pierced through by the glimmering lights of the oil-fed wicks twinkling in their hundreds round the court-yard adjoining the *garbhagraha* of the temple. There was the familiar dim, religious look about the spot while the air was heavy-laden with the smell of flowers and incense touched with the acrid smoke of guttering oil-lights, as they were bent or blown out by the breeze. The devotees were either seated in groups unctuously counting their beads or kept up the perambulation to the accompaniment of prayers and hymns that issued in many tones. The clanging of gongs or the jangling of bells from the outer area drowned the ripple of gossip that was indulged in by the seated groups without disturbing the even tenor of its progress.

Two women were seated somewhat apart from the rest, their backs resting on the pillar of one of the mantaps that clustered on both sides of the main passage. The older of them had a fine complexion and chiselled features of classic purity with the holy ash splashed across her forehead in generous stripes. She had no ornaments worth mention, except a single thread of gold round her neck. She was thin without being angular or bony, and suggested the certainty of her having been a beauty in a by-gone era. She wore neither body nor blouse, but so disposed of the upper folds of her spotless white saree as to answer the needs of feminine modesty and sartorial grace. Known as Rajathi, she was still a person of note in temple circles. She was in short the chief dancing girl of the temple, but had been *emeritus* these ten or twelve years. The younger woman was Kalpagam, her face irradiated with an over-sized patch of kumkum, while she held in her hand a small wicker-basket for storing her *prasadams*.

'I can't stand it much longer; I wish I were dead.'

'Humph, anything special?'

'Well, no; but this nagging is maddening me. Don't be surprised if one of these days you find my body floating on the temple tank.'

At this the elder woman cast a sardonic look at the younger and decided to rub it in.

'I understand and of course sympathise. You know that is one of the purposes served by the *pushkaram* (the temple tank). Why even last month there was a suicide in it. Didn't you hear about it? So if you mean it really . . .'

'How unkind of you *mami*—and I thought you were as good as my mother!'

'But then, what do you want me to do? I suppose the old woman nags you; but she won't last much longer.

And you know all of us daughters-in-law must put up with that sort of thing. You know we get our own back in due course.'

'I don't mind her really, I'm accustomed to her nagging about other things—like my cooking, for instance. I might improve it of course, but really I don't seem to want to. But the way she flings at me my sterility makes me feel *somehow*. Calls me a scourge and curse and burden and the personification of *Moodevi* herself. I wish I could choke her off.'

'That is better than trying to drown yourself. As for getting angry about an epithet, *I wouldn't*, if I were you. Some are sterile and some are not, and the one is as good as the other. After all, you're young, and you may still disappoint her pleasantly.'

'But she speaks of dying soon, and has even threatened to bring about another marriage.' Rajathi felt the possibility of such a tragi-comedy coming about, and so replied:

'Why don't you consult these new doctors—or a good astrologer?'

'They say nothing's wrong with me.'

'So, you've not been idle!' Kalpagam blushed unknown to the other woman while the latter looked her up and down with a professional eye, and seemed to agree with the afore-said doctors and astrologers. 'I should think so,' she replied, 'you wait and see and hope.' Kalpagam found little comfort in such advice. Rajathi's mind went back nostalgically to her own younger days, and she was also aware of the rakish progress of Pattar. Then she added almost casually: 'Leave aside your mother-in-law for the moment; what's your own view of children? Do you want them?' Kalpagam considered the poser: 'I don't know; I don't think much of it either way; but this nagging of my mother-in-law upsets me I think . . .'

'I see, my tip to you is this: Next time your mother-in-law twits you with your sterility, have the guts to tell her that it takes two to bring forth a child. Understand?'

With that Rajathi got up and assuming her most rapt look disappeared in the shadows of the night.

Kalpagam's mind was in a whirl. She suddenly sensed a new point of view, but had not yet the requisite courage to see it squarely in the face . . .

III

Kalpagam's routine included the collection of a weekly quota of *prasadam* on Fridays from the temple refectory. Some weeks later, she finished her prescribed rounds, and then got into the buffet of the temple, and went through many winding and ill-lit corridors to where the temple cook held state. He was a middle-aged man who, single-handed, attended to the creature-comforts of the deities with an inexorable punctilio which can only be found in royal establishments. He was absent from his post that day. Kalpagam went in crying: 'Uncle, uncle' as a sort of advance intimation of her arrival to claim her share. There was no answering greeting, but she heard the

clatter of the grinding stones which gave indication of some one at work. 'Uncle, uncle!' she cried again, 'where are you?' But to her surprise, she found a strapping youth sweating at the mill-stone, bare to the waist with beads of perspiration glistening all over his person. There was a robustious plenitude about him which arrested her movements and speech. 'Uncle is away and the nephew is in charge. You're from the Pattar's house?' he asked smiling disarmingly and looking her full in the face. She noticed that he had a hare-lip which gave his utterance a delightful lisp. 'Yes,' replied Kalpagam faintly, almost in a whisper, and getting her share, fled from the spot like one pursued . . .

IV

A year later, Kalpagam was brought to bed of a boy to the infinite satisfaction of herself and her mother-in-law. Her mother-bosom swelled with pride at having lived down the charge of sterility. On the eleventh day when the child was cradled amidst a concourse of neighbours and kinsfolk, everybody admired the infant sleeping serenely amidst the din. But such was their good-manners that not one of them made any comment on the curious circumstance of the child being blessed with a—hare-lip!

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FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THE elections are over. For the first time, the film people have taken active part in the elections. What is more, one of the film producers, Mr. P. K. Atre, the author, producer and director who won the President's Gold Medal for producing *Shyamchi Aai* and later the Silver Medal for making *Mahatma Phule* in 1954, has been elected to the State Assembly in Bombay. Standing as an Independent backed by Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, he defeated the Congress candidate Mrs. Sulochana Modi, the Ex-Mayor of Bombay by over eleven thousand votes. Mr. Atre has been one of the chief protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Dev Anand and Nutan—who make a very popular pair as Filmiland lovers—have again appeared together in Filmstan's *Paying Guest*.

Coming after *Ham Sab Chor Hain*, *Paying Guest* has all the ingredients of a box office hit. Its main attraction however is the exciting manner in which romantic scenes between Dev and Nutan have been handled by Subodh Mukerji, its young director. The first half of the picture has become very lively with both Dev and Nutan looking extremely lovable and charming.

The story follows the old established box-office formula of boy-meets-teases-loves girl. Dev is a jobless lawyer thrown out by one landlord after another in Lucknow. He gets a place in a building occupied by an old man with a charming grown-up daughter. Their very first meet-

ing leads to quarrel and bitterness. But Dev persists in following her and gets the place to stay disguised as an old Muslim in the same old man's house. The disguise lends pop to the romance and it soon becomes apparent that Nutan also has a soft corner for the boy. Eventually the father also is reconciled.

But the course of love never runs smooth. Nutan's sister and her college friend who has married an old rich man starts taking interest in Dev. Suddenly the romance becomes a crime drama in Hollywood style and somehow Nutan gets involved in the murder of her brother-in-law and is tried. The manner in which Dev Anand defends her and proves her innocence provides a really exciting climax, that saves the second half from being dull.

Subodh's direction is better than his story and scenario which is unbalanced and has little connection between the first and the second half. Nasir Hussain's dialogues are scintillating though sometimes unnecessarily long. Dronacharya's photography is good, some of the close-ups of Nutan are really attractive.

Dev and Nutan give excellent performances ably supported by Yakub, Jagirdar, Shubha Khote, Sajjan, Gyani and Dulari. The musical score by S. D. Burman is not particularly distinguished though a couple of tunes should prove popular. Majrohi's lyrics also are of the usual variety. The production values are first rate.

Full of incongruities and even absurdities, *Paying Guest* is nonetheless an entertaining film and it could be more so if it was not so long.

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK

Producer-director V. Shantaram is known as a star-maker. He refuses to pay high prices to leading stars. He would rather have no star than pay any fancy price.

He has however paid a greater price

for a four-footed star than perhaps he has paid to any other else, Ramchandra the elephant. Shantaram purchased this elephant at a price of Rs. 20,000. Bringing him to Bombay from Kerala was also a costly affair and now maintaining him is still more costly.

Firmly installed on the backside of the Studio floor, Shantaram is building a 'swimming pool' so that his star can have his daily bath. Being a South Indian the star eats mainly rice and coconut tree leaves which have to be imported from the South. He eats just ten seers cooked rice a day, plenty of sugarcane, other fruits and coconut tree leaves. Two men are just kept to look after him.

Ramchandra is a very docile animal and becomes friendly with human beings. He understands only Malayalam language and salutes the visi-

tors when instructed by the 'Mahout'. He will have a stellar role in Shantaram's forthcoming picture. Shantaram is spending about two to three thousand rupees on him per month. And by the time the picture is shot, he would have spent at least a lakh of rupees on him.

Ramachandra the elephant is at the moment the prize asset of Rajkamal Studios.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

A French version of Bimal Roy's *Gotama the Buddha* is being prepared for the Cannes Festival.

Nitin Bose has been assigned the task of completing Amiya Chakrabarty's unfinished film *Kath Putli*. He is expected to resume shooting on the 21st—on the day on which Amiya had fixed for resuming the shooting.



Girija and Jaggiah in Dhanassay's forthcoming Telugu picture "Bhalas Bava".

SELF-REVELATION

By K. D. VALICHA

IT usually comes at the age of forty. One has then a tendency to dwell on one's own life, to re-live over again, and yet with a difference, some of the memorable incidents and experiences one has had. Perhaps this is what Jung meant by his "neurosis."

Self-revelation is a mystic indulgence, perfectly human and natural. It may carry a man to the highest pinnacles of religious experience while at times it may lead him to the cynical extremes of existentialist nausea. It may be of two kinds. One where your soul is revealed, feelings and emotions that are the germ of your inner being. The other kind consists of certain selected incidents from your life—'significant incidents' or 'turning points'.

Whatever be the form, it calls for imagination and a sense of the dramatic. The poet thus is the most self-revealing of all because he possesses both these qualities in abundance together with the ability to give them aesthetic expression.

The autobiography perhaps best combines the two kinds of self-revelation. The autobiographer not only selects certain personal experiences but also is free to generalize them and construct a mystic philosophy of life. His only requisites are that his experiences must possess a wide and universal range of appeal. They should be deeply human and they should above all, reveal the writer's soul and mind.

Public speakers of a kind have also indulged in self-revelations. The great social philosopher, Bakounin, may be considered one of the finest examples. But his self-revelations possessed an extra attribute of sincerity that took them to a very high level of humanism. They also had the quality popularly known as "soul-stirring". Moreover, they had a

poetic touch which alone would have found them a place in anybody's heart...

To come to the common plane, not everybody writes autobiographies or poetry to reveal their inner self. Yet a streak of the self-revealer is in all of us, more or less. The man who is more inclined towards self-revelations needs a broad, tolerant society which will allow him a chance for full play of his talent. There are few in life who develop, if I might say so, "successful" self-revealers. I know only a very few. These few may perhaps be encouraged for they too have a social function to perform. Their introspection is introspective only in semblance. Their gift lies in being able to influence remarkably the people around them and at times act as an inspiration to them.

Finally, a word of advice to all self-revealers: Remember that the appeal of your self-revelations lies in their poetry and, at best, they are only what you make of them. The beauty of your life lies not in your life but in you who has lived it. Once you forget that, you become a mere bore.

THE PHOENIX

'Twixt fear and desire
We lighted our fire:
At first it burned badly,
Then madly, oh madly;
And that consuming flame
Burned up all doubt and shame.

But the flames that destroy
Can also create;
Our furnace so great
Created a boy;
Created a man,
As nature did plan.

Our fire has now died;
Has ceased even to glow;
But this we both know,
We both know with pride—
That the wonderful phoenix is
here:

The triumph of Life over fear.

BAYARD SIMMONS

New Books

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE. Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2-8.

THIS is a symposium, a survey of present trends in the different regional literatures of India. It contains articles one on each of the fourteen major languages of India, giving a short account of the growth of its literature. It also includes an article which discusses the writing in English by Indians who have ventured to employ English as the medium of their expression. The contributors are known for their eminence and authority in their respective fields.

A correct understanding of trends in contemporary literature has been keenly felt ever since India became independent. This publication is a laudable attempt to bring home to us the fact that in our literary heritage there is a basic unity between people who speak different languages but are inspired by the same hopes and are occupied by the same problems. It may help to create a sense of solidarity and fellow-feeling so badly needed today to counteract the poison of linguistic and parochial prejudices and fanaticisms. We congratulate the Sahitya Akademi upon bringing out such a well got-up, timely publication.

D. S. G.

GANDHI MARG—Quarterly journal published by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Mani Bhuvan, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7. Annual Subscription Rs. 5.

IS there such a thing as Gandhism, whether as a system of philosophy or as a religion? Or is it an economic doctrine? A great deal depends upon a correct answer to this question. The thinking minds in India are search-

ing for an answer. Probably the best and the most authoritative answer to this question has already been furnished by Mahatma Gandhi himself. A quotation from him has been prominently displayed on the cover page of this journal, which reads, "There is no such thing as 'Gandhism', and I do not want to leave any sect after me".

If the sponsors of this quarterly had taken Gandhi at his word or taken him at all seriously and considered that Gandhi meant something by his speeches and his writings, this quarterly would not have seen the light of day nor would there have been the great organisation of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the collection of many crores which the Nidhi now consists of with the declared object of "Spreading the Gospel of Gandhi". According to Gandhi there is no gospel of Gandhi. But there is a need for such a gospel for the men behind the Nidhi and behind the journal. So they have invented one. They have banked upon the ignorance, the apathy and the illiteracy of the broad masses of people in this country who worship the name of Gandhi but who do not understand anything of whatever he ever said or did.

We do not say that the personality of Gandhi does not deserve serious study especially by the present generation of Indians whose lives and thoughts have been deeply affected by him. Gandhi was a man of the people. He was sincere. He endeavoured to be truthful. He had little of the make-believe in him. He had the courage to own up his mistakes. He retraced his false steps. He confessed to Himalayan blunders. In spite of the many mistakes he made in his eventful life he has left a heri-

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tage of mighty endeavours. A study of his life would throw a flood of light on the many problems that confront the people of India. His many mistakes are themselves illuminating guides for the proper and correct solutions of these problems. He had no philosophy, he left no "isms" and hence there is no such thing as Gandhi Marg.

But we agree that a study of Gandhi's life, his speeches and writings would always be important and should be welcomed. If the quarterly journal *Gandhi Marg* engages upon such a study we shall certainly welcome it. But if it would engage on a career of exploitation of Gandhi and the deification of his personality we should discourage the publication. Let us hope that the Editorial Board would have the wisdom to follow the former course.

FADED FLOWER: A Biographical Narrative on the late Mr. S. G. Sengodayan, I.C.S. By Nilkan Perumal. Foreword by C. D. Deshmukh. Published by the Topical Book Co., 7-2, Old Post Office Road, Coimbatore. Rs. 2.

ONE of the distinguished members of the old Indian Civil Service, the late Mr. Sengodayan came of a humble poor peasant family. As a scholar and later as an I.C.S. Officer he was studious, dutiful and thorough. By sheer hard and intelligent work, he rose to eminence. Mr. Nilkan Perumal's biographical account of his life—which reads like a story—is a fitting tribute to the memory of a flower among the I.C.S. Officers—a flower that faded away before it blossomed forth into full vigour and charm.

N. G. R.

THE INVINCIBLE BUGS

By M. P. JOHN

IN spite of Rock-'n'-Roll and Atom Bombs and such other minor calamities, it is my earnest desire to have faith that God is in heaven and all is well with the world. But there is one thing that disturbs my faith. It is neither the influence of Ingersoll nor of Karl Marx. All the confusion in me is created by bugs.

You could kill a snake with a stick. You could shoot a tiger. You could climb the nearest lamp-post when threatened by a bandicoot. But bugs? What can you do to bugs?

I could, of course, never understand why crocodiles were created, or mosquitoes, for that matter. But at least this much could be said in favour of their creation—they were not given brains to match the superior human intellect.

But bugs tilt the scales in their favour. I have always wondered why a bug's head is so tiny and yet contains more brains than a dozen Honourable Ministers of Law and Order and a couple of Blitz-Kreig Generals put together.

Not that bugs cannot be killed. You could put your bed in the hot sun. The bugs try to fool you by taking cover under the bed. You turn it round. They run underneath. Turn it again. They are on the run. Now you are in the thick of the battle—and yourself getting roasted in the sun. You stand your ground. And after hours of chasing the bug around you find you are the winner. One by one the bugs give up. Did they think they were cleverer?

You get back to your cot. It is the

first time you notice that there were so many crevices, and you even suspect that your carpenter had been bribed by the bugs. But you have powerful insecticides and pumps in readiness, and you spend the rest of your energies at it. You are exhausted, but you have millions of dead bugs to your credit.

That night you decide to make good all arrears of sleep. At any rate the battle royal has left you so tired that you sleep like a log—for a couple of hours. Then you wake up with the feeling that you heard a bugle, or whatever it is that Generals use as signal for attack. Yes, the attack is on, or has it been on for sometime? You switch on the light. And what do you see? Hundreds of bugs running for cover. Each one as big as a Money-Lender, filled with blood—yours. "Revenge, revenge," you seem to hear the battle cry from hide-outs.

Are there no methods by which bugs can be exterminated? You read an advertisement offering an effective Bug Killer—only Rs. 3-10-0 and money back if not satisfied. You know how much money that is. And you are not sure how much that would be in Naya coins. So, without delay you remit the amount. The return post brings a parcel containing a big stone and a small stone, with clear instructions to place the bug on the big and hit with the small. You are satisfied there is no other way to kill bugs.

But to catch them is not always easy. The Government Rest Houses will tell you why. In one of these Rest Houses I almost fell off the cot because the bugs were so numerous that my body did not touch the bed, and I was swayed this side and that on their backs. I was furious. I called the man in charge of the Rest House—Rest House!—and told him that I meant to report against him and

see him out of job. He simply grinned and disappeared after informing me that he would see me later. Sleep was out of the question in a joint like that. I sat down on the chair and buried my face in a book on the Second Five-Year Plan. The next moment the book flew from my hands and I jumped so high that I am sure I broke the world record. I paced the floor. And paced the floor for the rest of the night. I thought of this and that, but mostly on why, in the description of Hell, bugs were forgotten. Just before day-break the man in charge of the Sample Hell came in and switched on the light. He grinned again and proudly pointed to the walls. My jaw fell. An army of bugs were on their way to the tiled roof—to take cover for the day, in readiness for any attack that may be launched by the enemy. I apologised to my ally.

Much of the misunderstanding and grievances against fellow human beings could be eliminated by realising that we are all allies in a war against our common enemy—the bugs. When a man loses his temper with you, shouts at you, struggles with his collar apparently searching for fresh names to call you, please try to understand that the real trouble is just a bug under his collar. Or, in a World Council, the Representative of a Big Power, hurls abuses and threats, shifting his weight from one foot to the other. Don't let that rush you to the Share Market in the fond hope that war is round the corner. All that he means is one thing, and one thing only, a bug in his shoe.

Bugs thrive on your blood. They are cunning and evasive. They are a menace. They are so powerful that you can do nothing to them, let alone get rid of them. All you can do is to borrow a magnifying glass and investigate whether they wear white caps.

The Libertarian Perspective

The following are extracts from an article in The Libertarian Quarterly—edited by B. S. Sanyal, Arya Bhawan, Bombay 4.

NEITHER *Laissez faire* individualism which is capitalism nor *laissez faire* collectivism which is Stalinism is the Promised Land of peace and plenty the people are hankering after. Once they hungered for wealth and achieved Capitalism. Then they hungered for equality and achieved Stalinism. The free market under conditions when a few are already rich and the many are poor satisfies the needs of the rich by exploiting the poor and profiting the Capitalist. The profit-motive under unrestrained individualism results in maldistribution of wealth to such an extent that the rich can do anything they like and get away with it, while the poor cannot have even the creature comforts of life. The Capitalist with his great wealth corrupts the state and employs it for his personal gain at the cost of the legitimate rights of the poor.

The collectivist State under conditions when a few are already rulers and the many are defenceless satisfied the needs of the powerful—the bureaucracy, the army and the police—by exploiting the masses and profiting the politician. The power-motive under unrestrained collectivism results in maldistribution of political power to such an extent that the politicians can do anything they like and get away with it, while the masses cannot have even the elementary right to think their own thoughts. The politician with his overwhelming power corrupts the State and employs it for his personal gain at the cost of the legitimate freedom of the masses.

If Capitalism is the result of unrestrained economic individualism, Stalinism is the result of unrestrained political collectivism. Under Capitalism,

only the rich have effective political power; under Stalinism, only the politically powerful have sufficient wealth. Under Capitalism, the capitalist and the proletariat have mutually antagonistic interests; under Stalinism, the Stalinist and the masses have mutually antagonistic interests. Under Capitalism the proletariat lacks effective political power to withstand the aggression of corrupting wealth; under Stalinism, the mass lacks effective economic power to withstand the tyranny of corrupted politics.

LIBERTARIANISM

The Libertarian attempts a new analysis of the social problems with a view to achieve both productivity and social justice and avoid Capitalism and Stalinism.

Many have been the measures recommended by the social doctors of today to cure the ills of our society. Communism, nazism, fascism, etatism, state interventionism, fabianism, planned economy, welfare state, socialism, new deal, fair deal,—are the widely circulated panaceas. They are further labelled "right" and "left," or "progressive" and "reactionary", or "middle-of-the-road."

Passing right through the myriad beads of 'isms' and 'deals', the Libertarian discerns a common thread—the religion of Statism, the increasing faith in the efficacy of political power in solving all our problems. Regardless of the label, and irrespective of the means to the end, whether it is 'democratic' as in socialism or 'revolutionary' as in Russian Communism, the ultimate purpose of these recommendations in each instance, is always the State ownership or control of the means of production. There is another characteristic shared by these 'deals' and 'isms'—they presuppose the existence of a healthy economy to supply the State with the wealth needed to fulfil its 'welfare' promises.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor welcomes letters on subjects of general interest or topics arising out of articles printed in SWATANTRA but reserves the right to abridge them.

"THE AFTERMATH"

Your fact-filled and power-packed editorial entitled "The Aftermath" is the voice of a nation's smothered conscience: Let all voters and legislators listen to it before seeking some obscure corner to bury themselves and their shamed faces.

We have disgraced ourselves at the altar of Democracy and one is filled with despair to think of a nation which could so nonchalantly write off five years of its life-time!

Underneath the red-hot words of the editorial, one detects the laboured bearings of a pained heart which however refuses to turn bitter. Let us hope that, in the coming weeks, we would be shown ways and means to make the most of a very bad bargain.

N. S.

UNDEMOCRATIC

If reports are correct, the Chief Minister of Madras has expressed sentiments which are incorrect and, at any rate, ought not to have been expressed in public. Not many thinking men attribute any value to the results of the elections, but the Chief Minister appears to have thought that the recent passage of the Fair Rent Bill in the Madras Legislature greatly contributed to the success of the Congress in the State. That is a matter of opinion, but the Chief Minister seems to have gone further and stated, according to a news item, that if the Government likes, it could expropriate the landlord by the issue of an ordinance overnight.

There are two assumptions in the statement, one that the Governor could always be depended upon to issue an ordinance in the manner required by the

Government, and two that the landlord could be expropriated. While the correctness of the first assumption cannot unfortunately be doubted, the second assumption, one is afraid, is rather too large. It is true that about the British Parliament it has been repeatedly stated by quite competent observers that Parliament can do anything and everything except make a man a woman or vice versa. The same can probably be said about Indian Legislatures. But it can never be forgotten that the Indian Constitution is a written one unlike the British and, making every due allowance for the recent unfortunate amendment of the Constitution, it cannot be truly said that expropriation is either so easy as the Chief Minister thinks it is, or would be quite legal.

Apart from this the language employed by the Chief Minister is that of a demagogue and not that of a democrat which he proposes to be in spite of his exalted position. And again, the language is not that of a statesman but that of a bully. The sentiments also appear to be rather crude and appear to have been prompted by an infatuation of power. The speech one notes, was delivered after his success at the recent elections was announced. Only a week before, he appears to have expressed the view that, if necessary, the Fair Rent Act would be amended so as to remove the edge from some of its drastic provisions. Apart from all these questions there remains one fundamental question, namely, whether Ministers ought not to be required to observe a certain amount of reticence and a certain amount of introspection before they get on to the public platform. As it is, the Chief Minister's speech has made quite a flutter and raised serious misgivings in many quarters. It is time that Mr. Nehru—he is the only person today who can deliver the goods—sends appropriate instructions for general observance to his lieutenants, both in the Centre and in the States.

R. S. SRINIVASACHARYA

BEATING THE BEATEN

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh the meagrely paid N. G. Os. of the lower level are given different pay scales. There

are differences between the people from Andhra area and those from Telangana area who work at the same table, at Hyderabad. Besides being unjust it is unconstitutional.

Andhra employees who were given Rs. 10 as H. R. A. at Madras were given Rs. 7 at Kurnool on the ground that Kurnool was not a city; but on transfer of these offices to Hyderabad the H. R. A. has remained unaltered. Is it on the ground that the standard of living is lower at Hyderabad than at Madras?

'ONE AFFECTED'

P. KODANDA RAO

PARTY VS. NATIONAL GOVTS.

Now that the general elections are nearly over, discussions are afoot, regarding the composition of the Central and Provincial Governments. Since political parties contested the elections, it is but natural that the successful parties should seek to form homogeneous party governments wherever possible, and that the defeated parties should join up to form Opposition.

It is, however, highly desirable that, instead of party governments, "national" governments should be formed in the Centre and the provinces, consisting of all the major political parties, as in Switzerland normally and in Britain in war-time. The differences in the main policies of the several parties in India are as negligible as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. On minor matters the differences within each party are perhaps greater than between the parties. The Communist leader in Kerala has said that his party, if called upon to form the government, would work within the Indian Constitution as any other party. It would, however, aim at efficiency, integrity and character in administration. But these qualities cannot be issues between parties. Every party and individual avows them, but some everywhere deviate from them in practice to some extent or other. There is no need for an Opposition party in the legislature to expose inefficiency and dishonesty in the government party; there is enough of it within the latter itself. The development of India, particularly

than competitive political parties and national rather than party governments. No party, in so far as it is a party, can be national in outlook and interest, and is bound to sacrifice the nation for the party. The need, however, is for "all for the nation and none for the party."

There seems to be no need to amend the Constitution to constitute national governments. Conventions can be equally effective for all practical purposes. Competence and national outlook should prevail over party labels and loyalties.

THE VOICE OF SWATANTRA

The editorials in *Swatantra* form a class apart by virtue of their robust individuality and they have also come to take on a prophetic ring. For instance, when Pandit Nehru left for America in a blaze of rigged-up glory, our dutiful press indulged in an indecently deafening amount of tom-tomming. We were told that an era of miracles was just round the corner; even the possibility of the American recognition of the Red China was hinted at and an auspicious date was fixed for the release of the American airmen imprisoned in China. On that occasion, as far as I am aware of, the editorial in *Swatantra* was the only one to carry a sobering note. The least our Prime Minister could do, the editor of *Swatantra* had observed, was to get the American arms aid to Pakistan stopped forthwith, failing which, the over-publicised visit would have to be treated as a signal failure.

The morning after finds the American airmen still behind the prison bars and after Pandit Nehru left the White House, Eisenhower and Dulles appear to have taken just enough time off to laugh in their sleeves before rushing out to postulate their vacuum theory and arrange to give a dressing down to India at the UNO. Our Prime Minister's visit was worse than a failure—it was a debacle.

The privilege of standing alone in Babel belongs to *Swatantra*. Let us remember that the greatest strength is to be derived only from loneliness.

SWATANTRA

(Issued Every Saturday)

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ON THE COVER: Polling Day in Madras. One of the many cars which took voters to the polling booth.

The SWATANTRA is a forum for liberal thought. Publication of an article in the Journal does not imply that the editor agrees with opinions expressed in it.

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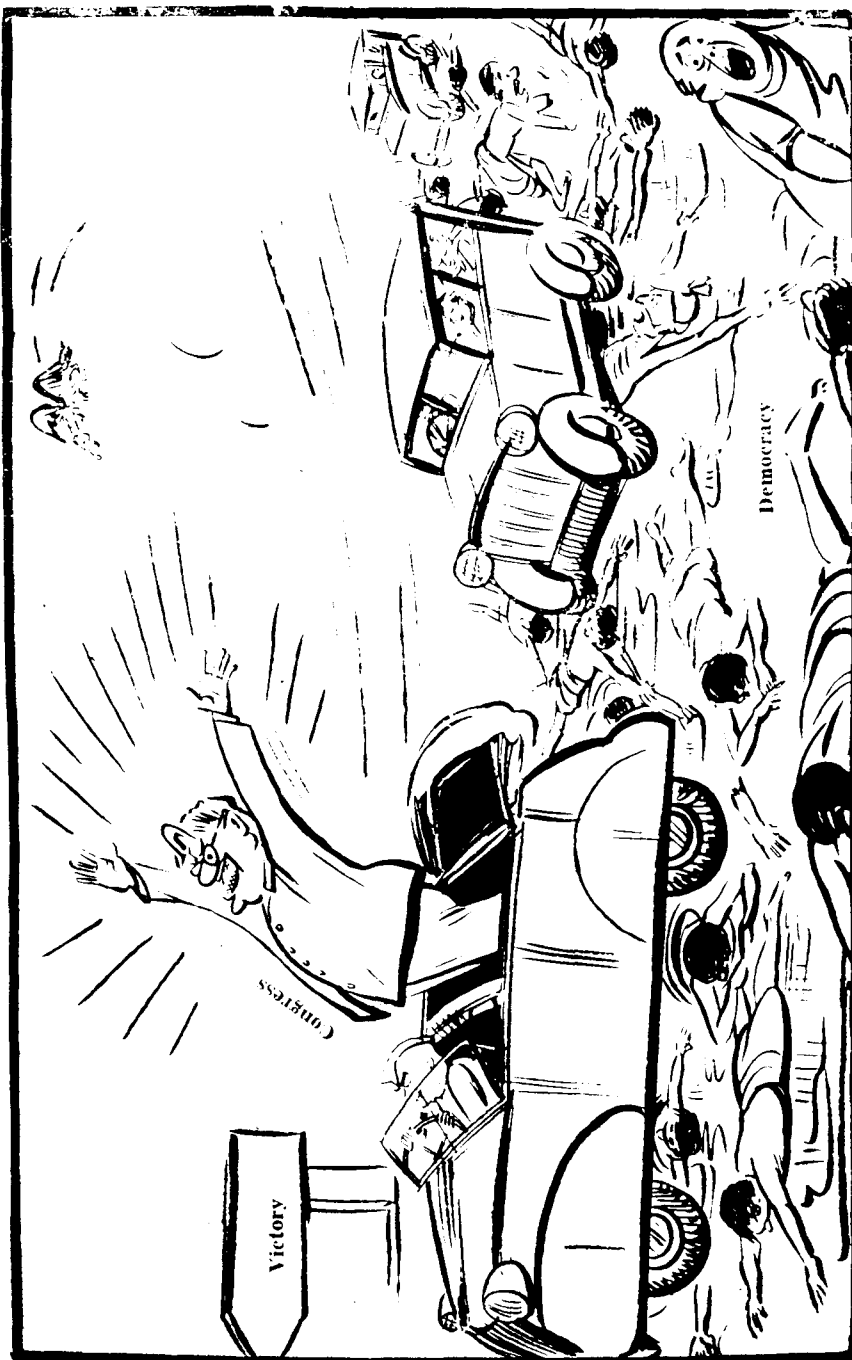
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SWATANTRA

Vol. XII. MARCH 16 SATURDAY 1957 No. 6

THE AFTERMATH

THE din and bustle of the General Elections have died down all over India. The results are not yet fully available; but so far as they are known the fact is emerging that the Congress Party has won a further ease of life and will have scope to exercise autocratic power with steamroller majorities in the legislatures in the Centre and also in all except a few of the States. After all, a country gets the Government which it deserves. Since the people of India are still apathetic towards the menace of Congress totalitarianism they deserve the hard fate that awaits them during the coming five years in their history. The people will have no voice after the elections in the shaping of Governmental policies and programmes and the movement already afoot for the suppression of popular liberties will gain further momentum. There will be a progressive control of the lives of private individuals by the bureaucratic power seekers in office. There will be an ever growing suppression of private enterprise in economic as well as in cultural affairs. We shall witness the gradual emergence of a fascist regimentation which will bring very hearth and home in the country within its orbit. Taxes will multiply until the producers of wealth will be compelled to pay into Governmental coffers most of their earnings, leaving little or nothing for the maintenance of themselves and their families. Governmental enterprises which may take gigantic shapes will be corroded by corruption and nepotism. There

will be frequent break-downs of the machinery of production owing to the inefficiency of as well as deliberate sabotage by those in authority. None will be happy or contented except those related in some way or other to the big wigs of the ruling party who will be in key positions. There will be a shortage of essential commodities and prices will soar. There will be an abundance of paper money, but its value will dwindle into nothing. The expectations of the increase in the level of living of the people will not materialise. On the contrary there will be a steady growth of unemployment and poverty. With the advance in years there will be a growth of population. There will be more and more mouths to feed and less and less to feed them with. The high targets of the Second Five-Year Plan will not be reached because of the over sanguine estimates of the capacity of people to pay for them. It will be futile for other parties to attempt to pull the Congress chestnut out of the fire. Such help would look unbecoming and will be spurned by the party in power.

All these gloomy forebodings of the shape of things to come in the internal life of the country do not depress us very much because such hardships are the inevitable aftermath of the failure of our people to avail themselves of the grand opportunity of the recent elections to defeat the Congress. Every mistake carries with it its own punishment. Every failure will be rewarded with its quota of misery. Nature dispenses even-hand-

ed justice and rigorously enforces its laws. If India during the next five years will have to wade through a vale of tears it will be but just retribution for her backwardness and her lack of appreciation of democratic values.

But such consolation will not avail us in external affairs where the safety of the Nation is concerned and the sanction behind is not tears but blood. All parties will have to pull together and the victors as well as the vanquished at the elections will have to pool their resources and offer a united front against the external enemy. It is true that the present danger threatening India is largely the result of the short-sighted policies, or the lack of them, on the part of the Congress leadership. Every country's foreign affairs will have to be directed solely in the interests of that country and of its people. Doctrinaire adventures are very foolish and are bound to recoil on the heads not only of the adventures but of the millions whom they represent and govern. If the world were ripe for *Panch Shila* the burden of enforcing it should be left to the World Powers, and individual nations should not be called upon to sacrifice their interests to sustain the doctrine. If neutralism is good for the world, the world will have to take care of it, and India should not be called upon to sacrifice its national interests for the purpose of forcing the world to accept this doctrine. Our diplomats in foreign countries should serve our people and not act as missionaries spreading a religion. The difficulties in foreign affairs with which India is faced today is largely the result of the attempt by our Prime Minister to show himself off as a world celebrity. If he had not tried to enhance the prestige of the UNO by taking the Kashmir question for its consideration there would have been no Kashmir problem for us today. If he had not gone out of his way to offer to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir after secur-

ing a verdict in his favour there would not have been that shame of universal condemnation that has recently overtaken India and there would have been no talk of UN forces occupying Indian territory.

Such throwing of the blame on Pandit Nehru and the Congress does not solve the problem or rescue the country from the imminent war with Pakistan. Pakistan is acting with alarming speed and building air-fields along our frontiers for the operation of jet bombers recently ferried from the U. S. At the conclusion of the Jarring mission there is bound to be a military flare-up in Kashmir. The individuals and the parties who fought the Congress in the recent elections will have to offer their co-operation in the organisation of resistance to the military threat across our borders. What shape such co-operation will take will depend not only upon the ability of the Opposition to forget the acerbities of the recent elections but also to the sense of realism that may inspire the Congress leadership to swallow its pride and give its confidence in the matter to elements which it hitherto looked upon as hostile. The pathetic apathy of our people, especially in South India, in the face of this war menace cannot be overcome except by the combined action of all parties. While the inevitable failures of the Five-Year Plan may be allowed to drag on in their appointed course under the auspices of the one party set-up, a war with a foreign aggressor cannot be allowed to be conducted in that ignominious manner but should be organised as a national effort under an all-party set-up. It will be premature for us now to suggest the formation of a coalition Government which may look incongruous immediately after a General Election when one party has secured a thumping majority over the others. But if war breaks out with Pakistan, as it threatens to do, there will have to be a Government functioning in Delhi

which will represent not a party but the nation. Prominent persons whose political views are not palatable to the majority party will have to be taken into the inner councils of the Government so as to achieve national

solidarity. Let us hope that the Congress party leadership as well as the saner elements outside the Congress will have the wisdom to sacrifice their petty prejudices in order to achieve such solidarity.

SIDELIGHTS ::

PANDIT NEHRU issued a statement which was blazed forth in the Press on the eve of polling at Madras exhorting the voters to cast their votes for his friend and colleague Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. Certainly the Pandit was within his rights in making such an appeal. But to have issued it just as the voter was on his way to the polling booth looked like the exercise of force which was unbecoming on the part of a national leader of Pandit Nehru's status. The statement was unbecoming of Pandit Nehru for another reason. Instead of showering encomiums over his friend he hurled an accusation against his opponent Mr. H. D. Rajah for being unfair. What was not fair in Mr. Rajah's election propaganda was, according to Pandit Nehru, the dragging in of Mahatma Gandhi's name and the names of other personalities who have said kind words in the past about Mr. Rajah. Apparently Pandit Nehru contends that the personalities of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders are the exclusive property of the Congress Party. Pandit Nehru did not deny the truth of the statements attributed to these personalities but he denied the right of Mr. Rajah to use them. While it is rightful for the Congress to drag in the name of not only Mahatma Gandhi but all the other leaders of the country like Lokamanya Tilak, Subhas Bose, the Rani of Jhansi and

even the heroes of remote antiquity like Sivaji and Asoka, according to the Pandit, it is unfair for anyone not belonging to the Congress to mention Mahatma Gandhi's name. Let the Pandit remember that Mahatma Gandhi, had he been alive today, would have exercised his franchise not for the Congress but against it. The Mahatma called upon the people by his dying breath to dissolve the Congress. The Congress Party today is a traitor to Mahatma Gandhi and has blatantly disobeyed him. Under these circumstances the question assumes importance: who has the right to invoke the Mahatma's name? It is certainly not the Congress but it is the opponent of the Congress who has that right. Pandit Nehru is not carrying out the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi but is flouting them. He allows the moneybags and the toadies who supported the former British regime and who fought Mahatma Gandhi to utilise his name. But he dares to cast aspersions on the Mahatma's real chelas who have spent out their lives in the service of the Mahatma.

* * *

There is a custom prevalent in Japan of "speaking to the dead". According to the Shinto religion, practised by the Japanese, the souls of dead people live in eternal bliss and it is possible, especially for the de-

acquire the required articles itself. It is a popular contention that the state is no productive agency. All it can do, in that case, is to seize the goods from its citizens. This calls, in the first place, for an arbitrary assessment and, in the second, for the method of violence. For certainly it does not persuade the people to give up their property willingly. It forces it from them, whether they like it or not. On human grounds of freedom, it is natural that we should reject this alternative.

We see also that the original principle that a person other than the producer decides who shall have the possession or use of goods is based on the more significant principle that this third person, namely the state, has the right to seize the property of its citizens. The first principle, which is the more important, is rarely noticed and yet without it the first principle is quite impossible. This makes an instance of how the philanthropy of the state rests on the method of violence.

In practice this principle does not work in the manner it is imagined it does. All that the state in effect does is to create a false need for work. It may spend the taxpayer's money on some perfectly useless enterprise. This results in a loss to the taxpayer who could have utilized the money in more fruitful channels and also results in a waste of labour in unproductive and fruitless toil. Thus, as has been pointed out, the state succeeds only in achieving a bottleneck where economic resources are pooled in sterile productions.

Direct Exploitation Of Labour

Besides the more obvious forms of expropriations, exploitation and taxation, there is also direct exploitation of labour on the plea that capital is required for further investment. This calls for an indefinite endurance on the part of the labourer and a perpetual husbanding of resources by the state. Besides, full employment is

not necessarily created in productive spheres of the economy. To create employment the armed forces are swelled to an immense size and this is skilfully camouflaged and made to appear vitally important. This swelling of the army fructifies such an amount of military power to the state that it burgeons forth as a terrible, destructive force. Beginning with the rule of grab at home, the state now seeks to infect other countries as well. This calls for further increase of bureaucracy, the intelligence services and other allied gangsters who provide more employment in destructive enterprise. Thus the whole system of etatism is built on the fibre of violence—and it is this fibre of violence that sustains and rears the whole nation and ultimately makes it aspire for world domination.

We reject the principle that calls for state interference in economic affairs (or, rather, Economy Proper). This leaves us with our principle which is that each man must be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labour. Our principle can be interpreted in two ways: one, that each person shall have the fruits of his own labour and, two, that no person shall have the right over the goods of another person's labour since that would mean violation of the other man's right. This is the only postulate that is in consonance with economic freedom.

It is clear that we reject the authoritarian economic patterns (Communist and Socialist) on grounds of economic liberty and on our repudiation of the state's efficacy in the domain of economics. We are left with the *laissez-faire* economy, both conventional and monopolistic as practised in the capitalist countries. Though this type of economy is nearest our concept of human freedom, it is nevertheless strewn with some of the economic evils that are so manifest in the totalitarian systems.

Free enterprise, the essence of free economy, is negated in monopoly.

Corruption was the order of the day during the polling. This cannot be reverted under the present set-up. When money flows like water amidst an impoverished population. You cannot blame the people for selling their votes which are otherwise of no value to them. But a kind of corruption became rampant in this particular election owing to the elimination of the watch over the polling booth to prevent the voter from pocketing the vote instead of depositing it in the box. Naturally these smuggled votes commanded a high price in the black market which the candidates set up. Who was behind this clever move to eliminate the watch and to falsify the election?

Gala processions illuminated by fluorescent lamps were led through the streets by a few candidates who could afford such luxury. Each of the processions should have cost several thousands of rupees every night, because the illuminations involved the use of mobile generating sets of electricity and costly equipment of portable fluorescent lamps. Of course, there was the de luxe propaganda medium of free cinema shows. Such items of heavy expenditure, we fear, will never be included by these candidates who indulged in them in the return of their election expenses: because they would swell the figures beyond the permitted maximum. They would be explained away as voluntary contributions by their friends and well-wishers. It would be interesting to know who these friends and well-wishers are who squandered away their fortunes in such a worthy cause.

Taken all in all, the elections were decided by the weight of money power supported by what is euphemistically called "influence". When a minister stands for elections money power as well as "influence" automatically work on his behalf. There

is no need for any effort on the part of the minister to make them function. An industrial magnate who is dependent upon the goodwill of the minister and whose industry will languish at the slightest expression of displeasure by the minister will certainly work enthusiastically on behalf of the minister. He will not only work like a horse for the success of the minister at the elections but he will want to be recognised by the minister as having so worked like his horse. That was the reason why so many prominent men in the business world who seldom interfere in politics put themselves out during the recent elections and made themselves prominent on the polling day. This phenomenon of wealth and "influence" working ostentatiously on behalf of one candidate and as against the others rendered the election into a farce. Is it worthwhile to enact this farce of an election when the scales are so heavily over-weighted in favour of one party and there is no chance for victory for any of the others? Under such circumstances, elections are not occasions for the exercise of democratic choice by the voter but are just traps to victimise people who might stand as candidates oblivious of the fact that there is no chance whatever for them to win in the unequal battle. Where is the need to lay such traps? Why not do away with the election once and for ever? Since the results are foregone, why involve the nation and the individual citizen in such needless expenditure and worry?

SETHU.

NOTICE

Owing to heavy pressure of work in our Press during the Elections, there was no issue of the SWATANTRA bearing the date March 9, 1957. We apologise to the readers for the inconvenience caused.

Manager,
SWATANTRA.

PEDLAR'S PACK

HISTORY is one of the tricky subjects in which it is difficult to determine with precision the limits of originality or the extent to which plagiarism or taking in one another washing is the rule rather than the exception. Ideas like microbes get into the air; and they are of all kinds. Chronology is an infallible test, whatever may be the protestations of the writers themselves. Prof. Arnold Toynbee who has had a very successful busman's holiday through our country delivered one of his last addresses to an audience in Delhi, and devoted it to the exposition of an idea which was obviously lifted from Matthew Arnold's famous discourse on Numbers. But whereas Arnold blandly punctured American complacency in the middle of the nineteenth century, Mr. Toynbee chose to lay it on with a trowel when he proceeded to lump Pandit Nehru along with the late President Roosevelt and Sir Winston Churchill into an incongruous trinity to whom he has assigned the task of salvaging civilisation in the atomic age. How any one of them could be deemed the representative of minority opinion, and what that minority opinion is, were left conveniently unspecified by the lecturer. President Roosevelt is, subject to the doctrine of historical necessity fancied in some quarters, the almost sole *fons et origo* of the ghastly mess in which the world finds itself today. Of Churchill it may be said that he did stand for a minority view; but it belonged to the past rather than to an ampler future. As for our own leader, his performances in recent months have revealed him as demagogue No. 1 of the world today. When democracy was a minority cause, and fascist and communist joined forces to deal it its death-blow, what did Nehru do? Like a latter-day Achilles he skulked in his tent (or prison well furnished with books to overcome the tedium vitae) or luxuriated in rehearsing his future star-roles.

In a recent address, Pandit Nehru became rapt over the mystic vision of 200 million voters marching to the polls to vote confidence in him. 'Behold the marvel!' he cried with the ingenuous and

infectious enthusiasm of a child watching the rain-drops swelling into a flood. If that is a minority with the grace to save itself or the power to save others, we will have to re-write our dictionaries backwards!

What has been described as a storm in a tea-cup has blown over after it had been adroitly worked up to hustle Pandit Nehru into an abject and uncalled for apology to the Queen of England. It is a delicious example of the working of the spirit of the old school-tie. Our own objection to Pandit Nehru's eating the humble pie in public is based on a matter of punctilio. What should have been dealt with by the President of the Indian National Congress has been taken out of his hands, and the Prime Minister of India has broadcast the undeclared truth that he is the head of a totalitarian system and that he functions dictatorially both when he rides the high horse and when he goes down on all fours. This revelation of an existing identity between the Congress party and the government of the land has not called forth any protest from any section of opinion in the country. And yet we pride ourselves on being a democracy. Sometime ago, the same Pandit Nehru complained that the British government seemed bent on humiliating this country over the Kashmir affair; it was an indirect confession of a rent in our moral armour. And yet in the present instance, he thought little of that country in ordering a chorus of apologies to inundate the foot-stool of her Britannic majesty.

The withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza strip and the gulf of Aqaba has been completed. Whether the status quo has been restored is a more open question.

Will the future of Gaza
Start on a tabula rasa
Without displeasing Egypt
from which it has been stripped?—
Or Israel behold Aqaba
Without thoughts which are macabre?

LIBRA

FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM

By K. D. VALICHA

LIBERTARIAN economy, whose pioneer in India is Mr. R. B. Lotvala, is based on the postulate that every man is entitled to what he can produce. It follows from this that the principle that each may have whatever he can grab is rejected and also that the principle that some person other than the producer decides who shall have the right of use is similarly rejected.

The first principle that each man may have whatever he can grab is rejected outright as it stands for the very negation of civilization. It is an enunciation of the jungle law that might is right.

The next principle is far more subtle and has sponsors not only in the totalitarian Communist states but also in states which practise the so-called *laissez-faire* economy. This method of handling production and distribution would provide that someone other than the person who produces goods and services shall decide who may have their possession and use. This method necessitates the introduction of a third party in the role of an arbitrator—a demagogue whose sole task will be to distribute the fruits of production according to principles which, as we shall see, take no account of the producer's right over his own goods. Let us scan the identity and nature of this third person.

This third person assumes the garb of the state. The state, genetically, came into operation as an organizer of justice and preventive force set up by the people to function as the police. From that original status it has since grown and discharges several exclusive functions today. Essen-

tially, however, the nature of the state is coercive. It acts through the socially recognised agent, the police, and finds fruition in force and compulsion. The state is based on violence.

The advent of the state, in its intrinsic basis, has not been prompted by the desire to amass power. Modern development has given rise to conditions of such a great variety that it has become necessary for the state to take up certain functions of the economy as its own. But the spoliation is due to the ambiguity of the state-managed economy. From a scratch it grows gradually to a supreme monolithic power. There should be a definite limit set to the state's expansion. This could be done by dividing the economic sphere into Political Economy (the part managed by the state) and Economy Proper. Thus a comparative safety from state interference could be ensured.

"A Travesty Of Justice"

Coming back to our point, we see that with the adoption of the second principle the state is introduced in the economic sphere as an agency for distributing the goods and services produced. It bases its practice on the hypothesis that every man has a right to the creature comforts of life and that it is the duty of the state to provide them for him. This principle is a travesty of justice, even on economic grounds.

But let us suppose for the moment that this principle holds good and see how far its efficacy warrants approval. If the state is to provide food to the foodless and home to the homeless, it is necessary that it

acquire the required articles itself. It is a popular contention that the state is no productive agency. All it can do, in that case, is to seize the goods from its citizens. This calls, in the first place, for an arbitrary assessment and, in the second, for the method of violence. For certainly it does not persuade the people to give up their property willingly. It forces it from them, whether they like it or not. On human grounds of freedom, it is natural that we should reject this alternative.

We see also that the original principle that a person other than the producer decides who shall have the possession or use of goods is based on the more significant principle that this third person, namely the state, has the right to seize the property of its citizens. The first principle, which is the more important, is rarely noticed and yet without it the first principle is quite impossible. This makes an instance of how the philanthropy of the state rests on the method of violence.

In practice this principle does not work in the manner it is imagined it does. All that the state in effect does is to create a false need for work. It may spend the taxpayer's money on some perfectly useless enterprise. This results in a loss to the taxpayer who could have utilized the money in more fruitful channels and also results in a waste of labour in unproductive and fruitless toil. Thus, as has been pointed out, the state succeeds only in achieving a bottleneck where economic resources are pooled in sterile productions.

Direct Exploitation Of Labour

Besides the more obvious forms of expropriations, exploitation and taxation, there is also direct exploitation of labour on the plea that capital is required for further investment. This calls for an indefinite endurance on the part of the labourer and a perpetual husbanding of resources by the state. Besides, full employment is

not necessarily created in productive spheres of the economy. To create employment the armed forces are swelled to an immense size and this is skilfully camouflaged and made to appear vitally important. This swelling of the army fructifies such an amount of military power to the state that it burgeons forth as a terrible, destructive force. Beginning with the rule of grab at home, the state now seeks to infect other countries as well. This calls for further increase of bureaucracy, the intelligence services and other allied gangsters who provide more employment in destructive enterprise. Thus the whole system of etatism is built on the fibre of violence—and it is this fibre of violence that sustains and rears the whole nation and ultimately makes it aspire for world domination.

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Free enterprise, the essence of free economy, is negated in monopoly.

Monopoly is the power to control prices, to fix prices at an arbitrary level. Prices, in a free market, are determined by demand and supply. But when a producer has the power to manipulate prices his own way, he becomes a monopolist. This definition of monopoly must be understood for a proper perspective of the defects of the capitalist system.

The Cause Of Monopoly

In many cases, legislation is the cause of monopoly. By granting a permanent lease to such monopolists, the state creates virtually enemies to the community, enemies who act within their 'legal' rights and who are consequently the more dangerous. No producer is half so harmful as when he has the state to back him up.

Thus, one way of reducing monopolies is to allow no hand of the state in it. Patents, copyrights, tariffs and the monopoly in land are some of the instances of this 'legal' injustice. Yet elimination of these may succeed in only minimising somewhat the dangers of monopoly. It does not and is surely incapable of riding the economic structure of monopoly altogether.

But need we worry about monopoly? For, surely, when a producer turns monopolist, does he not at the same time unwittingly place himself open to competition? For, if understood in this sense, there can possibly be no attempt at fixing prices arbitrarily. The monopolist is bound to find his opponents in the entrepreneurs who are naturally on the look-out for further fields.

That this does not happen so is borne out by actual market conditions. The more towering monopoly exists over money. It is not only very difficult but also nearly impossible for a producer, however capable, to secure the necessary loan whereby he could pool his abilities. A producer, before he can be liable for credit, has to offer security. The result is in most cases that only those who are already

propertied are entitled to credit. This non-availability of credit closes, the market to competition and throws it into the hands of a few. This scarcity of credit assumes most serious proportions, especially in an under-developed country like India.

Advancing Loans

The method of issuing loans, should make it easy for every genuine producer to secure credit. It is the lack of such method that is the main defect of the present economy. We must beware, at the same time, of panaceas guaranteed to cure all evils. Human freedom, a democratic government and the open society are the essential concepts for the full fruition of the milieu that is human society. No solution, if it is a true solution, can claim finality. More in the hope of providing a pointer than offering a solution, we put forth the following suggestion.

Any producer desirous of credit will have to convince the bank of his ability and knowledge of the business he intends to set up. This will be his only test and here the bank will interrogate him in a manner calculated to elicit his capabilities with regard to the particular business in which he wishes to embark. Once he has satisfactorily acquitted himself in this theoretic test, he can be issued the necessary loan. The loan need not be in cash. He could be asked to purchase the capital goods he requires and send the bills to the bank, or, to prevent fraud, the bank may purchase them for him.

There is a possibility that, say, one in every five producers will turn out to be a failure in his chosen business. This opens up the element of risk that the banks will have to undertake. For, in the case of a business running into loss, the bank will have to hold in auction of the ex-producer's plant and sell it. It will try naturally to get back the full amount of the loan but it is more than likely that it will find itself the loser.

We must consider here a further concept. In the insurance business, there is an element of risk. If the person who is insured for life happens to die a good many years before his policy can mature, the insurance companies stand to lose. But as such deaths are few, the relevant loss is far less than the profit. The basic principle of insurance is dependent on the fact that the average rate of death is just so much as to afford them a good profit. For they are careful to see, before they consider a case, that the prospective insurer is enjoying good health. In much the same way, that is, as our bank is careful to ascertain that the producer who has come forward for credit is a capable and trust-worthy man.

It is clear then how the banks will function. A further point may be stressed. The interest that the bank will charge could be made to cover the loss it has to sustain. This can

be done on the basis of actuarial statistics. Just as the average rate of death can be known through statistics, similarly can the average rate of failure be statistically ascertained.

Once such a method is adopted, it follows that monopoly will break once for all. There can be no monopoly then since the very foundation on which it sits perched will have been smashed. The market will become truly unhampered with the exit of the monopoly over money. The defect and indeed the main defect of the economic structure all along has been this monopoly over money, which makes it impossible for every bona fide producer to obtain credit on easy terms. Monopoly, if it is to go, must be hit at the very roots. Only then will the market be left open to full fledged competition and only there will production be accentuated. Freedom is incompatible with anything short of a free market.

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IN SEARCH OF A HOBBY

By R. N. NARASIMHA MURTHY

THE interviewer, one among the many I have stumbled upon in groping for a job, set right his spectacles that had defied all territorial obligations and glided down his ill-inclined proboscis. As his eyes leaped out of the Soda-glasses, he asked in a solemn, husky voice, "What is your hobby in life?" A whirlwind surrounded me and I felt dizzy. But in a very short time, regaining my composure and forcing a smile on my blood-forsaken face, I muttered inaudibly, "Oh, none." A second effort at articulation was not necessary—the expression oft betrays the man. A battery of questions, all in the routine of an interview, were fired at me, indiscriminately, unsympathetically.

Out in the scorching sunlight of the noon I wondered, "Why on earth haven't I yet initiated myself into the group of these hobby-minded time-killers?" But it was not too late. My life was yet green, though in a lamentable combination with the dark.

I had heard a great deal of nonsense over this spirit-thriller of a hobby. Those self-complacent, egotistical blighters moving about the City were making a lot of fuss over their enviable pastimes. Once I got out of my house in the evening, every half a minute I would run into one of them. If one was in chase of a butterfly, the other would gaze into the cloudless sky with all the fervour of a poet. Before you guessed what he was upto, he would click his camera—if there was any film at all within. It was none of my business to bother about. A third one would be there with a couple of crumpled drawing sheets, a much worn out rubber eraser and a pencil in its last stages of existence. There would be no gleam in his eyes, no beard on his plump

cheeks. But after all, wasn't art only his hobby? The next, the most interesting of them all, would be the schoolboy returning home listlessly. He would not stop exercising his legs until that box of matches he is kicking turns over to betray its make. Before I realised his hobby was to collect match labels, he would disappear from my sight. Black magic? No, there he would be, slowly emerging from the gutter with all the triumphant look of an archaeologist who has unearthed something that would create a sensation in the world!

An affected smile of admiration on my face and the fun would start. The chap would immediately come out with a harangue on his hobby and himself. A hobby! why, was it not the finest thing a man could afford during his spare time? It was a delightful occupation that carried one to the beautiful ravines of a self-created universe and sandwiched one between pleasant sensations! It was the only panacea to the fatigue of a routine life! Poor me! I was groveling in idleness and denying to myself a vast treasure of happiness that even Billy Graham could not have promised!

It was hightime I took to a hobby myself. But being a novice to this field of human activity my approach had to be cautious and well-planned. Selection was to be, surely, a tough task. Fickle-mindedness being everything I inherited, I had to fight against hopping from one hobby to the other with the regularity of a honey-sucking bee. Even at the outset I was confronted with doubts, fear and suspicion. A lad with fantastic day-dreams and unrealised ambitions, what else could I hope for but disillusionment? But no. I was

not to be daunted by prospective disillusionments. At any rate, not this time. Is it my fault if my dreams prefer to preserve their hallucinatory integrity and refuse to be dragged about in downright reality? Failure may be certain. But is that the reason I should give up my efforts? No, it is ridiculous and against the very faith I cherish in the teleological view of evolution. There is a pleasure in the striving itself. To strive is to achieve.

Now, I was determined to pursue an interesting hobby. But what was the hobby that could suit my mercurial temperament with its occasional lapses into fanciful sobriety? A blankness glared at me. But I was not to be disappointed easily. "I can think of it later." I said to myself "Let me first set aside some regular hours I could spare to this new addition into my scantily visited intellectual harem. You see, hobby is not something that occupies the whole of your time. It is only in your spare time you can pursue it.

Spare time! I was in a dilemma. Not that I had plenty of work to keep me occupied from dawn to dusk. The entire day was at my disposal for me to select a few hours. Mornings? No, they were too precious. They must be reserved for paper-glancing, post-waiting, pant-pressing, beard-scrapping, toileting and such other numerous occupations.

The chances of utilising the mornings being dismissed, I saw a ray of hope looming in the distance—you see I have realised that elimination is the only thing that can enlighten me on important issues. The reaction was natural and I breathed a sigh of relief. My next consideration, logically, must be the afternoon. But no. Siesta is the special privilege of the unemployed and why should I sacrifice it? I am rather devotedly particular in carrying out the ocular orders of my slumbering soul. So the afternoon must be dropped. Moreover, I might get employed any day!

The evening must, indeed, be the most suitable time. But is it in reality? I cannot for a moment forget my histrionic tastes—not talents—and the city would be buzzing pleasantly with plays, pictures and concerts. It is nothing short of a crime though perpetrated on myself, to sneak away from the evening attractions.

Now where was the spare time? I gave free rein to my imagination but all in vain. The best thing to do under the circumstances, I decided, was to postpone my venture for an indefinite length of time—I mean till I secured a job and got settled in life. Then, of course, I would have earned for myself, what I could proudly call, my spare time.

But these days, I really don't care. No vacancies have hardened me into a being supremely indifferent not only to the visitations but the very craving for pleasure. The smattering of psychology I have acquired convinces me that not to be hobby-minded is no abnormality of the mind. Is not hobby one of man's natural instincts?

EXCESSIVE TAXATION

Reasonable taxation is, of course, an essential of government; but when taxation is used as a social regulator, it becomes a menace to freedom. When its rate is so excessive that men work month after month with all that they earn going to government, it amounts almost to forced labour. It practically reduces them for protracted periods to something akin to involuntary servitude. It is an unwarranted assumption that a handful of men, centered in government, largely bureaucratic rather than elected, can spend the proceeds of toil and labour to greater advantage than he who creates the money. Excessive taxation can reduce free men to serfdom, can destroy initiative, absorb the capitalistic system, and level representative government to sovietism.

—Gen. MacArthur

IN A LIGHTER VEIN!

A Scotchman on a visit to a friend in London overstayed his welcome. It was getting towards Christmas and his host thought a kindly hint would have the desired result.

"Don't you think," he said, "that your wife and family will want you to be with them at Christmas?"

"Mon," replied the Scotchman, "I believe you're right. It's rare thoughtful o' you. I'll send for them."

A steward stood at the gangway of the liner and kept shouting for the benefit of the passengers:

"First class to the right. Second class to the left . . ."

A young woman stepped daintily abroad with a baby in her arms. As she hesitated before the steward he bent over her and said in his chivalrous way:

"First or second?"

"Oh," said the girl, her face as red as a beet root, "oh, dear, it's—it's not mine . . ."

Sergeant on the rifle range: " . . . And remember the new bullet will penetrate two feet of solid wood, so remember to keep your heads down!"

She was fat and over forty, but still kittenish. The young man she had cornered at the party was thinking hard for some excuse to escape.

At last he murmured: "Do you remember the youngster who used to tickle you under the chin at school?"

"Oh," she exclaimed gushingly, "so that's who you are!"

"No," said he blandly, "that was my father."

"I wish you'd overlook it this time, constable," pleaded the motorist who had been pulled up for speeding.

"As a matter of fact, I was dashing up to town to see my solicitor on very urgent business."

"That's all right, sir," was the soothing reply. "Now you'll have some more news for him."

Travelling on a bus route strange to her, the old lady was very anxious not to pass her destination. Suddenly she leaned forward and poked the conductor in the ribs with her umbrella.

"Is that the Bank of England, my good man?" she asked.

"No, ma'am," replied the conductor coldly, "it's me."

"Waitress, why do those girls keep putting their heads round the door to stare at me?"

"Oh, don't mind them, sir; they are girls from the Cookery school, and you're just eaten their first pudding."

A young private, walking through the park with his girl, met his sergeant.

"That is my sister," he explained bashfully.

"That's all right," the sergeant replied kindly. "She used to be my sister."

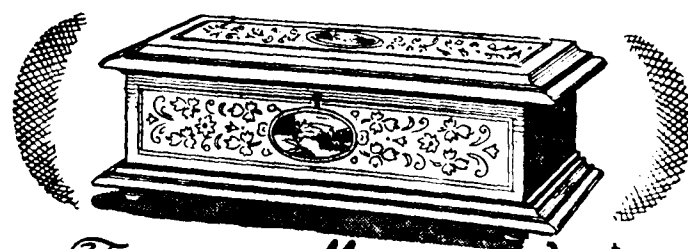
"I understand married men make the best commercial travellers."

"That's right. Probably because they're so used to taking orders."

Not for the first time the burly unshaven Sikes found himself in the dock.

"Aren't you ashamed of yourself," said the magistrate sternly, "to be in this court so often?"

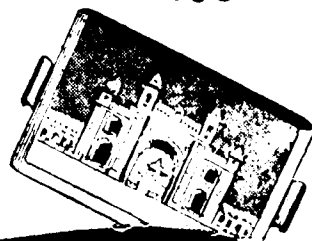
"Well, Sir," replied Sikes, with a genial leer, "what's good enough for you is good enough for me."



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THE RESURRECTION

CAN STALINIST TYRANNY BE RE-IMPOSED?

TOLSTOY'S *The Resurrection* is regarded as an outstanding work in a great period in Russian literature. The resurrection of Stalin will undoubtedly be regarded as an equally outstanding achievement in the present rich period in Russian politics.

The Soviet Communist party leader, Nikita Khrushchev, told guests at a New Year reception in the Kremlin that all the Soviet leaders were "Stalinists" when it came to "fighting the imperialists," according to diplomatic sources in Moscow. These sources said that Khrushchev was loudly applauded by the guests, numbering several hundred, when he praised Stalin as a "great fighter against imperialists" and a "great Marxist" in proposing a New Year's toast.

Diplomatic sources quoted Khrushchev as saying that "I grew up under Stalin" and that the present Soviet leaders must share responsibility for Stalin's mistakes because they had been associated with him. He went on: "Of course he had his shortcomings, but he fought against our class enemies. I am proud we worked together in this great cause."

There are two immediate causes for these remarks by Khrushchev. First the disastrous results which the de-Stalinisation line is having in the satellites. Secondly, Tito's recent disclosures of divisions of opinion inside the Kremlin between 'Stalinists' (thought to be led by Molotov, Malenkov and Suslov) and the Khrushchev-Bulganin faction.

After Khrushchev's toast, others were proposed by Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Bulganin. These toasts, together with Khrushchev's

emphasis on the present Soviet leaders' close association with Stalin and their willingness to accept their share of responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes" were regarded as an attempt to scotch allegations made by Tito and others that these leaders were divided into "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists." It was the first time that any Soviet leader had publicly admitted any responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes," which were so severely condemned by Khrushchev himself at the party congress in February; but the difference of emphasis in Khrushchev's position then and now was considered here to be strikingly significant.

Price of De-Stalinisation

Tito's 'disclosure' came at the height of the Hungarian revolt and was undoubtedly very much resented in the Kremlin, the more so the nearer to the truth it was. But his knowledge of the differences of opinion (to put it no higher) did not stem from anything to do with Hungary, but from the top-level talks he had with Khrushchev and others at Yalta in October, when it was made clear that not all the Russian leaders were keen on the new 'friends-with-Tito' line.

It all, of course, comes from the renunciation of Stalin's policies, as does the present revolutionary upsurge in the satellites. But for de-Stalinisation to become acceptable to the stubborn Stalinists in the Kremlin (or King Street for that matter) it had to pay off. For them, no more than for Khrushchev himself, it was not a matter of the principles of liberty, but of undoing Stalin's errors without undoing Stalin's empire.

But that empire has begun to undo itself. Against the economic and propaganda advantages of de-Stalinisation must be balanced the fear of those who have held the reins through the years that once you start allowing people more liberty you don't know where it might end up. The governors' fear of the people, in fact.

That fear has been amply justified. It is small wonder, as Khrushchev looks upon the havoc that his policy has unleashed, that he is preferring more and more to look instead upon the wine while it is red.

Khrushchev or Malenkov?

Will Khrushchev survive? It is difficult to tell, except that liquidations of top Bolsheviks seem to have fallen out of favour recently. (And the usefulness of Gomulka in Poland has shown the Kremlin the advantages of keeping your opponents alive—just in case). All we know is that Mr. K. is beginning to show up less at official gatherings, and Malenkov is beginning to re-emerge from the shadows.

At two receptions recently, Khrushchev's once inseparable buddy, Bulganin, showed up alone. At the arrival of a delegation from East Germany and at a reception at the Sudanese embassy, functions at which only a short time ago Mr. K. would have been sure to be present, he was conspicuous by his absence. He did, however, go to Budapest for talks with Hungarian, Czech, Bulgarian and Rumanian leaders—but so did Malenkov. And this is the first time he has shown up at this kind of meeting for a long, long time.

Following that meeting, Kadar's government, which had shown signs of making concessions to the revolution, has now tightened up again, saying categorically that there will be no free elections and that there is only one party—the Socialist Workers (Communist) Party.

"All those who plead for the resurrection of the Social Democratic Party are hostile elements, because they are trying to divide the working class."

Will the People Take It?

If the meeting at Budapest is going to mean a toughening of Kremlin control over the satellites (thought to include formation of a new Cominform with Poland or Yugoslavia and intending to restrain their influence) it will probably bring with it a tougher attitude towards opposition inside Russia too.

The Kremlin is clearly worried over the students' demonstrations, but it is not going to be easy to start rolling things back to the iron-fisted character of Stalin's regime. First move in that direction, however, must be another re-appraisal (how agonising this one will be!) on Stalin. Maybe the old dictator was right after all?

The frightened men in the Kremlin have realised that you can't have dictatorship by half-measures. They can dare to return to tyranny in full measure only by invoking the ghost of he who had the stature to impose it before. They must resurrect Stalin and seat him again at the right hand of the great god Marx.

There is, however, one different element present today. The people of the satellites and of Russia have smelt a little more freedom, they like it and they want more. They won't take kindly to the yoke again.

—Freedom

UNFORTUNATE COINCIDENCE

By the time you swear you're his,

Shivering and sighing,

And he vows his passion is

Infinite, undying—

Lady, make a note of this:

One of you is lying.

DOROTHY PARKER (Viking Portable Library).

SEX-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

By SUBHASH J. RELE

A LARGE part of the worship of the relatively primitive and even advanced societies has been claimed for a cult which appears to us in this atom-cum-jet age to be strange and idiosyncratic. It may be defined as the worship of the generative organs as symbols of the creative powers of nature.

The sexual organs as the great instruments of production were reckoned by our ancestors as the enemies of fertility and death and as such they were exhibited and employed to counteract the depredations of mortality. For the same reason they were regarded as having prophylactic virtue against evil influences. All sorts of figures, whether engraved or plastic, have been pressed into the service as more or less disguised sexual symbols. The exaggerated sexual organs are intended for cultural purposes, the powers of reproduction, fertility and all other things necessary for prosperity.

Two Causes

"Two causes," says a Chronicler, "must have forcibly struck the minds of men in early periods when observant of the operations of nature—one, the generative power and the other, the productive,—the active and passive causes. This double made of production visible in nature, must have given rise to comparisons with the mode of proceeding in the generation of animals, in which two causes concur, the one active and the other passive,—the one male and the other female, the one father, the other as mother."

"The early man looked upon the earth as the mould of nature, as the recipient of seeds, the nurse of what was produced in its bosom; the sky

was the fecundity and fertilising power. An analogy however was suggested in the union of the male and the female."

Of the extensive prevalence of phallic or sex worship we have ample evidence. It occurs in Egypt with the deity Khem, in Assyria with Vul, in Greece with Pan, in India with Siva. Miraculously enough, it has been found in different parts of the American continent in Mexico, Peru and Hayti. Forlong in his *Rivers of Life* endeavours again and again to show that sex-worship is far more ancient than any other religion known.

It must be remarked in fairness that in no other country on the face of the earth has phallic or sex worship prevailed so extensively and for so long a period, as in India. Its origin however is buried in antiquity. Various theories are set up and explanations offered which are extremely amusing. The early simplicity of Hindu worship, with its comparatively few ceremonies in the course of time changed and their God was represented in a somewhat grossly physical form by a rough pillar of stone called by them the Lingam, which was nothing else than Phallus. Nevertheless, this was their representation of the pro-creative or regenerative power in nature. The early Hindus supposed that all the beneficial operations of nature were owing to its influence—the birth of men and animals, the growth and ripening of the seeds and crops. There is no denying the fact that the extraordinary hold of phallism upon the Hindu mind and the universal prevalence of the objects of worship are certainly unequalled in the case of any religion known.

Sexual Emblems

The representation of the detached organs of both sexes often called the Lingam (the male sex) and Yoni (the female sex) was widely distributed in ancient India. The Lingam is still the common cultual object. It is the emblem of the Great God Siva and is usually represented united with the Yoni, as "a smooth round black stone, apparently rising out of another stone, formed like an elongated saucer, though in reality sculptured from one block of basalt." Candidly enough, such a representation of the Lingam and Yoni is a mere conventional symbol, no more than remotely recalling the creative attributes of God. It is not of itself suggestive of sexual ideas. Miniature copies of this emblem are worn by devotees in their hair or round the arm or neck. The followers of Vishnu paint on their foreheads the *namam* or emblem of the God consisting of three lines, a perpendicular line in the centre and an oblique covering line on either side. The *namam* is the sign of the female sex.

The worship of Siva under the type of Lingam is almost the only form in which that deity was revered. It is generally regarded as the most ancient object of homage adopted in India. Benares appears to have been the principal locality in which this form of worship prevailed extensively. There were about forty-seven Lingas of pre-eminent sanctity. Nearly all the chief objects of pilgrimage in this place were similar blocks of stone and it has been remarked as a singular fact that "upon this adoration of the procreative and sexual Sacti seen through nature hinges the whole gist of Hindu faith and notwithstanding all that has been said by half-informed persons to the contrary, this *puja* does not appear to be prejudicial to the morals of the people."

The Lingam as the symbol of the regenerative power or as the representation of the union of the sexes typifies the divine 'sacti' or active

energy in union. It is made of numerous other materials besides stones—metals, wood, clay, etc., and is of all manner of sizes from a few inches to many feet. They are sometimes of enormous extent, in the caves of Elephanta, for instance, making unequivocally that the symbol in question is at any rate as ancient as that temple, as they are of the same rock as the temple itself. The size of the phallus in many cases has no special intention beyond that of expressing the sex represented.

The Worship Of Linga

Linga is sometimes of diminutive size for domestic adoration as for some personal use, some individuals always carrying one about with them; and in some Brahmin families one is daily constructed in clay, placed after due sanctification by appropriate ceremonies and prayers, in the domestic shrine or under a tree or shrub sacred to Siva and honoured by the adoration of the females of the household. In many village temples in India Lingas found are generally two or three feet in height and rising conically from a broadened base. In the early mornings the girls who are desirous of obtaining lovers and husbands flock to these temples for acts of adoration—for the ceremony called 'Lingapuja', in which they first sprinkle the god with water from the Ganges, the linga is then decorated with garlands of the tulva flowers followed by gesticulation with the fingers and the recitation of the prescribed form of incantation, after which they rub themselves against the emblem and pray the deity to make them fruitful in child-bearing. As sterility in India is reckoned as the greatest possible misfortune, barren women constantly resort to 'Lingapuja' to supplicate for children.

The Lingionijas adore Krishna and Radha united in coitus. The Radha-ballubhis dedicate their offerings to Radha only. They worshipped a naked girl, presenting her the offerings intended for the goddess; in other

words, the girl acts the part of Radha, in the same manner that some young girl may have been selected to take the part of the Virgin Mary, in the religious plays or mysteries of the Middle Ages. When these people are travelling or on a voyage and a female is not obtained for this purpose, their oblations are made to the Yoni. Hence, they are called Yonijas, as being worshippers of the female sex or Sact,—in contradistinction to the Lingayetts, adorers of male sex. This sex-worship of the female organ is peculiar to the Sactas. This appears to have originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the Vedhas, in which will to create this universe of ours is represented as originating from the Creator and co-existing with him as his Sacti.

The most ancient oracle and place of worship is in a cave at Delphos; an obsolete Greek word, synonymous with Yoni, in Sanskrit, it being the opinion of devout Hindus that caves are the symbols of the sacred Yoni. This opinion prevailed also in the West for perforations in stones and clefts were discovered by the first Christians. Worship of perforated stones is found similarly spread through the superstitious ages of all nations. The Hindus retain it with undiminished bigotry. The passing of the diseased through clefts in the rocks in various places has been curiously improved upon by the early priests of India. Mr. J. H. Rivett Carnac of the Bengal Civil Service while communicating his views representing the cup and ring-markings in the rocks discovered in India, expressed himself rather strongly to the effect that the concentric circles and certain curious markings are traces of phallic or sex-worship carried there by tribes whose hosts descended into India pushed forward into the remotest corners of Europe and as their traces now seem to suggest, found their way on to the American Continent also.

The Malignant Ghost

Phallic ceremonies are numerous. (It is however impossible to narrate them here). The population of Marwar in Rajputana fear a malignant ghost called Nathuram. This Nathuram is said to have been a scamp from some part of the North-Western Provinces who settled in Marwar and seduced many Marwari women until he was detected and put to death. Then he became a ghost and began to torment wives and children and now his spirit can be appeased by Marwari women only by obscene songs and gestures. No household can be without an image of Nathuram, which is vaguely described as "nude and of monstrous and disgusting appearance." On the night when the bride first visits her husband an image of Nathuram is placed beside her couch. Barren women and those whose children do not live, look to Nathuram for deliverance from their troubles. He is in short as Crooke observes "a phallic fetish." Nor is he by any means the only one in India. Among others in Dharwar, women of the Ambig caste carry about an image called Jakamas, "where private parts are three times as large as the rest of the body" and sing his praise in front of each home, getting in return small presents.

Phallic or sex worship has prevailed from time immemorial and still prevails to a very large extent in certain parts of the world. Say what we will, think what we may of sex-worship in ancient India, however repulsive to our modern and cultivated tastes it may appear, it was not only one of the most popular forms of worship but was the most natural way of expressing the idea of creation and reproduction. Besides, it was regarded by our ancients as the most oldest form of natural religion known. As such there is not the slightest suspicion of obscenity in it and any one qualifying this worship of the sexual organs as obscene does so hastily.

Calcutta Letter

MORE than in any other part of the country the partition in 1947 and its aftermath served as a grim backdrop to the general elections in Bengal. Since the advent of freedom, Calcutta has been facing the full impact of the endemic refugee problem. People are pouring into the City from East Pakistan in search of peace and work. Millions of uprooted refugees have upset the State's economy. While partition of Bengal has adversely affected the interests of trade and commerce, Calcutta has still a huge refugee problem, and one finds intense political activity among these victims of the partition who have settled in large numbers in and around Sealdah. The communal organisations, Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh, have been roundly condemning the Congress for the creation of Pakistan and the ills of Bengal, following its vivisection.

As in many other parts of the country the Congress is weak, corrupt and divided. Though the eighty-year-old strong man of Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, is personally above corruption, some of his colleagues have not been assets to the party. The Government Secretariat is alleged to be a hot bed of corruption and inefficiency which the ministers have not been able to weed out.

The fading economic prosperity of Calcutta is also sought to be made a theme for propaganda. Capital is steadily migrating from this City to other centres of investment. The Government's programme of reducing in ports has compelled several foreign firms to wind up their business and send their agencies to Indian nationalists. The economic policy of the ruling party had produced unemployment and wide-spread discontent among the middle class bread win-

ners, Government servants and the working classes driving them into the arms of Leftist trade unions. The atmosphere of indiscipline and violence in the air has chilled the investors who are seeking fresh fields and pastures new for their operations. The Opposition puts the blame on the Congress for causing this industrial anemia and static inertia in investment.

The Opposition groups put up a keen show to meet the challenge of the Congress. Their leaders have focussed attention on local grievances and whipped up the public's antipathy to the Congress Socialism of rising prices, all round austerity and unemployment. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh have kept alive in public memory the mysterious death of detention of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Pandit Nehru's refusal to order an inquiry into the incident. The Forward Block is carrying on a raging and tearing campaign putting into effective propaganda the legendary fame of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Meanwhile quite a storm has been raised in Calcutta by the startling revelations made by the P. S. P. leader, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, of the events that led to the dramatic collapse of his cabinet in 1948. Last month he summoned a press conference at which he distributed photostat copies of a letter written to him by Mahatma Gandhi conveying Sardar Patel's wish that a Marwari businessman should be included in the West Bengal cabinet. In his statement to the press, Dr. Ghosh observed that his refusal to toe the Sardar's line provoked the anger of the Marwaris who plotted to elect Dr. Roy as the leader in order to cause his fall from power. This incident reveals the part played by Big Business in Congress affairs.

KASHYAP

MISTRESS OF CHARLES DICKENS

By C. G. L. DU CANN

OF Ellen Ternan, the mistress of Charles Dickens, that 'little fair-haired, blue-eyed actress', far too little is known. Her importance as an influence upon Dickens's later books and as the true cause of his separation from Catherine, his wife for twenty-two years and the mother of his nine surviving children, is now beyond debate. For sixty years after his death the family and friends attempted, with great success, to keep the truth hidden.

Foster, the official biographer, utterly ignored Ellen's very existence. But of course the novelist's last will and testament, which placed Miss Ellen Lawless Ternan first and left her £1,000, could not be suppressed. The circle of Dickens's friends kept loyal silence.

"A Wicked Man"

The first disclosure came in April 1934, when Thomas Wright of Olney published an article in the *Daily Express*, followed by a 'life' of Dickens which substantially told the truth about the Dickens-Ternan liaison. A storm of denial and protest ensued at once; the personal integrity of Wright was even assailed. But when Kate Perugini, the still-surviving, much-respected, and younger daughter of Charles Dickens, corroborated much of Wright to her friend and confidant, Gladys Storey, admitting the liaison and saying 'My father was a wicked man—a very wicked man', the still-current idolatry of Dickens as a graven image of impeccable virtue collapsed. But Dickens remained not less great—and even essentially good—because he shared the imperfections of ordinary humanity, or because he sinned and suffered, or because his public triumphs

contained within them his deep personal tragedy.

The *expose* continues. In 1952 Ada Nisbet published a small monograph, *Dickens and Ellen Ternan*, in the USA. In the shape of unpublished letters, some of which had passages blacked out by Dickens's sister-in-law, Georgina Hogarth—which, exposed to infra-red photograph, yielded up their secrets—Miss Nisbet brought forward Dickens as a witness against himself. Henceforward the once-orthodox view of Dickens as the aureoled saint became untenable.

Ellen Lawless Ternan was one of the three daughters of an actor-manager, Thomas Lawless Ternan, who died in a lunatic asylum and who was married to a successful actress, Frances Eleanor Jarman. These daughters, Frances Eleanor, Ellen Lawless, and Maria, went on the stage in childhood.

A Theatre Actress

Ellen, born in 1839, was eighteen (the same age as his young daughter Kate) when she met Dickens. He was forty-five and older than his years. The story goes—it cannot be traced beyond Wright—that Ellen was weeping in the wings of a theatre, probably the Haymarket, when Dickens came across her. Moved by her beauty and distress, he inquired the cause, and at last she confessed that she was upset by the immodesty of the costume she had to wear in the piece. The piece was probably *Atlantia*. Dickens comforted the distressed damsel—and promptly became infatuated with her.

It is Kate Perugini who tells us she was little, fair, and blue-eyed. As an actress she was not outstanding, being inferior to her mother and sister

Maria. Between 1855 and 1859 she is billed in various plays. A critic in 1857 describes her as 'a debutante with a pretty face and well-developed figure who, when she has gained more confidence, will become an acquisition'. She became an acquisition—to Dickens.

In his typically generous fashion, Dickens took on his shoulders the whole family. He urged theatrical friends to give parts to all the Ternans. He warmly eulogized Maria's acting. The other sister he introduced to Anthony Trollope's brother (in Italy), who married her, and Dickens also started her on a successful novel-writing career.

And when Dickens produced in Manchester a melodrama, *The Frozen Deep*, by his friend Wilkie Collins, he engaged the Ternans professionally to play with himself and his amateur friends. The piece had already been given privately before Queen Victoria and the Royal Family. But for the public Dickens said he needed the 'best' professionals.

Ellen played the minor part of Lucy Crayford. In this role she had a significant thing to say:

Lucy: '... I shall always remain a single woman because the man I love with all my heart is—'

Clara: 'Dead?'

Lucy: 'Dead to me! Married ...'

This tragic piece—a great success—was followed by a farce called *Uncle John*, in which the character played by Dickens gives Ellen 'wonderful presents'. Perhaps it was this which caused Dickens during the piece to send a valuable bracelet to Ellen which the jeweller by mistake delivered to Mrs. Dickens, whose anger and jealousy were aroused.

The piece was a great success and, according to its author, Dickens 'surpassed himself and electrified the audience'. But from that night, he told Collins, he knew 'neither peace nor content'. His domestic unhappiness made him unable to rest

or write; never, he said, was any man 'so seized and rended by one spirit'.

His situation, indeed, was grim. Deeply in love with his 'Nellie', he was married and the father of nine living children—moreover, a husband and father who stood in the eyes of all Britain and America as a paragon of all the virtues, especially domestic virtue, and whose fame and fortune rested on that status. Those were Victorian days, when adultery in any public man shocked public sentiment.

Attempts To Separate

Divorce was out of question. But vehemently Dickens demanded a separation by private consent. He alleged 'incompatibility'—after twenty years! There was something in this allegation, but it was terribly belated. Despite the initial opposition of his wife and most of her family, the arrangement was made in 1858 and Catherine's sister, Georgina Hogarth, took her place as the chataleine of the Dickens's household at Gad's Hill.

In spite of secrecy, something of the horrid separation leaked out, and Dickens was involved in painful recriminations, publicly and privately. To protect Ellen, he gave his Readings manager a statement by himself, containing the following passage:

Two wicked persons ... have coupled with this separation the name of a young lady for whom I have great attachment and regard. Upon my soul and honour there is not on this earth a more virtuous and spotless creature ... I know her to be innocent and pure and as good as my own dear daughters.

The 'wicked persons' were his wife's mother and her other sister Helen. This statement, known as 'The Violated Letter', intended for private friends, was publicized and was printed in full in the American *New York Tribune* in August 1858.

We know nothing of Ellen Ternan's personal reaction to all this, but she may well have been infinitely distressed. Everything known of her

suggests she had Puritanical leanings, and she is believed to have resisted her lover's overtures in the beginning. Kate Perugini later revealed that her father was 'like a madman' over the separation and 'didn't care a damn what happened to us'. Kate, filled with remorse in later life for 'not having taken my mother's part', said that her mother was afraid of her father and never dared utter an opinion.

She tells a story of finding her mother in tears in her bedroom. On Kate asking the cause, her mother sobbed out: 'Your father wants me to call on Ellen Ternan'. Stamping her foot, Kate declared: 'You shall not go.' But her mother, weak and complying, did go.

Efforts To Suppress The Story

After the separation, the resistance of 'Nelly' to Dickens's advances collapsed. He took for her a house, 2 Houghton Place, Amptill Square, in Camden Town, and visited her there frequently. There they would sing duets and play cards when Berger, the composer, visited them. 'The house has been destroyed by bombing.' Later Dickens, under the name of 'Charles Tringham', took another house for her at Peckham. Meantime, the respectable establishment at Gad's Hill, with 'Aunt Georgy' and the children, was being kept up also.

The liaison is said to have lasted twelve years, until Dickens's death.

Very little is known of it. 'More tragic and more far-reaching in its effects was the association of Charles Dickens and Ellen Ternan and their resultant son (who died in infancy) than that of Nelson and Lady Hamilton' asserted Kate Perugini. Nothing is known of this child. But it must be stressed that Mrs. Perugini was a loving and proud daughter, and a woman of integrity, conscience-stricken by the injustice to her mother and the suppression of the truth.

Carl Beckhofer Roberts, whom I knew well, wrote a biographical novel of Dickens, *This Side Idolatry*, in the

preface of which he attacked Sir Henry F. Dickens, a surviving son and an Old Bailey judge, for persistent efforts to suppress the story. Roberts reminded the public that every year a person claiming to be one of the illegitimate children of Dickens left flowers on the Abbey tomb. Unfortunately, this clue was never followed up.

When Dickens, returning from France, was involved in the terrible Staplehurst railway disaster (in which, incidentally, he behaved with great courage in rescuing others) Ellen was with him. She lost some jewellery, and Dickens wrote to the railway company mentioning only 'a lady' with him. A few days after, he wrote a note to his servant, John Thompson, telling him to take 'Miss Ellen' various delicacies as a routine. There are a number of letters extant from Dickens—notably the 'policeman' letter—showing his zeal for the protection of this young girl and her reputation.

Rather strangely, 'Aunt Georgy', the supplanter of her sister, often invited 'Nellie' to Gad's Hill—once to watch cricket played. 'I'm afraid that she didn't play the game', jested Kate Perugini, adding that her aunt 'was not quite straight'.

When Dickens was dying, 'Nellie'—but not the cast-off wife—was sent for. Neither wife nor mistress was at the Abbey funeral. Six years after the death, Miss Ternan married an Anglican clergyman and headmaster of a Margate School, the Rev. George W. Robinson. She confessed to Canon Benham, the local vicar to whom she gave the pen with which Dickens wrote the unfinished *Edwin Drood* (I possess the authenticated pen Dickens used at his newspaper office), that she 'loathed the very thought of her intimacy with Dickens'.

She died at the age of seventy-five, in 1914, in silence and obscurity, and leaving no word of this liaison but that one pregnant sentence.

Her importance as an influence

upon Dickens's writing was great. She was 'Helena Landless' (Ellen Lawless) in *Drood*, Estella Provis in *Great Expectations*, Bella Wilfer in *Our Mutual Friend*. Experience of her taught Dickens to make his heroines true to reality instead of impossible sticks of virtue. We can reconstruct something of Ellen from Dickens's portraits: a difficult, unyielding, proud, wilful, passionate young girl—and obsessed, alas! by mercenary considerations.

What a pity we do not know more of her and her story!! Perhaps when the promised great new edition of Dickens's letters is published in America, superseding the present Non-such edition, we may learn a little more.

HAVE WE A FOREIGN POLICY?

By P. Y. DESHPANDE

THE muddle over Kashmir has rudely shaken the country. We were lulled into the belief that everything was alright with our foreign policy. And suddenly we were confronted with the resolution of the Security Council which brought us the bitter awareness that something was radically wrong. We are not now able to say with precision what exactly went so radically wrong. It has now become the patriotic duty of all Indians to investigate and find out precisely the whole truth about our foreign policy.

Policy means "political sagacity, statecraft, course of action adopted by government or a party". Policy essentially means a clear 'course of action'. What has been our course of action in the field of foreign affairs? Pandit Nehru, the sole architect of our foreign policy, has declared times without number that his foreign policy is based on three things: 1. Non-alignment with any of the two major power blocs; 2. Dynamic neutrality; and 3. World Peace.

New facts (hitherto unrecorded in the books upon Dickens) that I have been able to discover personally are that the Ternans belonged to Rochester, where Ellen was born, so that she may have been his god-child, or at any rate known to him from infancy. Ellen died of cancer, as did Mrs. Dickens in Fulham. She seems to have reduced her age by ten years to marry her much junior clergyman, a deacon who never took priest's orders and gave up his clerical career at her wish. By him she had legitimate children.

More research upon her life and association with Dickens is badly needed.—*The Humanist*.

"Paralysis Of All Action"

If policy means a clear 'course of action' it is pertinent to ask, "what is the action potential involved in these basic tenets of Nehru's foreign policy." A little thinking will reveal that no 'course of action' is involved in any of these three tenets. They are all negative things. 'Non-alignment' with any of the two power-blocs into which the whole world is divided and polarised necessarily means no positive action to be taken lest we should be involved. Again, the world-wide polarisation brought about by the two power-blocs leaves no room for any action which can by-pass the power-blocs. Secondly, the "dynamic" associated with it. Anything we do, any action we take, is bound to affect the world-wide polarisation brought about by the power-blocs, one way or the other. And the moment this happens we shout that we did not mean that. We thus negate any action we may take on the plea of maintaining 'dynamic' neutrality and 'non-alignment'. And lastly, world

peace. World peace is essentially a matter that affects the whole world, not excluding India. If peace is disturbed in any part of the world the collective wisdom of the rest of the world must at once go into action to stop and sterilise that disturbance. This means positive action on the lines of building up 'collective security.' But Nehru's concept of peace is devoid of any action for building up collective security for fear of becoming disloyal to his own assumptions regarding non-alignment and neutrality.

Consequently all the three basic tenets of Nehru's foreign policy rule out any positive 'course of action' in any direction. And a positive 'course of action' is the very soul of a 'policy in the political field'. Our foreign policy, therefore, means a total paralysis of all action in any direction. It means total atrophy in the political field.

Shallow And Muddle

But what about the big noise we make in the field of international politics? Yes, we do make a very big noise. But noise is an illusive affair. It gives the impression that there must be something really big behind a big noise. But as we have just seen, there is nothing, not even a

possibility of there being anything in the form of positive action underlying the three tenets of Nehru's foreign policy. As regards the noise, even shallow waters make much noise. Mere noise, is therefore no sure sign of any depth. On the other hand, the very bigness of our noise in foreign affairs, based on the three basic tenets of our foreign policy, is an unmistakable evidence of the fact that we live in shallow waters and lull ourselves into the belief that the big noise we make represents solid depth. The supreme muddle over Kashmir should enable us to shake off the hypnotic spell of this false belief.

The tragic truth about our foreign policy is that we have, in fact, no foreign policy worth the name, no policy which involves a positive 'course of action'. We dwell in the magnificent mansion of a grand negation. And when the reality gives us a rude shock as the Kashmir muddle has done, we get bewildered and baffled beyond words. We begin to shout with redoubled force of injured innocence and begin to make bigger noise. As though noise alone will enable us to ward off the disaster we find ourselves confronted with.

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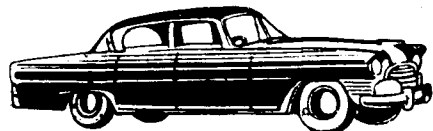
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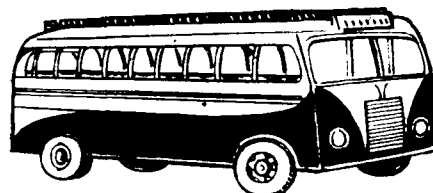
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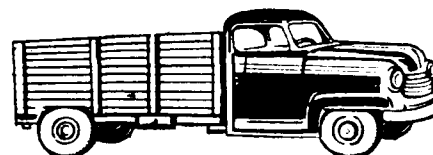
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CAN WE AFFORD EQUALITY?

By H. J. BLACKHAM

THE eighteenth-century philosophers, whose line of thinking modern Socialists prolong, insisted that social institutions were justified by utility, not by divine authority, and that society existed for mutual advantage, the equal advantage of all.

The question, can we afford equality, is relevant because poor countries definitely cannot. Although India proclaimed in her new constitution "democracy, justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity," the cost of maintaining a school child is estimated at the *per capita* income of three persons. Until the abundance of which Marx dreamed is available, there will always be physical limits to equality.

Equality of opportunity does not simply mean that everybody has the opportunity of a school education followed by university or technical training; it also means that the great majority of the nation's children, who have not the ability and aptitudes to take advantage of this opportunity, shall enjoy an education of equal social status suited to their needs. To make this promise good does not necessarily mean that the cost of a complete academic education must be spent on the child who is unable to profit by one for there is a law of diminishing returns in education as in other things; but it does mean that each type of education shall be as complete and as good as it can be made; and this does mean spending a great deal more money on the secondary modern type of education for the great majority. Actually, more is being spent on the defective and deficient child than on the child of average abilities.

There is the disparity in conditions of employment between wage-earners and the salaried grades. The salaried

worker does not normally have to face disruption or disasters nor to carry anxieties; his conditions of employment for the workers nearer this standard would require legislation, and would cost industry and the Exchequer at the least a very large sum. Industry, however, might well be saved a part of the great cost of the present larger labour turn-over.

Alternative To Collective Bargaining

What about wages and salaries? No alternative to collective bargaining has yet been proposed which has gained the confidence of the country, and none is worth serious discussion in this connection. There is a floor and a ceiling, and these can be moved by national policy, but not without cost to the Exchequer.

The items mentioned add up to a formidable total which represents only the cost in money. In some cases, money will not be able to buy the needed (imported) materials; even more certain and more serious, money cannot always secure the requisite trained personnel. In other words, these claims on the national resources are in competition.

Where is the money to come from?

(1) There may be a case for the re-allocation of existing revenue. The eyes of all other Departments must be wistfully fixed on the soaring figure for Defence; nobody knows what this money is in fact buying, but everybody knows that he does not feel safe. However, the most that can be hoped at present is that the figure for defence will be stabilised, as a condition of having any social policy. (2) Increased production, we are constantly told, is the right and proper way to get the benefits of increased social provisions for those who want them. One of the difficulties is that

the greater incentive to increased productivity of labour is a generously conceived policy of social equality; and this is the policy which important elements in the economy find a disincentive. This difference of opinion (and interest) can be a severe strain which, far from raising production, occasions great losses. (3) Taxation is the only other way of finding the money. The present progressive taxation of incomes is about the present limit. It is privately owned capital on which the eyes of Socialist politicians are fixed. The aggregate of private property is some two-and-a-half times the aggregate of incomes, and this ratio is increasing. Money makes money: large inheritances and capital gains leave about a quarter of private wealth in the hands of an extremely small minority. All this is difficult to tax, and it will require really radical fiscal and political policies if present trends towards greater inequality are to be arrested and reversed, and some of the money, found for the social investment which produces real wealth—in Ruskin's sense.

Legitimate Claims To Equality

There are many complications. Of schools, health, poverty, conditions of employment, which should have priority? In any case, the first priority

is exports and the basic needs of our economy. Also, if equality is really accepted as a principle, it is world-wide in application. There is no case for equality merely at home. Nor are claims going to be satisfied at home or abroad merely by a productive economy, overflowing with wealth as in the U. S., without a deliberate policy aimed at a rational allocation of resources, that is to say, aimed at the satisfaction of claims and dues of the kind listed above, subject to necessary priorities.

The statement is sometimes made that the policies of the Left are advocated for the sake of social equality. Is there a "social equality" over and above legal, political and moral equality and equal security and opportunity? If by "social equality" is meant social and political intimidation, the reduction of all to uniformity in opinions, habits, tastes, and style of life, by the overwhelming pressure of mass discrimination against non-conformity, this is one of the great evils, rooted in one of the basic tendencies of our own nature and encouraged by popular government. Legitimate claims to equality should be sharply distinguished from this tendency; and that is the most urgent need in thinking on this subject today.

—The Monthly Record

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THE DE LUXE SERVICE

By S. NARAYAN

THE de Luxe Air-conditioned and Third Class Service at Madras Central and I suppose they feel a feat. We have been for some months now publicity officers and her up in the Railway tion and now at last the in commission, and the p has been attended by the nfare of publicity with the de Press correspondents and uished invitees.

sonally, the only feature of the e transaction on which I could gratulate the Railway Administration is their expressed determination to see that no tickets in excess of the scheduled accommodation are issued in respect of travel by this particular train. It is well known that the standard of service rendered by the Indian Railways to the passengers is of a very low order. When we go abroad, we see the Railways rendering many varied services to their passengers and it is natural that our Railway Administration and their officers should be anxious to emulate the example of foreign Railways and introduce a wider variety of services and facilities for all classes of passengers in India.

Administrations and Officers would however do well to remember that first things must come first, that proper seating accommodation is the indubitable right of every passenger who contracts to travel short or long distances by the Railway and until they have discharged their duty to the passenger (particularly to the third class passenger) and made overcrowding in Railways a thing of the past, their attention to other

matters which are admittedly in the luxury class is only a propagandist diversion of public attention from the main issue and they have no justification for offering special services and special conveniences to particular classes of passengers. The stock excuse that they are short of rolling stock will not wash as practically everybody who is conversant with the working of our Railways knows that the existing capacity is being used only to the extent of percentage and that a fairly low one of its maximum capacity for usefulness and to the extent that the excuse is valid the replenishment of rolling stock for that purpose must be the first charge on the Railway budget.

The one preoccupation of all Railway Administrations and all their officers in India should be how to do away with the overcrowding at the earliest possible moment and see that everybody buying a ticket can get a seat in the appropriate class of the railway carriage and can travel in the standard of comfort provided for by the seating schedule. After a position of normalcy is attained in respect of that essential requirement, it will be time for the Administration and the officers to devote time and attention to other improvements and provision of better and improved special services and other amenities.

There is another angle from which the matter should be looked at. The provision of a special type of service like this De Luxe Air Conditioned Third Class is not only not an unmixed blessing but a curse to the travelling community. It has been recognised on all hands including top-ranking members of the Railway Administration and responsible mem-

bers of Government that corruption among the rank and file of Railway servants ranks as an ineradicable evil. The provision of a special type of service like this which looks as an advertisement to the Railway administration and which may not pay its way will create a considerable ahead of supply and will be a very fruitful source of corruption and will further demoralise the booking office staff at Madras and New Delhi and the staff in charge of providing accommodation in these special trains. The extent of the demoralisation and the provision of opportunities for corruption are precisely proportional to the width of the gap between the extent of the provision and the size of the demand. It even provides room for unfriendly critics to assert that one of the objects of the introduction of these facilities and that in such short supply as compared to anticipated demand is the provision of additional opportunities for corruption among the lesser fry to enable them to make both ends meet in these hard days, which their exiguous salaries and allowances may not always enable them to.

Another consideration that inevitably present itself to any thinking person who looks at this from outside the Government and Railway angle is that this is a special service which is likely to be much more useful to the Government servants than to any other section of the community. When the Englishman was ruling India and was telling us that he was sweating out his life in this infernally hot country in the interests of the masses of this huge sub-continent, we thought and said that in the process of safeguarding the interests of the masses the British Civilian was fashioning in India a heaven for the British Civilian to live and work in. Similarly, the politicians and the Government servants who between them rule India today and say that they are taking us towards the goal of a Socialistic Pattern of

Society with equal opportunities for everybody are also in the process of converting India into a heaven for politicians and Government servants. This De Luxe service which cannot be made to pay its way will be availed of very largely by the large class of Government servants and their dependents while millions of other Railway passengers will still be looking in vain for sitting accommodation on journey for which they have paid full fares. This will be one further step in the process of the Government of India (in this case the Railway administration) creating a special heaven in India for the Rulers of the Land who go by the name of Government servants.

A look at the rates of charges introduced for this special class of Service induces one further reflection. Our Socialism-bent Railway administrators started by viewing with horror the division of the Railway travelling public into three classes and immediately they came into power cut the classes down from three to two, wasting a considerable amount of Railway property in the process. While they came against the hard realities of economics and the complexities of Indian Life, they never ceased to pay lip-service to their ideals even though they might be violating them in practice. The fare for this De Luxe third is twice the normal third class fare. The net result of the introduction of this special service is to raise the number of classes of passengers in the Indian Railways to five viz., De Luxe First, First, Second De Luxe third, and Third classes. In view of the fact that it is understood there are also Five Classes of passenger Service in the Railway system of the Soviet Union, this also may be legitimately claimed, I suppose, as a step in the right direction of progress towards the Socialist Pattern of the Soviet variety to which the Congress Party is taking India.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THE Soviet Unit which came to India in the last week of October for the shooting of the first Indo-Soviet co-production *Pardesi* is returning home this week after completing the work. On Thursday four members of the unit, Director Pronin Cinematographer Andrekanis, Star Oleg Streezenov and Production Executive Kharmalov, met the journalists at a party. They said that the task before them was quite difficult but they felt that they had succeeded in it. All of them praised the talented Indian artistes like Prithviraj, Nargis, Balraj Sahani, David, Achala, Manmohan Krishna, Padmini and Jairaj with whom they worked.

Andrekanis, the famed cinematographer whose work in *Othello* has won him so much praise did not forget to mention the camera workers, (he dislikes the word 'calic') and their contribution to the film. He said that he and the Indian cinematographer Ramchandra worked in perfect unity and it would be difficult to say which shot was taken by him and which by his Indian confrere.

Oleg Streezenov disclosed that after reading the script of *Ajanasi Nikitin* he refused other offers and opted out for this role. He described at length his impression about Nargis and Prithviraj whose personality awed him. In fact, as Abbas revealed Oleg felt a little nervous when he first worked with Prithviraj.

The Soviet Unit is leaving and soon the Indian Unit will be leaving for Moscow. In next four months the picture would be complete and is

scheduled for premiere in Delhi on 15th August 1957.

PAUCITY OF THEATRES

A British Journalist collecting data on Indian Film Industry was surprised to be told that the biggest problem facing the industry was paucity of theatres. In Britain, he divulged, the theatres were too many and there was a paucity of product, as a result of which some of the theatres were being forced to be closed down!

Thanks to paucity of theatres, the rental of the theatres is steadily going up and what is worse, the practice of accepting part of hire as black money is said to be rampant. It is upto the Income-Tax authorities to verify how far these allegations are true. But one of the ways of finding out the truth is to watch the collections week by week and also watch why a picture is removed when its collections are about Rs. 2000 more than the 'contracted hire figure when producers are keen to run their pictures as many as weeks as possible. If a theatre charges Rs. 5000 and a picture is removed when its collections are over Rs. 7000 there is bound to be something 'fishy' in the transaction and it is upto the authorities to curb this evil. The other way to curb this evil is to encourage building of new theatres. If the proposed film finance corporation were to build its own theatres in key cities like Bombay, the revenue from theatres alone would be able to help the corporation to finance the industry.

In any case the theatre problem has to be thoroughly investigated and an equitable solution must be found by the State as well as by the Central Government so that the exhibitors do not ruin the industry on the one hand and deprive the Government of its legitimate revenue on the other. And as to exhibitors, they have no right to demand any concession in entertainment tax when they are fleecing the producers.

A VETERAN PASSES AWAY

Amiya Chakrabarty is dead. His death on Wednesday 6th March at 7-50 p.m. was most unexpected and untimely. For he was just 45 and those who had talked to him on Wednesday afternoon, felt that he was quite hale and hearty.

Only on Tuesday morning he had returned from Delhi where he had been to attend the Premiere of his picture *Dekh Kabira Roya*. On Wednesday he came to his office as usual. He discussed music with Shanker and Jai Kishen in the afternoon; he saw the rushes of *Katthe Putli* which is half complete in the evening. And after seeing the rushes he was sitting in his office, when he suddenly collapsed just as he was writing a letter. The news came as a sudden and unexpected shock.

A stream of visitors including Dilip Kumar, Ashok Kumar and other stars, producers and directors came to have his last *darshan*. Amiya leaves behind his wife and his son who was away in Rishi Valley in his school.

Starting life on a very humble footing, Amiya Chakravarthi became one of the most prominent personalities of the Indian Film industry. *Anjan* produced by Devika Rani was his first directorial venture while *Basant* was the picture which made him famous. The other pictures directed by him are *Hamari Baat*, *Jwar Bhata*, *Mera Sohaj*, *Girl's School*, *Ganna*, *Badal*, *Daaj*, *Dalita*, *Shahenshah*, *Badshah*, *Seema*, *Dekh Kabira Roya*.

To Amiya goes the credit of introducing many stars. He introduced Mumtaz Ali in Hindi film the *Basant*, Dilip Kumar and Mridula in *Jwar Bhata*. It was under his direction that Geeta Bali and Sajjan played their first major roles in *Girls School*. He introduced Usha Kiron, Anoop Kumar and Purnima in *Ganna* and Shubha Khote in *Seema*.

Amiya's death is a great loss to film fraternity. May his soul rest in peace...

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK

Tall, lean, unassuming, bespectacled Prasad is in the news again with the release of *Miss Mary* which he has directed for A. V. M.

Prasad, though he belongs to the South, had his training in films in Bombay. From 1930 to 1945 i.e. for fifteen years, he worked in different studios of Bombay and attained experience in all the Departments of film-making.

And after fifteen years of grooming he got his first chance. He directed *Graha Pravesham*, which clicked and which almost revolutionized the technique of film craft in the South. Since then, he is the most sought-after director in the South. During the last decade he has made more than 25 films in Tamil, Telugu and Hindi. They include *Pelli Chest Chudu* and *Samsaram* in Telugu (from which Gemini made the Hindi version, *Sansar*) *Manohar*, which he made in Hindi as well and *Missamma* which Prasad has now given in Hindi as *Miss Mary*.

A prolific director and brilliant technician Prasad has established a name in South Indian film art. Many of his assistants have flowered into successful independent directors. They have a great regard for him and recently they paid their respects to him by performing *Guru Puja*, at an impressive ceremony presided over by Prasad's own Guru, Mr. H. M. Reddi.

Director Prasad has now become a full-fledged producer, and is making a Hindi social picture with Raj Kapoor and Meena Kumari in the stellar roles. This venture would open a new chapter in his career of 25 years of strenuous struggle and success.

PICTURES OF THE WEEK

S. D. Narang's *Yahoodi ki Ladki* has little in common with Ajha Hashra Kashmiri's renowned play which was brought to the screen by the New Theatres twenty-five years ago. In Narang's version, the dominating character is that of King Pharoah who proclaims himself to be God on Earth and persecutes Jews for not accepting him as God. The ham-actor, Hiralal who plays this character has failed to give a convincing performance.

The poor screenplay with verbose dialogues and the titillation of by-play slacken the pace and tempo of the film and make *Yahoodi ki Ladki* a failure. Even the romance of Madhubala and Pradeep Kumar is rather dull: both these stars have failed to bring warmth and intensity to their roles.

The comedy antics of Sunder and the lavish song and dance numbers are the redeeming features of the pictures. The tunes by Hemant Kumar are pleasing, the dance numbers put over by Lys and Lyn and Smriti Biswas are entertaining.

The character actor Jagirdar who is called upon to play the role of the old Jewish blacksmith is wasted in a poorly drawn character. The production values of the film are however good.

"BAARISH"

Alankar Chitra's *Baarish* is said to be the Indian adaptation of *On The Water Front* though it has none of the latter's social contact or realism. It is a routine sex and crime drama with Dev's character modelled more on the lines of *Pocketmaur* than on the lines of *Waterfront*.

The story revolves round Ramu who gets involved with the gang of smugglers whose leader is afraid that Ramu may expose the gang and so gets him implicated in his nefarious activities. *Baarish* is a picture that

has all the ingredients of box-office and as such, should do well. Nutan's performance is the highlight of the film. Producer Kapadia's camera-work is also most commendable. Dev Anands portrayal is not quite convincing. Jagdish Sethi as the leader of the smugglers repeats his portrayal of Sardar. Anwar as the heroine's brother is good.

The music by C. Ramchandra is also designed to box-office requirements and from Thumris and classical ragas Ramchandra returns to Western tunes with a blatant imitation of Rock 'N' Roll number.

In short, *Baarish* has its quota of popular entertainment inspite of being unconvincing, unreal and hotch-potch.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Dilip Kumar has turned into a singer. Yes, his first song for the film was recorded on Tuesday night at Mehboobs Studios. He sang for Film Group's *Musafir*.

Nargis and Sunil Dutt were injured during the shooting of *Mother India*. It appears that while a fire scene was being shot—Nargis was almost enveloped with fire. Sunil Dutt rushed to her rescue. Both of them narrowly escaped with minor injuries and burnt scars.



VOICES FROM VAIKUNTAM

By L. N. S.

(Continued from the last issue)

Outside the ramparts of Vaikuntam were seated Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel in deep conversation. Their attention is diverted by the arrival of a V. I. P. preceded and followed by an army of retainers and all the paraphernalia of a potentate. A thin, tall, frowning individual dressed in immaculate western clothes and with a cigarette in his figures hales himself out of a luxurious vehicle capable of cruising in land, air and water at any speed. Mahatma Gandhi gets up and goes forward with the eagerness of a child and receives the new-comer in tones of unmistakable cordiality.

Mahatma Gandhi: This is indeed a great pleasure. You honour me greatly, Qaide Azam. Welcome.

Jinnah: If you expect me to reciprocate by addressing you as 'Mahatma' you are, sadly mistaken, Mr. Gandhi. (And they both laugh gaily as they shake hands). Then looking round and finding no chairs or sofas, Jinnah continues: 'I suppose I must squat as ever with you. Well, it ought to be welcome—for a change. And now, my dear Gandhi how are you?

M. G.: I am quite well thank you; nothing much to do of course.

Jinnah: Yes, heaven is a dull place, as I can tell you myself; it ought to be much worse with you. I just came for a chat. (and then noticing the Sardar) Hullo, Mr. Patel—the Sardar, as they call you—how d'ye do?

S. P.: I detest that title ever since another whipper-snapper has come to misappropriate it.

Jinnah: I sympathise with you. I didn't care for the title which Gandhi gave me; but d'you know, I feel somewhat rattled if people do not use it as a matter of course.

S. P.: Well, Mr. Jinnah, things are not at all shaping too well in Pakistan.

Jinnah: Indeed, what makes you think so?

S. P.: Look at the papers—no stable ministry—how many shufflings and changes; how many squabbles for power.

Jinnah: O, I see! And your people who have been following one man like a sheep are better off—are they? My dear Patel, don't talk through your hat—to me! There is more life in Pakistan today than in all India during the last one hundred years. No Nehru or men of his ilk can't bluff it with our people.

S. P.: Pardon me, you do not dare to have elections. It is all palace intrigue and party manipulations

Jinnah: Same as with you there, my dear Patel; but without the farce of elections. Saves us a lot of money, eliminates a lot of corruption.

S. P.: But you must admit that we have made much head-way in many directions.

Jinnah: A matter of opinion, my dear Patel. But let me give you a friendly tip. If I were you, I wouldn't run down Pakistan or that score. For one of these days, the barbarians across the border might be urged by curiosity to peep in and find out for themselves whether you are really so rich and powerful as all that Ghazni, Ghengis Khan, Tamer-

lane all did so, as you know! If we are weak, it is up to you my dear fellow to help us out of it in your own self-interest.

S. P.: That would be black-mail, you know.

Jinnah: Never mind the word; but look at the facts. Why is America so desperate to woo us and win us? Not out of philanthropy, but in their own self-interest.

S. P.: Ah! that means you admit our superiority.

Jinnah: Admit—superiority—yours! What cheek! Oh my foot!

S. P.: Ah, there is the inferiority complex at work!

Jinnah: Wrong again. You are all living in a fool's paradise. Your country is going to the devil—I mean the communist way—carefully planning every step in advance; and the sheep are following the path chalked out with extra docility. You are going to be a pale, contemptible imitation of the Soviets. It is Islam's mission in the rest of the century to smash you and communism at one stroke. That is what we are preparing for. America is helping us as the best way of helping herself. Ultimately we Muslims are going to save you in spite of yourselves. Kashmir is the thin end of the wedge, and will prepare the ground for the final tussle in good time. And what is more, I am looking forward to a great body of Hindus themselves joining forces with us to get rid of the communist plague.

Another diversion, and a tall, imposing figure with a flowing snow-white beard sweeps in. *The Mahatma rises and greets the new-comer:* 'Ah, Gurudev, welcome! You have come at the right time.'

Tagore: Ah, Mr. Jinnah, I didn't expect to meet you here.

Jinnah: Nor did I; you know I live elsewhere!

Tagore: I'm afraid you have much to answer for. Look at the way the whole country is going to pieces there. (then turning to the Mahatma) But why blame him, when you Mahatmaji are at least as much guilty.

M. G.: Pardon me, I shall not evade my responsibility; but the world knows that I did not approve of partition.

Tagore: But you did not oppose it; what is worse you puffed up that youngster, Motilal Nehru's son, with inordinate pride. And what has he done, do you think? He has ruined Bengal—(almost sobbing as he raises his voice) destroyed my lovely, eternal, beautiful Banga—the earthly paradise. Not a word has been uttered on our behalf; millions uprooted, and this play-boy threatens to plunge the country into a futile war over Kashmir! What is Kashmir to us or we to Kashmir? The place stinks now internationally, whereas it stank only locally hitherto! Its past history has been a melancholy tale of crimes and follies: Shiahs and Sunnis cutting one another's throats, and then both joining together for a change to cut Hindu throats! If only he had traded it for a united Bengal, how much happier the country would have been on the whole?

M. G.: I feel for you and with you, Gurudev; had I my way, there would have been no partition; but all things have an end, so did my influence.

Tagore: It is not yet too late. But who is to ram some sense into that youngster? He is like the proverbial Indian son-in-law: He neither knows what is good himself nor would take advice!

Jinnah: I am surprised at your bitterness, Mr. Tagore, I thought the new government did rather handsomely by you! They have taken one of your songs and made it the national anthem.

S. P.: And gave you a University, too!

Tagore: I am *not* proud of it; I mean the song! It was more or less a command performance in praise of the British emperor. What an irony that such a poem should have been chosen by our num-skulls and noodles to do duty for the national anthem! Bankim Babu wrote a really marvellous poem in praise of the mother; but that did not appeal to our wise-acres.

S. P.: It was idolatrous you know, and was supposed to be repugnant to the sentiments of muslims.

Jinnah: Really, was that the reason? Then that means that your Nehru is really more pro-muslim than pro-Hindu.

S. P.: That's just the trouble. In fact I have always held the view that he is the only nationalist muslim in the country, and this proves it. Look at the way he is legislating Hinduism out of existence, while leaving the Muslims intact and unaffected.

Jinnah: That is another argument to support my view of the ultimate role assigned to Islam in the struggle of the century.

Just then the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri comes in dressed in a mixture of styles in which his South Indian provenance stands out unmistakable:

Sastri: That's interesting, Mr. Jinnah; you know I always had respect for your intellectual integrity. But what I am worried about is the present holocaust of standards. Mahatma Gandhi knows my penchant for correct, measured and elegant expression. I deplore the solecisms of Nehru

as a speaker. Can't you do something to moderate his fondness for hearing his own voice, Mahatmaji?

M. G.: (laughing) All can't be like you, Shastriji; you will stand out unique the more that others fall below the level.

Sastri: And then that rank outsider who lay *perdue* while we did our bit—what an exhibition he has made of himself and of the country at UNO debates? How do you explain your favourite's infatuation for this political freak?

M. G.: You may spare your tears, English is going.

Sastri: But should we mangle and torture it in this manner—with impunity? Where is your doctrine of Ahimsa, Mahatmaji? I implore you to see if you can do something about it! And then, as a Madrasite may I put in a *caveat* against the way your son and heir is promoting a campaign of hate against one community in the name of the Congress? What a galaxy of stars used to shine in the Indian firmament drawn from Madras, and how completely they are now eclipsed—giving place to Cades, crooks and commission agents sucking the life-blood of the people in preparation for a vulgarian holiday!

Jinnah: Ah, Mr. Sastri living as usual in your own glass-house! Other times, other men and other manners. But I see that you have the most amazing collection of skeletons in your own cupboard. Wish you joy of them! Well I shall be getting along, Mr. Gandhi—Ta-Ta.

As Jinnah leaves, the other shades also fade out one by one leaving the Mahatma alone: He hums to himself in subdued tones:

'Vaishnava Janato . . .'

New Books

NAKED THEY PRAY By Pearce Gervis.
Cassel, London. Pp. 217. Price 25 sh.

IT is now a well-known fact that there is a great deal of unknown powers within us. Modern psychology has shown that man usually employs only a fraction of his intellectual and spiritual powers. This was known to the ancients, and especially to the people of India. The Rishis and Yogis who trained their powers and led their lives in the sequestered mountains and valleys showed the amazing and bewildering things that could be done by the use of the commonly unrecognized spiritual and other powers of man. Hence it is that intimate accounts of them, as they are seen even now, are full of absorbing interest. At the same time they also give much valuable information about the noble nature of man, especially when they are described by an author like Pearce Gervis who knows how to give objective and understanding accounts of what he has seen and heard.

He had heard much about the Yoga and the holy men of the Himalayas, but he was frankly sceptical about them. He wished however to know and study the facts, especially after writing his well-praised book on Kashmir. He was so evidently earnest and sincere in his enquiries that the Gurus and Yogis responded to his requests, patiently explained things and allowed him to take quite a number of photographs. Recounting all these, describing all he saw and illustrating his descriptions with pictures, he has produced a book that is a good account of the rare men who live spiritual lives in the Himalayan regions.

It is surprising to know that there are some four million holy men and women living in the sacred places

of the Himalayan regions. No doubt some of these are simply "cashing in on the emotional and credulous public." But that is only the inevitable small fraction. Mr. Gervis found that the vast majority of the holy men were truly spiritual people endeavouring to lead what was to them the highest kind of life, involving great sacrifice, much suffering and intense devotion.

He started with Haridwar, hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, and carefully noted the kind of life that was led by the pilgrims. There were dozens of "humbug sadhus" and a variety of charlatans. But those who passed on to Rishikesh were on the whole of better quality. Says Gervis: "From the moment that you pass through the road barrier into Rishikesh you are conscious that you have found a place different to all others you have known. Whereas in other towns and cities, even Benares, the saffron robe is in the minority, here in Rishikesh it appears that almost all humanity—men and women—wear the holy colour; there must be hundreds, at times thousands, of sadhus in the area." Not only that, they smile at you as if they were receiving you into their home. Mr. Gervis describes the temple and many remarkable men he met—all good and holy people. He also takes occasion to describe some of the traditions and stories connected with the gods and feasts. Even more interesting than these are the stories of the girls and women who have joined the ashram there to take up sanyasa.

But the most important sections of the book are those that describe the yogic asanas and the men who practise them. Very careful and detailed accounts are given of all these, though, of course, no claim can be made for any deep discussion of

them. Mr. Gervis had made a certain amount of preliminary study before he went to the Himalayas, and so he gives first some of the facts he had gleaned from the books about the idea of Yoga. Then recounting a conversation with a High Court Judge who had retired to the life of a sadhu he describes some of the sadhu sects, the sanyasis, the yogis, the avdhuts, aghoria, gosains and others. It was in an ashram that Gervis got many details and exhibitions of the asanas. In clear terms he describes the various poses: lotus, bound lotus, matsyasana, sirshasana, sarvangasana and others. He also describes their uses. For anyone who wishes to have a general idea of the yoga and of the holy people who practise them this is an excellent book. The author describes them with a critical but sympathetic mind; and there is such skill in the presentation that the reader feels like spending his time with the author in the Himalayan regions.

P. L. STEPHEN

MAN AGAINST FLOODS. By Rewi Alley.
Published by The New World Press,
Peking.

A river which is of immense benefit to man, can be a source of misery, inundating villages and towns and causing damage to life and property. China has particularly suffered on account of nature's relentlessness. The Yontse river, which runs to some three thousand miles, was for a long time looked upon as a dragon. The floods of 1931 and 1954 were so disastrous that they staggered even a people who had become somewhat immune to these calamities. *Man Against Floods* gives a thrilling account of how the Chinese successfully controlled the turbulent dragon by building dykes. The story of the river and of the great havoc it caused narrated in the first few chapters of the book tells us of the urgency and importance of the rehabilitation work.

The Flood-fighting, the struggles and difficulties to pass through in order to complete the undertaking successfully are told with passionate feeling of sympathy for the people. The book has a literary interest and is not purely documentary.

The way the Chinese tackled the problem of rehabilitation holds a meaning for the other peoples of the world. It teaches a hopeful lesson that men can use their combined power and skill to recover from the greatest natural disasters. This book contains fine photographs of important spots along the course of the river, and is nicely got-up.

D. S. G.

SRUTI VADYAS (Sangita Vadyalaya Series: Vol. I) By Prof. P. Sambamoorthy. Published by the All-India Handicrafts Board, New Delhi.
Rs. 3-12-0.

PROF. SAMBAMOORTHY, author of this attractively designed and produced book, is a well-known musicologist. By dint of fruitful research, he has systematised Carnatic music and has given it a modern touch.

In *Sruti Vadyas* (Drones), first in the Sangita Vadyalaya series, the Professor has explained the different varieties of Sruti Vadyas which are "musical instruments used for sounding the key-note or the tonic note . . ." (e.g. Tambura). He has given a brief review of the origin and evolution of these vadyas. With the help of photographs he has shown the correct posture of playing the instruments.

Of particular interest is his defence of the Svavadita tambura which is played automatically by an electric motor fixed inside the body of the stem and which can be used both on the concert platform and in the music class room.

N. G. R.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN. (Fortnightly) Published at Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4. Annual subscription Rs. 3-8-0.

WE are happy to learn that the *Indian Libertarian* will hereafter be published as a fortnightly instead of as a monthly. This is the only journal in India devoted to the cause of free economy and its editor Miss Kusum R. Lotwalla deserves our congratulations for the courage with which she has raised her lone voice of protest against the prevalent mad rush towards totalitarianism under multifarious banners of varying brands of socialism. There is an urgent need for an organised effort to restrain the mass hysteria which has infested our people and is slowly dragging them towards the abyss on the other side of the iron curtain. We are glad that the *Indian Libertarian* is blazing a new trail and is sounding a clarion call to the people of India to take to a new method of political action and to follow a new economic ideology. The editorial in the first number of the fortnightly defines its policy thus:—

As the name signifies, we stand for libertarianism as against totalitarianism and authoritarianism of any kind, whether from the Right or from the Left. Libertarianism relates to the whole field of human actions and relations and implies a definite general attitude to all social relations and all aspects of individual action.

Politically it implies opposition to all authoritarian regimes whether of the so-called "benevolent" or "welfare" types of States, socialist, communist or fascist, which in the long run mean the end of individual liberty and mean the complete encroachment of Government into fields of trade, commerce and industry and into spheres of private and individual life. As libertarians we stand for a very limited form of Government, restricted to the defence from external danger, the maintenance of law and justice in the country. In other words, the function of

Government should be the protection of the country from external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace. We oppose the doctrine that the Government is above Law and above Public Opinion. In a way, we are running counter to the present fashionable slogans of "social" justice in the name of socialism or collectivism, even the so-called "welfare" State. We oppose any and every form of authoritarianism as it leads ultimately to the end of democracy and individual freedom.

We believe that the collectivist state cannot arrogate to itself the rights to over-ride the rights and happiness of individual citizens. The State is not the Society. The State has emerged in human history as a necessary evil, to defend society and to enforce justice between man and man. For this dual object, the State is entrusted with the right to use force but the force must be used in accordance with the laws that are enacted by democratic legislation. The monopoly of force that a State enjoys should not be used for the enthronement of an irresponsible bureaucracy and a hierarchy of ambitious politicians at the top.

Of course, libertarianism does not mean licence in any form. The limitation to liberty of action of every individual arises from similar right of other individuals for their own liberty of action. The liberty of one is limited by the liberty of every other. This view of liberty sets a severe limit to the sphere of action of the State. It does not mean that the State should become a trader, industrialist, an educator, an inventor, a preacher of morals to the citizens and a mentor of the private lives of its citizens. This is what socialists, communists and the so-called "welfare" States try to do.

It may appear to some readers that the *Indian Libertarian* is championing a "lost cause," especially as the world trends are towards "socialism" or "collectivism" in some form or other. That is true only to a superficial observer. Thirty years of socialism in Soviet Russia and ten years of socialist experiments in East European countries tell more loudly than all the distortions of the marxists that socialism and communism are discarded doctrines. They are not only the

negation of democracy but they are also the negation of human nature. It is at such a time that the Indian Government have adopted the discarded principles of socialism and communism in the face of the failure of such experiments in Europe. It is a national tragedy and that is what the **Indian Libertarian** in its own way, is fighting against. It is **NOT AS YET A LOST CAUSE**. IT IS A LIVE CAUSE. In fact the experience of Russia, East European nations, and recently of Red China are sufficient danger signals for the Indian people to take the warning. But the national press is unfortunately servile and it toes the Government line. It is here that the **Indian Libertarian** means to serve the people—to educate them on the true aspects of socialism, to warn them in time, and see that the Government retraces its steps from the socialist way to that of a liberal democracy and free enterprise.

Commenting on Nehru's foreign policy, the journal says that the Pandit has done harm to the country by ignoring live dangers:

The cold, grim, inescapable fact is that our foreign policy (of which our Prime Minister is so proud and which is endorsed by so many pliant and ill-informed people in Parliament and outside) is in ruins and has revealed itself to be the disaster of which we had forebodings.

The Egyptian adventure cost Sir Anthony Eden his Prime Ministership. The British people led by the Opposition party expressed their disapproval of their Government's policy, not on the ground of invasion but on the ground of invasion without UN and USA support, in a series of mass meetings in London and elsewhere and in the press and on the platform. The intelligentsia on the whole gave the right lead to the people in defiance of Government's policy. Such opposition was not denounced as treachery by the Government of Britain, in strong contrast to the vociferous and emotional condemnations of opposition parties and groups and individuals in India as making for national disruption. Indian authorities denounce patriotic opposition and criticism as disloyal and disruptionist, communal, reactionary tac-

tics. This is a clear totalitarian trend manifesting itself in the attitude of the Prime Minister and of his Party.

Mr. Menon and Prime Minister Nehru have revealed that the Pakistani Army has been equipped with the latest atomic weapons and the latest bomber fighter and tanks. They revealed that the air fields within a few miles of our border in Kashmir and in the Punjab have been reconditioned and extended to receive jet plans. They let out the fact that even radar equipment has been given to Pakistani Forces. It was announced that sufficient training has been given to Pakistani pilots and other technical soldiers to enable them to use these latest weapons of war effectively unlike Egypt's forces which were unable to use Russian planes when the Anglo-French forces attacked their country at Port Said. The present crisis has proved that Pandit Nehru has lulled the country into a false sense of security by his ostrich policy of ignoring live dangers.

Once we alienate the free world decisively, we are thrown on the mercies of the cold blooded imperialists of Soviet Russia. Soviet imperialism is far more ruthless and totalitarian than that of the West.

We have the example of Hungary and Poland before us. Once we enter the Soviet orbit, our hopes for freedom and well-being are at an end. The friendship of Soviet Russia is far more dangerous for our national freedom and well-being than the hostility of the Western Nations.

The journal is bright and readable and contains many interesting articles in a light vein. There is a thought-provoking article by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao who has traced the root cause of the Marxist debacle in political thinking to the Hegelian error which exaggerated the importance of society and decried the value of the individual. We wish the journal a bright and useful career. It is indispensable reading to every thinking person in India.

FILM REVIEW

"ENGAL VEETTU MAHALAKSHMI"

Annapurna Pictures' **Engal Veettu Mahalakshmi**. Cast: Savitri, A. Nageswara Rao, Kannamba, Thangavelu, S. V. Ranga Rao and others. **Dialogues:** Sridhar. **Direction:** Adurthi Subba Rao. Now running at: Prabhat, Gaiety and Saraswati.

IN this film the role of a Hindu wife is idealized and she is looked upon as the "goddess" of the house. 'Grihalakshmi'. The story revolves round a family of three brothers, the entire responsibility of the household devolving on Susheela, wife of Gopu, the youngest brother. Through the many ordeals and difficulties that follow, Susheela proves that she is indeed the 'Mahalakshmi' of the family. The story has a sentimental appeal to the masses.

The screen play is well-knit with many an interesting situation of climax and suspense. One may not like the idea that the villains in the film should be altogether excused even

without their having repented their follies.

One of the attractions of the film is the skilful acting by the dog 'Jimmy'. The picture has a star cast including prominent artistes. All the players have done creditably well. But special mention may be made of Kannamba who plays the role of Annapurna and Thangavelu who personates Somu. Savitri gives a very understanding performance as Susheela which of course is expected of a talented actress like her. Nageswara Rao as Gopu is quite good while Nambiar as Vaikuntam is just so so. Raja Sulochana who appears in the role of a seductress looks very attractive.

But the cake should be given to S. V. Ranga Rao whose portrayal of the good-natured, absent-minded Vakil is superb. He richly deserves the reputation which he has built up as a character actor. The film is a good entertainer.

RAO



A scene from R. N. R. Productions' "Anbe Deivam."

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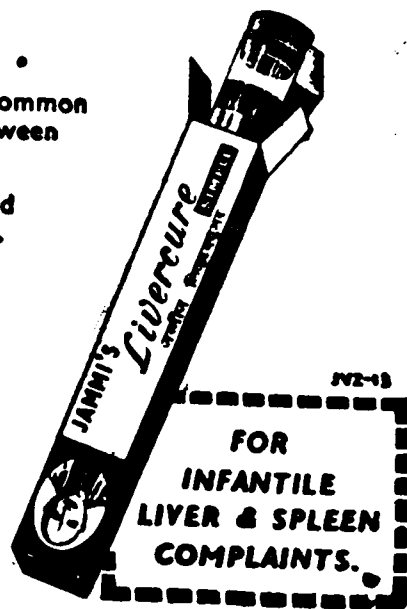
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March 16 1957

SWATANTRA

TENNIS

WILL INDIA WIN THE DAVIS CUP?

By S. SUNDARA RAJAN

ONG CHEW BEE, the captain and manager of the Malayan Davis Cup team, hoped India would be the first country to bring the Davis Cup to the East, at one of the functions arranged in honour of the Indian and Malayan Davis Cup teams, which played the first round of the Eastern Zone of the tournament in Madras on March 1, 2 and 3.

Ong Chew Bee is a fine sport, as also his colleagues. While one cannot doubt the sincerity of his statement, the practicability of it appears remote at least in the near future.

India won all the matches in the tie without conceding a set and the scores look impressive on paper. They are apt to give the impression that the Indians' superiority was never questioned, and they won as they liked. But to be candid the Indian players displayed a very poor form. Krishnan in the beginning and Naresh Kumar, throughout, were very much disappointing.

While Krishnan's poor form was understandable, as he might not have practised seriously in view of his University examinations, Kumar's display was disappointing, and his standard now seems to be at a low ebb. As it is, India's chances in the next round against the Philippines look anything but promising.

There could be absolutely no difficulty in deciding the players who would represent the two countries. Naresh Kumar and Krishnan would surely play for India and Ampon and Deyro for the Philippines.

They Play A Skillful Game

The little Filipinos are good players, especially in the doubles, in which they can hold the best in the world any day. One has only to remember their performance at the

Asian tennis championship which recently concluded at Colombo, to know that they are still at their best.

The Filipinos play a skilful game based on delicate placing and tactful manoeuvring, and they have the choice of courts against India. Naturally, they would play on their home courts which are best suited to their type of game.

In the Asian championship, Ampon fully extended J. Drobny, former Wimbledon champion, to five sets, 7-9, 6-3, 6-3, 4-6, 6-4, before losing the match more due to exhaustion than anything else.

Deyro also played well before he lost to the young Australian, Woodcock, 6-2, 6-4, 4-6, 6-4 in the semi-final. The two combined together to reach the men's doubles final where they lost to Drobny and Huber, 6-4, 6-3, 8-10, 4-6, 6-4. A very creditable performance indeed.

Considering their performance and also their experience in International tennis, it will not be surprising if India were to lose the match against the Philippines.

Taking for granted that Krishnan will train himself hard and will be at top form during the encounter, he will have to put his best foot forward to beat either of his opponent. It is difficult to think of Kumar winning any of his singles matches, for apart from his form, his hit-and-run type of game will hardly have any effect on the slow hard courts. It is likely the Filipinos may tire him out to win ultimately. And the Filipinos are sure to win the doubles and the match score may be 3-2 or even 4-1 in favour of the Filipinos.

It is a well-known fact that Australia is the nation in the tennis world and that the U. S. is trying hard to regain the Davis Cup and their supre-

Other nations, particularly in, are not lagging behind.

When these countries provide mass coaching schemes, plenty of playing facilities and tournament experience to their top players as well as youngsters, Indian tennis is still mostly at the Club level where burra sahibs come to relax and sweat a bit.

Sure, we have had some coaching schemes, but these were short lived and could not produce any results. And the basic thing, playing facilities, is conspicuous by its absence. Even State tennis associations in the country do not have courts of their own.

A tennis racket costs upwards Rs. 60 and Club membership to play tennis, about Rs. 10 a month. Many Clubs do not tolerate youngsters and there are practically no courts in the schools, and those in the colleges are crowded.

Under such circumstances, playing conditions are restricted mostly to the higher classes, and if tennis officials are interested in Indian tennis, they should expand the facilities available to play the game. It would be good to have public courts where one can play for an hour or so after paying a small amount.

THEATRE

"ETHU KATHAL"

Sundaranar Nataka Manram's **Ethu Kathal**. Story and Dialogues: G. Srinivasan. Songs: R. Karuppiiah. Music: M. G. Murugappa. Cast: P. Leela, S. Sushila, P. Umadevi, M. Lalitha, G. Srinivasan, G. R. Jayachandran, K. Ramachandran, R. Srinivasan and others.

SUNDARANAR Nataka Manram, a newly formed amateur Dramatic Society, staged its first play *Ethu Kathal* on Saturday the 9th instant at the Museum Theatre, in the immediate presence of Miss Minati Das (who inaugurated the Manram) and Miss Rita Ratnayake (who presided over the function.) The Manram's maiden effort was strikingly different from the usual amateur plays. The actors were completely at home on the stage, and all of them tried to give of their best.

The drama has a simple theme. Nalla Muthu is a Barrister's Junior. He comes to the city, leaving alone his sister Bama in their native village. He is a dutiful and conscientious brother. He desires that his sister should be married happily, and he has his friend, Dr. Mohan, in view. But the villain contrives to meet Bama at the village and rapes her. Bama is heart-broken and

laments that she has lost her chastity. She concludes her "salvation" lies in committing suicide. Her brother, Nalla Muthu, though very upset, admonishes her, and tells her she should marry. Happily, Dr. Mohan consents to marry her,—in spite of her being not "chaste" in the conventional sense. Such is his love for her.

The villain realises his mistake and repents. In the end, he marries the girl (Inbavalli) spoilt by his associate, R. K. D., a notorious criminal.

G. Srinivasan is impressive as Nalla Muthu. S. Sushila (Bama, the spoilt girl) does some emotional acting. P. Leela (Sundari who loves and marries Nalla Muthu) is promising. V. Kuppiiah (Azhagu) plays the simpleton satisfactorily. While most of the players look their parts, the villain is the exception. He is casual and unbending. K. Ramachandran (Dr. Mohan) should put more vigour in his acting. P. Umadevi (Inbavalli) is school-girlish.

The dialogues are well-written, witty in some places. The stage-management was commendable.

The Manram deserves all encouragement.

CRITIC

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor welcomes letters on subjects of general interest or topics arising out of articles printed in SWATANTRA but reserves the right to abridge them.

INDEPENDENTS IN LEGISLATURES

One gets the impression that our politicians are suffering from the incurable ailment of talking without thinking. For instance, our Prime Minister was obviously carried away by his own eloquence when he declared: "Look at the House of Commons. There are very few independents there." Exactly! But when we take Pandit Nehru at his word and continue to look at the House of Commons, we find that there is a very powerful Opposition party there!

Has not some sage counselled us take a lesson from the fact that a whale gets harpooned only when it comes out to spout?

S. Y.

DECIMAL COINAGE

We welcome the introduction of Decimal Coinage and offer our congratulations to the Government for having prepared a Conversion Table. The Conversion Table, as the name suggests, is intended to equate the existing coins to Naya Paisa coins. In fixing the rates the principle has been kept in view that there should be an approximate equivalence between the new coins and the existing coins. As such, it is expected that the prices of every article, we purchase or sell, should strictly adhere to the Conversion Table. But, we come across a Bill, passed recently, specifying the postage rates in terms of Naya Paise, which, in our opinion, hit hard the general public.

Perhaps, following the precedent set up by the Postal Department many commercial concerns are also contemplating to have their prices fixed, not in equivalent of the present rate according to the Conversion Table.

We hope the Government will order that the rates given in the Conversion

Table is strictly adhered to and no one (including the Government) takes advantage of the situation.

K. RAMAMURTHI

KASHMIR CONGRESS & ELECTIONS

In spite of the categorical statement by the Prime Minister that Kashmir is a national and not a party question and the equally categorical assurances by the Opposition parties that they would support the government on the Kashmir issue as far as the basic national interests are concerned, the issue continues to be used as the main plank of the Congress election campaign. It has been repeatedly said at various levels during the campaign that Mr. Nehru's hands should be strengthened to tide over the present difficult Kashmir situation. May I humbly ask if it is really the weakness of Mr. Nehru's hands that made the Kashmir situation difficult? Should we not be content, in the interest of democracy, with the present strength of our rulers and cry a halt to further concentration of strength and power, be it under the name of Kashmir or any other? In view of the national importance of the issue, is it not more necessary that all political interests should get adequate representation in the Parliament so that no single party arrogates to itself the right to take a decision on such a vital matter on behalf of the entire nation?

It is a dangerous habit with the Congress leaders to claim a national character for the policies they make unilaterally. As long as the commitment of a plebiscite in Kashmir stood, it was called a national commitment and its opposition was considered by the Congress leaders as a disrespect of national honour. Now if anybody should have the guts to say that the commitment should be honoured, he would be dubbed either as an enemy of the country or a foreign agent. Time was when the slightest opposition to Sheikh Abdullah provoked the wrath of the Congress leaders from Mr. Menon downwards. Now heaps of abuses would be hurled on anybody who dares to suggest that his detention without trial is undemocratic.

If Kashmir is a part of India, as all political parties of the country admit, then that part of the country is as much in need of a healthy opposition as any

It should be regarded as to oppose Bakshi Gulam Ahmad as it is to oppose Mr. Nehru. The right of the opposition parties to pose the dark aspects of the Bakshi regime in Kashmir is condemned as being against the national considerations, what right has the Congress party to claim credit for its bright side? Why should the Congress Manifesto take pride in the achievements of Bakshi Government when it does not take responsibility for its shortcomings? If the person of Bakshi or his government is to be kept above criticism in the "national interest," why is his weight being added to the Congress election campaigns? The Congress is obviously trying to eat the cake and have it too.

The Congress is, I suppose, accountable for the role of some of its active workers in Kashmir. While the party is not prepared to break the political isolation of the State by organising its branches there or getting the National Conference merged with it, it has permitted its workers to play contradictory games. The Congress certainly owes an explanation for the open support to and association with the Plebiscite Front of Smt. Mridula Sarabhai who continues to be a member of the party. The Vice-President of the Front, Soofi Mohd. Akbar too is a member of the Congress Parliamentary party. The other three M. Ps. from Kashmir, who still owe their allegiance to Sheikh Abdullah and are opposed to Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, also sit on Congress benches in the Parliament. One of them is already undertaking an extensive tour in favour of the election campaign of the Congress.

While the Congress derives support and makes use of pro-Abdullah and pro-Bakshi elements alike, whenever and whichever suits them M. Ps. from Kashmir, who still owe their allegiance to Sheikh Abdullah and are opposed to Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, also sit on Congress benches in the Parliament. One of them is already undertaking an extensive tour in favour of the election campaign of the Congress.

DEMOCRITUS

THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

The Eisenhower Doctrine declared that America would, single-handed, oppose, with force if necessary, Russian Communism if it attempted to invade the Arab

nations of West Asia and if the threatened nations sought America's help. America seeks to "contain" Russian Communism within its present frontiers and would confidently risk an atomic war to defeat its extension beyond them.

If America considers Communism an evil, and is confident of waging a successful war against Russia, there seems to be no justification for "containing" Russian Communism within its present limits and prevent only its further expansion into the Arab states. It may be recalled that President Eisenhower signed a Congressional Act on the ground that it was not a political party like the Democratic or the Republican Party, but was "the instrument of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States" and that its existence was "a clear, present and continuing danger to the security of the United States". Unless America considers Communism elsewhere is an innocent and respectable political party, like say, the Conservative or the Liberal Party in Britain, there is no reason why it should not seek to outlaw it in the whole world and not only in America. If Communism be an evil and a crime, friendly or even tolerant, 'co-existence' with it seems to be as immoral as between freedom and slavery. "Co-existence" and "containment" will have to be suffered if the evil cannot be liquidated. But the Eisenhower Doctrine proclaims that America is competent to liquidate Communism, even without the help of the NATO.

Perhaps the real, or any rate the primary, objective of the Doctrine is to contain Russia rather than Communism. The present balance of power between America and Russia would tilt in favour of the latter if she expanded beyond her present frontiers. It may be recalled that in the early part of the century, Britain feared the expansion of the power of Germany as a threat to her power and the then balance of power. American national interest, rather than concern for the victims of Communism, present or prospective, may be the motivation of the Doctrine. It is not on that account less justified or less honourable but only more realistic.

P. KODANDA RAO

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ON THE COVER: Padmini Priyadarshini as Gypsy girl.

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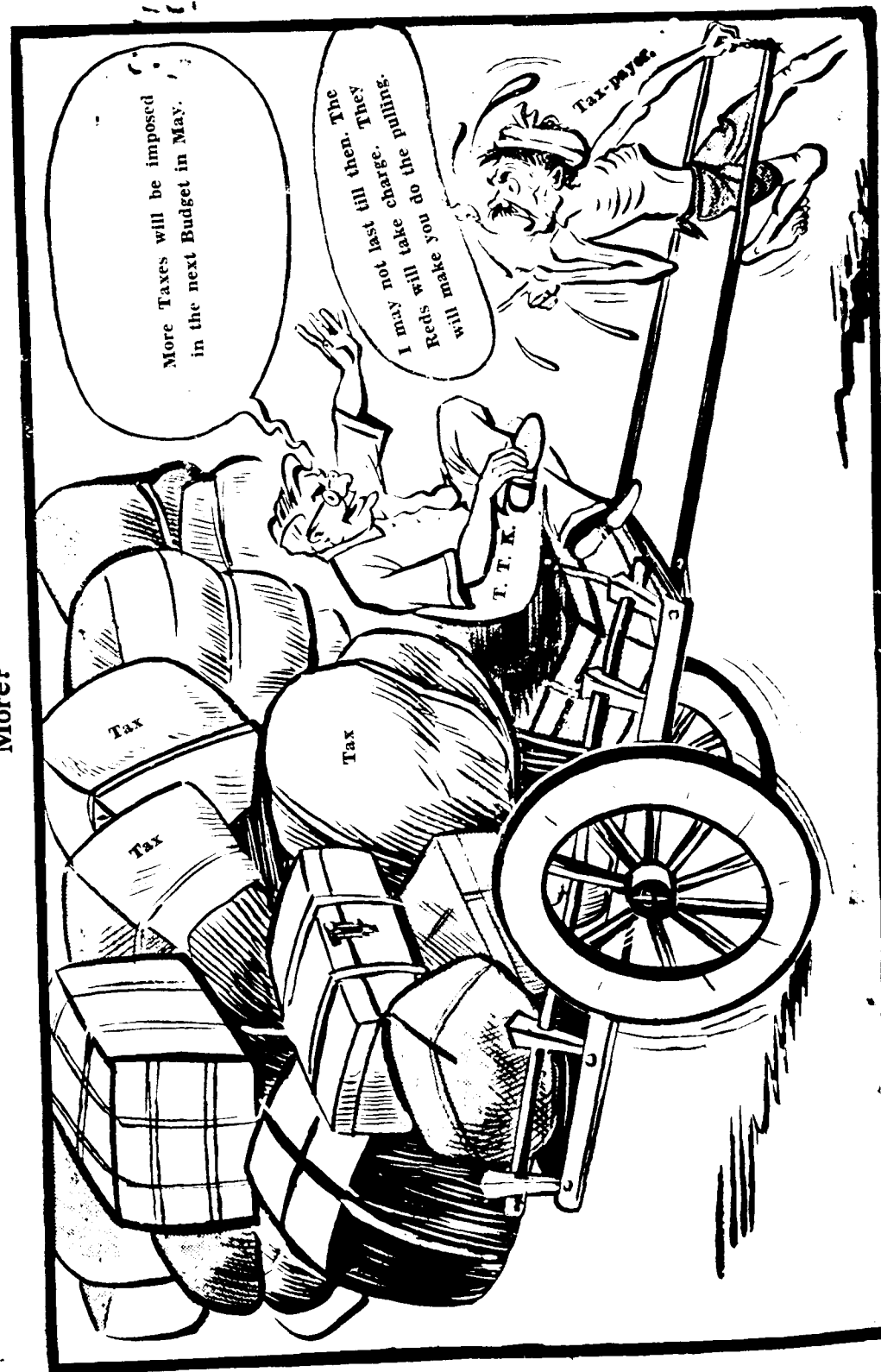
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SWATANTRA

Vol. XI: MARCH 30 SATURDAY 1957 No. 8

KERALA MAKES HISTORY

KERALA, the tiny State on the West Coast, the smallest of the thirteen units which make up the Union of India, has now jumped into the limelight. There, for the first time in world history, the Communist political doctrine has won democratic approval at a popular election. Elsewhere in the world the Communists have achieved power by the free use of bullets and the assassin's knife. They have wrested power from the rightful hands by conspiratorial methods steeped in violence and bloodshed. The Communist theory is frankly based upon such exercise of violence in the process of assumption of dictatorship on behalf of the working class. That is the central fact hidden in the verbiage of dialectic materialism. Neither the originators of the Communist idea viz., Marx and Engels, nor those who put the idea into actual practice viz., Lenin and Stalin, had anything but contempt for the democratic method of free elections. Until recent times the Communist Party of India was closely following the line of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism which is a negation of democratic values and a wholesale adoption of dictatorial methods.

The whirligig of time brings in strange transformations. It is now an established fact that the communist doctrine does not appeal to a certain type of mind and does not apply to a certain set of circumstances. For instance, the mentality of the people of North America and the environment in which North Ame-

ricans flourish are totally unsuited to the growth of communism. There is a working class functioning in North America which would fall under the definition of the proletariat as propounded by the communist gossellers. But the North American proletariat is deadly opposed to the spread of the communist doctrine in their midst. The same can be said of the masses of voters organised under the Labour Party in Great Britain. To a great extent this aversion is shared by the people of India, who, though ignorant and poverty-stricken, have still a longing for peaceful methods and for a patient building up of prosperity without having recourse to violent methods of social disturbance. It is this mentality of non-violence, peace and patience ingrained in the Indian tradition that Gandhi exploited to the full in the various campaigns he led against the former British rulers. In a sense, it is this same preference for non-violence and peace, which borders on political apathy, that is responsible for the tolerance and even active encouragement by the voters of India of the Congress Party which rides rough shod over popular rights.

Having gauged the situation aright, the Communist Party of India was faced with the alternative of either winding up its affairs or seriously altering its *modus operandi* so as to suit the new situation in India. The Communist Party of India wisely chose the latter alternative and built up an organisation above ground to

tackle the electorate side by side with the underground organisation to bring about the revolution. The wisdom of their choice has been amply proved by the happening in Kerala where they have secured a working majority in the legislature and are enabled to form a Ministry without the help of any other political party. But it has to be remembered at this moment of a great change over in that State, that the alterations brought about in the make-up of the Communist Party in Kerala relate only to the methods but not to the objectives of that Party. They have put in a kind of a second string to their bow, a constitutional democratic string side by side with the unconstitutional conspiratorial revolutionary string. It may be that in the streets of the villages and towns in Kerala there may not run rivers of blood of the bourgeoisie, the petty landholder, the shopkeeper and millions of others who may be said to have "vested" interests. But according to the Communist doctrine these should nevertheless be liquidated although such liquidation may have to be brought about in a non-violent manner and their "vested" interest should be expropriated without compensation so as to build up the Communist hegemony in strict accordance with the line laid down by Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Such a step would lead to a tremendous shake-up of the economic and social system which has prevailed in that State during the last many thousands of years and which has weathered the storm of many foreign invasions.

But we do not think that such a shake up which would amount to a real revolution will occur in Kerala in the immediate future even though a Communist Government may come into power in that State. There are two reasons why the revolution will not take place in Kerala. First there is the fact of the Constitution of India, and it does not allow State

Governments to adopt measures which may conflict with the policies of the Centre. Under the Constitution, the States are endowed with legislatures and cabinet Governments which serve only decorative purposes, the real power being wielded by the Centre. The Communist Ministers will be allowed to indulge in thundering speeches and to make fabulous promises of revolutionary changes in the economic and political spheres. But nothing will happen as a matter of fact because the Centre will not countenance such a revolution.

Secondly, there is a more powerful reason why the Communists will not be enabled to carry out their declared objectives in Kerala. At the present moment the World Communist movement is not concerned to extend indefinitely the area of its operation but it seeks to consolidate its strength wherever it has already gained its foothold and to concentrate its entire energy to withstand the deadly onslaught aimed against it by the free nations of the world led by the U. S. While the Soviet Union has made considerable progress in the manufacture of atomic weapons and guided missiles and other modern means of warfare, it does not and cannot depend entirely upon its military strength for survival, because of the fear that the free world may command superior military strength in respect of quality as well as quantity. Communists have to adopt political and diplomatic measures to sabotage the unity of their opponents and to swell the number of their own supporters. Moscow has therefore cried a halt to the expansionist policies of the subordinate organisations in foreign territories so as not to antagonise the peoples and the governments of foreign countries where Communists may secure electoral victories. If the Communists mean business in Kerala and begin to give the people of that State a taste of real communism there will be the

danger of not only a popular flare-up against the communist doctrine in Kerala but there will be a widespread antagonism against the Communist movement in the rest of the States and particularly at the Centre and there will be the danger of Pandit Nehru turning anti-Communist which will be a major disaster for international Communism. Such a disaster the Communist headquarters are anxious to avoid at the present moment when the Eisenhower doctrine is winning favour in the Arab world and when the summit meeting at Bermuda has given a new lease of life to the SEATO.

Therefore, nothing very much will happen in Kerala in the coming weeks except the formal swearing in of a Communist Ministry who will, not

only in their words but also in their deeds, be bound by the oath of loyalty they will take to the Constitution of India. The real damage that the Communist Ministry may cause to the people will be the gradual but widespread infiltration of the administrative services by avowed Communists and their stooges. This process, however, has now been going on for a long time not only in all the States under Congress rule but also at the Centre so that it will not be a new feature to contend with. Nevertheless there is the need for intelligent people all over India to watch the movements of the Communist Party in Kerala and elsewhere in the country and to take effective measures to prevent the further spread of the incubus.

SIDELIGHTS ::

THE fire accident to the Illyshin air craft carrying Pandit Nehru has set up an uproar in the Airways department and in the Press. While everyone in the country is glad that the fire was put out in time and danger to human lives averted, there is no reason whatever for the emotional burst up that we witness and the hero-worship of the pilot and the crew of that air craft. The fire was discovered not by the crew but by a passenger whose very name has not been disclosed by the Press. If rewards are to be given they should have been given to that unknown individual. Once a fire is discovered in an air craft there is a normal procedure prescribed which was followed on this occasion yielding results. All this cuddling and kissing of the pilot and falling over the shoulders of the crew and awards of lakhs of rupees are totally unnecessary and out of keeping with the normal procedure that

should be followed on such occasions. The fact that the Prime Minister was one of the passengers should not wrest the incident from its normal accompaniments. The Prime Minister is just a citizen as any other in the country, and while special security precautions are permissible to ensure his safety, normal incidents in his life should not be exaggerated so as to upset routine procedure.

Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Minister for Defence Organisation, speaking in Parliament on March 25th described the special procedure followed when V.I.Ps. travelled by air. "Before the air craft carrying such personages take off," he said, "they are subjected to careful inspection and the pilots are required to secure certificates of proper overhauling." Apparently, these precautions prescribed to be taken before air travel by the V.I.Ps. are not taken when ordinary people

travel by air. Certificates of proper overhauling should be a normal feature enforced on every pilot before he undertakes responsibility to take up passengers in the air. The life of an ordinary citizen is valued so much less than that of the V.I.P. that even the normal precautions to ensure the airworthiness of planes are enforced only when a V.I.P. takes to the air. Such discriminations are intolerable in a democratic set-up. But who says there is a democratic set-up in India?

The Naya Paisa which will come into being on the 1st of April will be a tyranny inflicted on the unlettered and poverty-stricken people in the countryside. The tyranny will be more keenly felt in South India than in the North. The paisa meaning a quarter of an anna is a northern usage. In the South the paisa has meant all along only a pie which is one-twelfth of an anna. All the multiplication tables now being published by the Government to explain the mystery of the conversion of the old paisa into the Naya Paisa is making confusion worse confounded. While we do not object to the adoption of the decimal system, which is certainly a progressive reform, all this talk and propaganda for the Naya Paisa is a piece of insult offered to the people of South India. What is called a Naya Paisa is only a hundredth of a rupee which can easily be called the Cent in conformity with international usage. The word Cent will not be a foreign imposition because it is allied to "Satham" which is of Sanskrit origin and is in active usage in many of the Indian languages. If instead of calling it a Naya Paisa it is called simply a "Cent" or "Satham" there would have been no confusion whatever. In fact the reform was effected in Ceylon long ago and the Cent is well known not only in Ceylon but by the influence of the Tamil speaking people of Ceylon it is known throughout the Madras State. Why not call it the "Cent" and be rid of the bother?

The dates of the Jarring Mission to India and of the Anglo-American summit conference at Bermuda have coincided. While the result of the Jarring Mission is yet unknown, that of the summit talks has already been revealed at least in parts. The two main points that have emerged out of the summit are the expression of American willingness to support the Baghdad Pact and the sale of American guided missiles to Britain. Both these points emphasise the anxiety of the U. S. to strengthen the hands of its supporters in Europe and in Asia in the impending war against Communism. The relationship between India and Pakistan today is one of undeclared war. Hostile, belligerent and inflammatory speeches are indulged in by top personalities on both sides. The points of view of the rival governments can never be reconciled. Whether the cold war that has persisted for so long will be converted into a red hot shooting war in the near future, it is impossible to say just now. The Jarring Mission has undoubtedly postponed the catastrophe. But Mr. Jarring cannot stay on in India indefinitely and when his mission ends the trouble will boil over. Indications of what will happen afterwards can be gleaned from the results of the Bermuda conference. Pakistan is an active member of the Baghdad Pact and so is Britain. Although there is already subsisting a military pact between Pakistan and the U. S. under which large quantities of modern weapons have been imported and installed on the Indo-Pakistan frontier, the further strengthening of the Baghdad Pact powers by the advent of the U. S. will still further increase the military potential of Pakistan. The guided missiles purchased by Britain can certainly be used for the betterment of the Baghdad alliance. The outlook looks gloomy enough for India, if we are still dependent upon the good-will of that part of the world dominated by the U. S. But if we

abandon all hopes of securing the co-operation of the Western World and concentrate upon deriving such benefits as we can out of the contacts that we have made with the countries within the Iron Curtain, it is entirely another matter.

The Congress Party in Madras has threatened disciplinary action against those of its members who broke away from it on the eve of the elections and set up rival candidates to fight the Congress. There is no meaning in threatening to expel a person who has already gone out of the Party. You look ridiculous if you shout "Get out!" after a person who has already left your house and has gone far away from it. This is not the first time that the Madras Congress Party is behaving in this ridiculous manner. In the days of the Second World War, when the Congress was very nearly getting aligned with Hitler and the Axis

Powers, a few people in Madras under the leadership of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had the temerity to speak out their minds and warn the people of India against the dangers inherent in an alliance with Hitlerite Fascism which was an enemy of human freedom. But the C. R. rebels took the precaution to resign from membership of the Congress before starting their propaganda. But the Congress executive in Madras which was dominated by the same set of individuals who dominate it today behaved in the same silly fashion as they do today and issued notices of disciplinary action against the members who had resigned! There is a rule in the Communist Party that members cannot resign, they can only be expelled. Once a Communist always a Communist. Apparently, Mr. Kamaraj is setting up the totalitarian fashion for other Congressmen to follow.

SETHU

Your Son ...

Statistics show that liver disorder is common among vegetarian male children between 1 and 3 years of age.

Repeated digestive disorders, distended abdomen, irritability, peevishness, loss of appetite etc. are the common symptoms to indicate liver disorders.

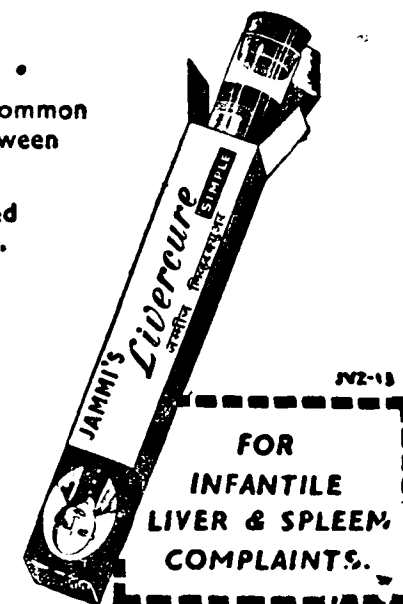
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PEDLAR'S PACK

MR. GUNNAR JARRING comes to us as the representative or nominee of the Security Council. The Security Council is the executive of a supra-national organisation which, from the point of view of protocol and precedence should take the first place. Its representative should therefore have been received by the Prime Minister or better still by the President himself. But we were shocked to read from the papers that an office-boy of the External Affairs Ministry was deputed to receive the distinguished visitor, though an unwanted guest. Whether this was the result of a *faux pas* or a calculated rudeness, Mr. Gunnar Jarring would not have ignored it, specially as the Pakistan Prime Minister received him when he first arrived in Karachi. What makes our official behaviour the more curious is the fact that for every Tom, Dick and Harry from the satellite countries, Pandit Nehru goes out full sail with all the drums beating to accord not so much a hearty as a flamboyant reception. Matters of protocol are as jealously scrutinised by others as by ourselves. If Mr. Jarring should go away with the impression that we have failed in the proprieties in his case, he will have reason. Our spokesman's advance assurance before the Security Council that he would be received with the respect and courtesy due to him is thus belied in the actual sequel. **Qui Bono?**

Attacking the government's policy in Kashmir, Acharya Kripalani is reported to have stated: 'I have never heard of a country having two constitutions and two Prime Ministers.' Apparently, he had not heard either of two laws in India itself—one for Hindus and another for Muslims! These are the trinity of Pandit Nehru's achievement as the Solon of our infant state. Don Quixote tilted at windmills; but Pandit Nehru has set up communalism and casteism in their place, and is destroying them verbally while sustaining them by his legislative commissions and omissions. It would be truer to say that Pandit Nehru has seen

to it that India is a part of Kashmir rather than that Kashmir is a part of India. For in every case it is the tail wagging the head.

In the course of his reply to the debate on Foreign Affairs, Pandit Nehru referred to the demand for severing our connection with the British Commonwealth: 'I have felt for the first time in these many years that this question may require further consideration at some time or other... I feel that it would not be good to break up this connection... No decision that we can take today can be said to be a permanent decision for ever. One has to review these matters now and again.'

A Daniel come to judgement!

Addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Prime Minister is reported to have said: 'Contempt for money is a very useful habit!'

It however comes naturally only to those who are familiar with it.

Mr. Bata of the famous Shoe manufacturing company has been suggested as a worthy candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize since he is said to have helped more than 100,000 refugees from Hungary.

At that rate, Pandit Nehru deserves it thrice over for he has helped more than 300,000 refugees from East Pakistan in the last year.

The Naya Paisa is bound to gain currency soon as Anyaya Paisa! The government is itself giving a lead by pricing the two-anna envelopes at 13 Naya Paise while the conversion table fixes it at 12. Newspapers have seized the opportunity to make a substantial unearned increment. But the real fraud on a national scale will begin from and after April 1. A thousand commodity prices will creep up in a thousand little, nameless, unremembered transactions which not even Chitrageeta can hope to record fully. And all for what? For the gratification of pedantic vanity!

LIBRA

THE BUDGET AND THE PLAN

By L. N. S.

IN the olden days when the art of government consisted in governing the people least, the tax-gatherer made an apologetic but discreet appearance once a year and coaxed the upper ten to part with a minimum of their possessions so that they might call the rest their own. The great bulk of the masses were not only not at all taxed, but were subsidized in a multiplicity of occupations and services which ensured them their keeps and gave them something to occupy themselves with. When it was further discovered that life could be sustained on incredibly exiguous standards, the exploitation of idleness as a national pastime led to exciting experiments in the fields of art and higher thought. Our most inspired musicians have been itinerant beggars; the authors of the Upanishads, whatever else they were, could not have enjoyed two square meals a day. Within my own experience, I have seen sculptors chiselling the seductive lines of the human form divine while their eyes lacked lustre. Sometimes the reality of a budget would percolate to the level of common people as when the price of salt might be put up by one pie (soon to be as dead as the dodo) per measure. In the upper strata, the manipulation of the exchange ratio within extremely fractional limits would of course mean the difference of a few crores one way or the other. But the backs that were called upon to shoulder the burden of loss or gain were broad enough to bear it or hide it. The legend was then propagated that we as a nation were bled white to make the English breakfast groan under the delicacies of fish, flesh, fowl and fruit plundered from all the corners of the world. But the people as aforesaid did not

directly enter into the calculations of friend or foe, patriot or profiteer.

Two world wars have changed all that. Science, technocracy and Marxism have cumulatively worked up a *pralayah* or revolution which its most ardent evangelists hope will be a permanent feature of life on this planet henceforth. Tiger-riding has become the heady pastime of tribunes and demagogues. Like the genie in the fable who would be safe only as long as he is kept engaged, the modern proletariat has to be gulled or lulled with the promise or fulfilment of a standing revolution. Planning is its supreme *mantra*, and budgeting its ritual. An air of factitious urgency lurks behind the utterances of these modern tiger-riders; it is the only condition of their keeping their seats in the saddle.

But results are not so easily manufactured. Therefore, the invariable recipe everywhere has been to set up the people themselves in sections by the ears. The capitalists are a convenient and classic entity. Next or hand in hand with them come to the so-called privileged classes who can be baited like the bears in medieval times to make a street corner holiday for the new masters. Our castes and creeds are but a variant of the classes who are so essential to the bolstering of the Marxian dialectic, not so much on the material as in the mystic plane. The net result of all is a great pother in a puddle; and the more that the mud and slime are splashed forth, the more plausible is the general assurance that things are moving ahead towards our amorphous Utopia.

The actual budget proposals for the coming year are to be unfolded some months hence. But the task of presenting them or even preparing them

individuals and groups offer different reasons as to the causes of the collapse; but the collapse is itself a universally acknowledged fact. As if to balance it, the failure of our domestic policy of planning also is impending. The sole test is the issue of our self-sufficiency in the matter of food. We are heading for the rocks unless we can call a halt, re-deploy our resources and formulate our objectives in relation to probabilities rather than in relation to *a priori* assumptions and

dogmatic desiderata. There is general recognition that we have to pay for our planning; but when the price is paid and no results commensurate to it can be shown, what might have been ascribed to acts of God chapter of accidents and Fate would give place to a kind of spontaneous combustion in which both the victim and authors of our man-made follies will find an impartial liquidation. It would not be the triumph of planning but rather its Nemesis.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

THE present writer had the opportunity (or trial) of being called upon to stand as a candidate for the Lok Sabha. He had been in the thick of the campaign since February 1. It is worth-while recording his reactions to the actual conditions of the campaign as they revealed themselves from day to day in so far as they have a meaning for our democratic hope (and fate) in the coming years.

THE MAJOR IMPRESSION

The major impression that has been borne in upon the present writer is that the Congress constitution-makers committed a grievous blunder, in transcribing adult franchise into the Constitution in 1950. The candidate has been obliged to encounter so many groups of voters, each two to five thousand strong in different parts of the City, who were completely illiterate—mill workers, stone-cutters from outside the State speaking Telugu and Tamil etc.

Now how is it possible to inform such a body of voters as to the nature of the policies put into force by the Congress Government? How is it possible to explain to them the totalitarian tendencies revealed, day after day, in several spheres of life and administration by the Party and Government in power? They only knew that five years ago candidates came to them for their suffrages but once returned, they never showed their faces to them again! This conduct on the part of members of the local Assembly and of the Lok Sabha at Delhi has created a cynicism on the part of the common man and his group leader that is hard to overcome in the course of the necessarily hurried visit that the candidate can pay to them in the course of the whirlwind campaign. The hardest part of

the electioneering business is to inform the mass of voters of the bare fact of his candidature. It is impossible for any candidate to offer to all the members of his constituency (which in this case consisted of 10 lakhs of people of whom nearly four lakhs were voters) the essential data about his life and work, opinions on current problems and his ideas regarding the policies which he favours. Even if this were possible, it would be of little use, since most of them would not be able to judge them.

Hence voters of this class, who constitute the over-whelming part of the total constituency, have to be tempted by other incentives. Obviously the most convincing of them is money. Group leaders or ward bosses, to use an American phrase, expect money for their trouble in herding their following to the polling booths. The rate seemed to range from a couple of hundreds to a couple of thousands, to judge from the hints that the present writer received both directly and through intermediaries. It was clear that some candidates belonging to the powerful ruling party and well-to-do ambitious independents had catered to this demand in some degree.

A RICH MAN'S GAME

One independent candidate, who withdrew early in the race, told the present writer that his estimate of the funds required to assure success were in the neighbourhood of Rs. Fifty Thousand to overcome the initial advantage enjoyed by the ruling party with its Gandhian prestige and command of incredibly large funds. No wonder, for he was contemplating the bribing of ward bosses, who commanded the votes of illiterate workers.

Even the permissible limit of Rs. Twenty-five Thousand makes the entry of the ordinary person into the ring of electioneering impossible. Judging from the number of posters and handbills and the number of workers engaged by some candidates standing for the State Assembly from smaller wards of the city, one comes to the conclusion that some of them have been spending very nearly the figure permitted. Obviously this democracy of ours is a rich man's game. Naturally, contractors, shop-keepers, small businessmen of various lines come to expect some return from their membership of the legislature to recompense them for their lavish election expenses, which most of them cannot afford at all. Ambition and the lure of social influence (which can be made to pay in cash in some way or other) persuades some of them to spend beyond their means. This is unhealthy for democracy. An instance quoted by a candidate in private conversation throws a lurid light on this side of the matter. He said that a Corporator recovered his outlay on his election campaign last time by means of obtaining four house sites allotted to him at a nominal price, one in his own name and the other three in the names of a close relative. After a couple of years he sold them at a huge price netting a profit of forty thousand rupees!

Another sidelight of the election experiences in Bangalore was the criticism of the voters directed to the expensive habits of their representatives in the legislatures, some of whom were ministers and others just members. One voter and ward boss was grimly sarcastic on the luxurious habits of the *khadi* cap. These white caps, he pointed out, had now built imposing houses for themselves. How they could manage it out of the allowances granted to legislators was a mystery. A Chief Minister insisted on living in a hotel in Delhi during his visit to the Capital which charged two hundred rupees per day!

Another aspect of election tactics that caused genuine uneasiness in the present writer's mind was the extent to which practically every candidate, irrespective of party sought to mobilize caste feelings in his own support.

The Congress party chiefs were the worst sinners in this respect. They frankly asked Muslims to vote for Congress as a community. So also were Christians approached for a bloc vote. Promises of contracts, quotas, jobs etc. completed the argument for Congress.

COLOSSAL IGNORANCE

Another reflection that forced itself on the present writer in the course of his campaign is the extraordinary ignorance (on the part even of educated persons like university graduates in business, lawyers and teachers) of the dangerous consequences of present policies and programmes like the Five-Year Plans. They seem to have a lazy conviction that Nehru can do no wrong and that so long as he is at the helm of affairs, everything will go all right with the country!

But some unlettered weavers and shop-keepers have realised that their property and freedom are at stake. One of them asked the present writer—Why doesn't the State open brothels to make money? Why not, if they can start hotels and run buses and become shop-keepers in cement and rice?

Very few landowners realise the danger to their position that is approaching so rapidly. One felt that there is genuine scope for a libertarian social party with industrial and agricultural wings, if only the actual victims or near-victims of nationalisation and collectivisation could be mobilised in language intelligible to them.

Verily, democracy has come too soon for us and the catastrophe is enhanced by the Communist outlook of Pandit Nehru, though his Communism as the goal of society eschews violence.

The Indian Libertarian

SUNDAY PASTIME

READING a magazine in a language of which you are thoroughly innocent can be an exciting Sunday pastime. All you have to do is to pick up some periodical in a language not known to you and plough through the pages in an attempt to have a general idea of the magazine. True, you will feel as though you are groping in a dark alley, but courage reader, courage. Don't despair. Stare intently at the columnful of types in that blessed language, and exercising your common sense, put two and two together and try to make out what it should be all about. You are sure to feel thrilled when at last you clutch at something.

I experienced it, the other Sunday. I got hold of a T—periodical and comfortably stretched myself in the easy chair. I began my exploratory pastime by staring at the first page of the journal. It did not take me much time to conclude that it must be the contents page. Similarly I spotted with ease the editorial page. Since the Press in general at the moment was busy making a critical analysis of the election results I took it that this paper should also be concerning itself with such an analysis. I wondered whether it discussed, at least in brief, the problem state of Kerala and took pains to point out that the Red victory only confirmed the people's hatred of the Congress. I turned the page and came across what looked like a weekly feature—perhaps giving short comments on the important political and other events of the week. Then I stumbled on a weekly serial. At the end of the instalment, there was a note in brackets which might be, "To be continued" or "To be concluded next week." I was not sure, but thought it must be the former as the present instalment was only the fifth. I thumbed a couple of pages, and on page—I could identify a piece of poetry. I wondered whether the poet was cursing his love for hav-

ing jilted him or was waxing eloquent on the wonders of Nature.

On another page I stumbled on oases—words in English. "A pack of insincere fellows . . ." It was a short story, and I agree with the hero that there are lots of insincere fellows in this world. He might have made the remark when some of his friends or acquaintances betrayed him. ". . . Exhausted." The hero might be a hard-working man and he might have felt exhausted, helping his insincere friends. ". . . Reserve" ". . . Aloof." I fancied these words were about the heroine. She was perhaps a shy creature. The next word was "Disappointment." Naturally. Oh, poor thing, if you remain reserved and aloof, you will be left out unnoticed, and disappointment is inevitable . . . As I did not come across any more words in English on the last two pages of the story, I could not make out the rest of the plot. But I guessed that the hero came along, discovered the shy girl, and the two led a happy life . . .

Another article greatly interested me. This was because it contained a liberal number of exclamations. Being one mad after wit and humour, I felt greatly enlivened at the sight of exclamations. I discovered that the full-stop was used rarely. I counted out leisurely the number of exclamation marks, and believe it or not, it came to 63 (pardon me, it may be 53 or 73—I'm poor at counting). To have used sixty odd exclamations in two pages—why, it is a feat, a record worthy of emulation. I felt jealous of the readers who could go through those two pages of—obviously—side-splitting humour and incomparable wit.

Thus I went on skipping the pages and enjoying myself thoroughly until my mother announced it was time for lunch.

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CONGRESS DEBACLE IN MAHARASHTRA

By V. S. BAPAT

THE Congress has secured an absolute majority in Bombay State and expects to be in power for the next five years. At the same time it has suffered one of the worst defeats at the polls. Three Ministers of the Central Government and six Ministers of the State Government have been routed by known and unknown opponents. Nearly all the senior members of Parliament on the Congress side have been unseated. Congress prestige is at its nadir in Maharashtra and also in Gujerat. The INTUC chief in Bombay has been trounced by a Communist in Bombay City. Ahmedabad, the Congress stronghold for all these years, is no more safe. The Congress has decided not to contest the elections to the Municipal Corporation, which it was controlling for the last three decades. Congress High Command is naturally worried and is about to start a *post mortem* of the debacle. Is it just a passing mood of the electorate or has the process of disintegration of the Congress started?

The Congress in Maharashtra as elsewhere went to the electorate with an election manifesto which spoke of the development programmes, the Five-Year Plans, the foreign policy etc. It did not make the bilingual state an election issue. But the Opposition parties rallied the electorate round the banner of Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat. It was however presumed that the Congress would interpret its victory at the polls as a vote for the new set-up. Mr. Y. B. Chavan, the young Chief Minister of the State, did in fact say that his victory in the election was a vindication by the people of the Congress stand about States Reorganisation. With the complete rout of

the Congress in Maharashtra, Mr. Chavan would not dare to repeat his statement. Yet, Mr. Morarji Desai has told a Gujerat audience that the bilingual idea has been approved by the people. It is definite that the anti-Congress vote would never have been so big if the bi-lingual state had not been forced on an unwilling people. The only common programme of the various Opposition groups that have rallied round the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha Gujerat Janata Parishad is opposition to the bilingual state and a vote for them is purely a vote against the present set-up.

Mr. Morarji Desai has tried to oversimplify the issue by saying that the defeat in Maharashtra is due to the internal quarrels of Maharashtra Congressmen. A critic has pointed out that Mr. Morarji Desai should be the last man to speak about the factions amongst Maharashtra Congressmen. Throughout his tenure as Chief Minister he tried to play one group of Maharashtra Congressmen against the other. He included at least two members in his Cabinet against the express wishes of the M. P. C. C. These men had no merit except that they were willing to act as his yes-men and have now been defeated. Again it is alleged that he encouraged the rivalry between Mr. Hiray and Mr. Chavan. Apart from these allegations his resort to firing and refusal to have a judicial inquiry of the same went against him in Gujerat as well as in Maharashtra.

NO OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP

Another handicap of the Congress in Maharashtra is that it has no outstanding leadership. The sober sec-

tion of it like Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Hiray and Gadgil are all supporters of Samyukta Maharashtra and are *persona non grata* with the Congress High Command. When they accepted the bigger bilingual state under protest they became *persona non grata* with the general public. Those like Mr. Chavan, Deogirikar, and Deokinandan who say that they have accepted the bilingual decision have absolutely no influence with the masses. The result is that there is nobody to sell the idea of the bigger bilingual state. The official Congress line of argument has been that the bilingual is a *fait accompli* and should be accepted as nothing can be done to undo it. The Opposition appealed to the voters that to defeat the Congress at the polls was the surest and only way to have the decision changed. Hence even the staunchest supporters of Samyukta Maharashtra were defeated simply because they stood on the Congress ticket. Mr. N. V. Gadgil's defeat is an example. Of course it is also true that the Congress leaders in Maharashtra as elsewhere have lost touch with the masses, but the anti-bilingual feeling is so overwhelming that even the most active Congressmen were routed at the hands of Samiti candidates.

OPPOSITION INTO LIMELIGHT

Even during the 1952 elections the total of Opposition votes was somewhat more than the total of Congress votes. As the Opposition parties did not give a joint fight the Congress secured an overwhelming majority. This time all non-Congress parties welded a strong joint front. During the past five years they had launched several local agitations like the Jungle Satyagraha by Adiwasis in Nasik District, the movement for higher rents from sugar mills in Ahmednagar district, the agitation for reopening the closed Sholapur Mills, the Harijan movement for abolition of Mahar Vats which were all launched by various Opposition parties and

though most of them failed to secure their objectives they put the Opposition parties and leaders into the limelight. The Goa Satyagraha proved a godsend to the Opposition parties to come together. From the Communists down to the members of the Jan Sangh they enthusiastically supported the Satyagraha though they hardly had any faith in the principle. The Satyagraha gave them an opportunity to contact the masses and at the same time to vilify the Congress.

The Opposition is composed of diverse elements no doubt, but when they come together they are formidable as they comprise groups having living touch with the people. Thus the Scheduled Caste Federation is an army of well disciplined voters, and the Jan Sangh is a band of skilful agitators. The Praja Socialists under the leadership of Mr. S. M. Joshi and the Communists under the leadership of a strategist like Mr. Dange proved more than a match for Congress campaigners with the result that Congressmen lost heavily. In Gujarat though the anti-Congress feeling was no less strong, Opposition parties are not so strong as they are in Maharashtra nor was the joint front so thoroughly organised. Hence it could secure only local successes. In fact not only Congressmen but even the Opposition underestimated the intensity of anti-Congress feeling in the general public. Had they formed a united front in the Vidarbha area they would have been within sight of getting a majority and unseating the Congress.

The new Assembly will have considerable new blood. The Pradesh Congress Committee did not give due consideration to the High Command instructions to put up new candidates, but the electorate has returned young and promising members of the Opposition parties in large numbers. It is expected that these young men will function more effectively as the representatives of the people.

PREMARITAL SEX RELATIONS IN AMERICA

By ALBERT ELLIS, Ph.D.

(Continued from last issue)

THERE are many obvious benefits to be derived from premarital sex relations. Here are some of them:

1. *Release.* Most human beings require some form of steady sexual release for their maximum healthfulness, happiness, and efficient functioning. If these individuals are not married—which many millions of them, of course, are not—perhaps the best form of release from sexual tension they may obtain is through having heterosexual premarital relations.

2. *Psychological.* In many, though by no means all instances individuals who do not have premarital affairs are beset with serious psychological strain and conflict and tend to be obsessed with sexual thoughts and feelings. Most of these individuals can be considerably relieved of their hypertension if they have satisfactory nonmarital affairs.

3. *Competence.* In sexual areas, as in most other fields of human endeavour, practice makes perfect and familiarity breeds contempt for fear. In the cases of millions of unmarried males and females who are relatively impotent or frigid, there is little doubt that if they engaged in steady heterosexual relations they would become enormously more sexually competent.

4. *Improved marital section.* Because marriage is usually infrequent and longlasting for any given individual, the person who marries should have the kind of knowledge and training that will best fit him to make a good marital choice.

There is little doubt that the very

best experience he can acquire in this connection is to have one or more premarital affairs and, through these affairs, to be able to discover much relevant information about himself and members of the other sex.

Moreover, the individual who has such affairs is well able to wait patiently until he is in a good psychological and socio-economic condition to marry, while he who has no such affairs is often impelled to make a rash and poorly selected marriage out of (conscious or unconscious) sexual deprivation.

5. *Prophylaxis against deviation.* As has been pointed out in previous columns in this series, many individuals in our society become involved in fixed or exclusive homosexuality, or in other forms of sex fetichism or perversion, largely because they do not have ample opportunity for early heterosexual involvements. Premarital relations doubtlessly constitute the best possible prophylaxis to the development of serious psychosexual deviations.

6. *No double standard.* The maintenance of premarital virginity, particularly among females, almost inevitably leads to a double standard of sex morality and to fascist type discrimination against equal rights for women. Widespread premarital affairs invariably break down this autocratic, anti-female attitude and lead to real democracy and equality between the sexes.

7. *Decrease in jealousy.* Violent jealousy between men and women is largely the result of the banning of extramarital affairs and the viewing of one's mate as one's exclusive pro-

perly. This kind of pathological jealousy would probably tend to be distinctly reduced if a more liberal attitude toward premarital affairs were extant.

8. *De-emphasis on pornography.* The increasing emphasis on the female form and on pornographic presentations that is currently so widespread is largely fomented by the restrictions on premarital sexuality. The more an individual engages in satisfactory and consistent premarital relations, the less he will usually be inclined to be interested in second-hand picturizations of sex.

9. *Limiting prostitution.* There is no question that wherever premarital sex relations on a voluntary basis become more common, prostitutional relations tend to decrease considerably. If prostitution is thought to have distinct dangers and hazards, then the best way to eradicate these would be to encourage premarital non-prostitutional affairs.

10. *Limiting abortion, illegitimacy, and venereal diseases.* If the facts of premarital relations were squarely faced and provided for, it would be a relatively simple matter to minimize or eradicate the danger of abortion, illegitimacy, and venereal disease.

It is by combating premarital affairs that we fruitlessly employ efforts that could much better be spent in eliminating certain dangers which, almost entirely because of puritan bolstering, are still connected with such affairs.

11. *Inhibiting sex offenses.* Most sex offenders are only impulsive, promiscuous individuals with widespread experience; but, on the contrary, are overly-inhibited, constricted persons with relatively little hetero-sexual experience. If these individuals would engage in more frequent, more satisfying premarital affairs, there is little doubt that most of them would commit many fewer sex offenses.

This, then, is a nonexhaustive list of some of the main advantages of premarital sex relations. Such a list does not indicate, of course, that antenuptial intercourse is good for all persons at all times under all circumstances. Obviously, it is not.

The real question is, however: Should the informed and intelligent individual usually engage in premarital affairs?

—The Independent.

SPRING SONG

Round they go, round they go, young
people waltzing,
As lightly as birds on the wing,
Gently the breezes blow, greenly the
grasses grow,

Marking the coming of spring.

CHORUS:

Many the friends we shall make as
we go

Each on his separate way, but—

Friends of our youth,

Friends are in truth,

These we shall cherish for aye.

—The Festival

An indignant letter from a man in the North of England was broadcast in the regular "Reading Your Letters" section of the BBC programme "Woman's Hour" recently. He had heard a broadcaster asking why it was that women lived longer than men, "when it is the man who get the extra rasher of bacon or the last egg," and wrote post haste to point out that this state of affairs reflected no credit on women. "The things that drive a man to an early grave," he wrote, "are those little things that his wife forces on him when he has had enough. Woman can go to bed when she likes and stop eating when she pleases. Man, out of politeness or a desire for a quiet life has to stay up while she finishes her row; and when she dumps that extra spoonful of food on his plate 'because she hates to have scraps left over,' she ought to realise that she is driving another nail into his coffin."

—BBC

INDIA'S POLICY OF NEUTRALITY

By B. S. SANYAL

As a citizen belonging to the North Bombay constituency where V. K. Krishna Menon contested the Lok Sabha seat, I had to discuss Nehru's foreign policy with my fellow voters. In my attempt to prove that Nehru's policy was pro-Communist and not really neutralist, the following examination of the possible assumptions underlying that policy was helpful:

1. EXTREME NEUTRALITY

(a) India refuses military and economic aid from others and she relies on her own resources for defence and for progress.

The result of this policy will be a power vacuum in India, and India will fall an easy prey to the two probable aggressors—Pakistan and the expanding Communist empire. To argue that adequate military preparedness may invite aggression is misleading: Turkey, for example, though adequately prepared, has not been invaded by the U. S. S. R. Adequate military preparedness in self-defence is not only *not immoral*, but is the only moral position possible in the situation.

(b) India may take economic aid from others (including both America and Russia) for economic progress, but must not take military aid—not even from countries other than America and Russia.

This too would lead to the same result as in the previous case. The apparent improvement upon the first position rests on the assumption that the only way to meet the Communist challenge is by developing a

better social and economic order. It implies that Communism offers people under its rule better conditions than they enjoy in non-Communist countries. "Emigration proves the contrary. In the frantic rush of refugees from European countries and regions under Communist rule, in the escapees from Communist North Korea, in the large number of Chinese Communist and North Korean POWs who refused to go home, in the victims of the Viet-minh terror in Vietnam one sees the same pattern. Second, that Communism can be opposed by merely improving the social order is dangerous nonsense. Any social order, no matter how ideal, without adequate defenses would fall before the Communists' calculated policies of armed aggression." (W. H. Chamberlin, *10 Traps For The Unwary*)

2. NEUTRALITY PROPER

India may take aid—both military and economic, from countries other than U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. Neutrality here means nonalliance with either of the belligerent states, but it does not preclude alliance with the non-belligerent nations.

There are no other states than U. S. A., not even U. S. S. R. which can give us adequate economic aid. We can, relying on our own resources, buy all kinds of goods from states other than the two: this would leave us as inadequately prepared as in the first case—unless all the weak states of the world enter into a military alliance. But then the attempt to organise the Third Bloc was not taken up seriously. The forces of polarisation proved so strong that even the

so-called neutralist India under Nehru's leadership gravitated towards Russia and the Third Bloc could not come into existence. Nehru's inferiority complex was expressed in 'Asian' anti-colonialism.

3. QUALIFIED NEUTRALITY

India may take aid, both military and economic, from U. S. A. but not from U. S. S. R., and yet remain neutral.

It is admitted on all hands including the Communists that U. S. S. R. wants India (and all other states) to become Communist and that, to this end, she brings all kinds of pressure to bear upon the chosen victim. Does U. S. A. wish and do likewise? It is a patent fact that Americanism is not *par* with Communism. U. S. A. does not want any world religion called Americanism to be realised in the form of an *Americanist* world state and world culture. U. S. A. wants the non-Communist states to remain non-Communist and grow in the democratic way. That such happens to be quite as powerful as U. S. S. R. does not prove that she has ambitions to rule over the whole world; she is prosperous and self-sufficient with a wide market at her disposal. Since U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. cannot be taken as of the same category, the question of neutralism in the proper sense does not arise. It would arise if U. S. A. too wanted India to become American.

For India to try to play the role of a mediator has already put her in an unenviable position. Pakistan has manoeuvred us into a false position over the Kashmir affair by taking full advantage of Nehru's anti-West policy. India has already lost the enormous fund of good-will of the Western powers. Her neutrality now looks like deliberate pro-Soviet policy. In a future war between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R., India as a buffer state (if

she remains independent till then) will meet the fate of Korea or Indo-China. She will then have to make a choice whether to ally herself with the Free World or the Communist empire. The only way out of this tight corner is to go with the American bloc brushing aside considerations of sentiment and prestige. We may then drop the word 'neutrality'; we need not make a fetish of the word. The word may still be used since in the absence of any pro-Communist or pro-American aggressive designs on her part, her position will be quite consistent with the tenets of neutrality. To take the right side for adequate self-defence is still neutrality so long as we refuse to get directly involved in war, or to serve, in the meantime, the aggressive designs of either party. Our official policy is not neutralist in this sense. It is pro-Communist, since it has been serving the aggressive designs of one of the parties, the party with aggressive designs.

4. PSEUDO-NEUTRALITY

India may take aid, both military and economic, from U. S. S. R. but not from U. S. A., and yet remain neutral.

This seems to be the official position today. The words 'neutrality', 'non-alignment', 'peace', 'co-existence', *Panch Shila* etc. have been deliberately used to camouflage the pursuit of a pro-Communist policy. The Socialist pattern (an euphemism for the Communist pattern) of the Five-Year Plans, the interventionist political economy (nationalisation, heavy taxation, interim budget etc.), the anti-West foreign policy driving the erstwhile friendly nations to the championing of the cause of Pakistan, hobnobbing with the Communist rulers and above all, the refusal to modernise the Indian army with American aid—all these go to show that Nehru is their man.

MR. POOCHANDI

WHEN I was a little child my mother had a way of getting me to do unpleasant things, such as eating my quota of food and sleeping before others did, by pronouncing the magic word, "Poochandi," an invisible apparition which seemed to be always at the back and end of all mothers and nurses and Enemy Number One of all children.

Now "Poochandi" is a Tamil word for so I believe, and though I am quite sure his personality is international and must be familiar to the children of the West as it is to those of the East, I do not know whether there is any word in the English language to describe him, at any rate as well as the Tamil word does.

Mothers and more especially grandmothers purposely leave the make-up and characteristics of "Poochandi" vague because for one thing the fear is greater in children on that account and for another they themselves do not know. It is enough to indicate, they think, that "Poochandi" is a person of awful countenance, tall and strong, with overgrown hair on the face and all over the body who carries away bad and crying children, perhaps never to return them.

This vagueness while it has generally proved useful in critical situations, has led to complications, family misunderstandings and a host of other troubles not foreseen by the creators of "Poochandi."

The other day my neighbour had a visitor. He did not know who he was until the latter revealed himself as his brother whose physical features rendered quick recognition impossible. The visitor had his hair matted and bundles of it were hanging loose over his shoulders like small and big stones tied by strings to snake gourd in the garden; thick black hair ran wild on the face and almost hid its fair complexion; the moustache, unplugged and untrimmed, dripped

over the lips and the beard, fair-sized and conical in shape, extended to the neck where it almost covered the sacred beads which matched its black with a reddish brown.

It was dark when the visitor entered the house and hardly were the introductions over when a scream pierced the silence of the house and the patter of small feet running hither and thither crying: "I would be a good boy, I won't misbehave, I will obey my parents, send the Poochandi away," rent the air.

My neighbour realised that his four-year-old son and heir, Murali, had been scared by the appearance of his brother and he, supported by his wife, rushed to take hold of the boy and reassure him. But the child would not be reassured. It freed itself from their grip and ran all over the house, shouting at the top of its voice and entreating them not to come near him. Tears ran like a flood down his cheeks and his words were choked with emotion. He appealed to them not to hand him over to Poochandi.

It was no use explaining to the child that it was not Poochandi, but his own uncle who had grown all that bad as he had a vow to fulfil at Tirupathi. Its only reply was: "Please send him away. Don't hand me over to him."

The uncle now committed a grave mistake. He thought he would explain to the child and it was sure to recognise his voice. But as he approached it, calling affectionately, "Murali, don't you know your uncle?" Murali screamed and beat his head and face and waved him away. "Don't touch me, go away," he cried as the uncle went near him. And when he tried to lift him and take him into his arms, the boy made one last effort to let the world know that he is being kidnapped by Poochandi and fainted. The inert body lay in the

visitor's hands and he was shocked and frightened.

Murali's mother in a sudden fit of fury snatched the body from his hands and hugging it to her breast, wept loudly and hurled curses at him. "You came to kill my child. What wrong did we commit that you should seek to wreak vengeance on us," she taunted him, sobbing, "you are no uncle, you are a devil, go away."

Murali's father had been rooted to the spot and only his wife's cruel words directed against his brother awakened him from his stupor and he struck her face. "Have you lost all sense of proportion that you should become ill-mannered and behave like an idiot?" he asked her. "The child had only fainted. Go and bring some water and sprinkle it on his face." He turned to speak to his brother, but he had left the house. He called out to him standing at the doorway, but there was no response.

He need not have worried, for his brother at that moment was taking shelter in my house. He had knocked at my door and when I opened it, I must admit I was a bit frightened when I saw him. "Who are you and what do you want," I asked the ghost-like figure. "Please, sir, let me in, I shall explain to you everything," he said in a pleading voice.

I led the way to the drawing room and indicated a chair to him. He sat, drew deep breath and then covering his face with his hands burst into weeping. I allowed him to calm down and waited for him to speak.

"I am a god-fearing man," he began, "and I don't know why I have to endure all this suffering and humiliation. Can't a man grow his hair and beard in fulfilment of a vow?"

He paused, wiped his tears and continued: "My vow required that I should go to Tirupati by rolling on the road and asking for alms. When I had rolled and begged for alms for a few hours every day I used to take rest in a choultry before proceeding

on my journey. One night I lost my way and asked an urchin to guide me.

"I don't know what was the matter with him. He gave me one glance and took to his heels, saying something vociferously which I could not understand. But I understood soon enough. I cursed my fate and continued my way. I had not gone a furlong when I heard a terrific noise and shouting behind me. I turned back and saw that a group of people, young and old, with lighted torches were running in my direction. They were crying: 'Stop, kidnapper of children, catch him, he steals children.'"

It was clear to me that there was misapprehension about my identity, and the procession that was approaching me was thirsting for my blood. I wondered for a brief while if I could not stand my ground and convince the mob that I was a respectable citizen and not an anti-social being as they imagined. I concluded, however, in the menacing circumstances that discretion was the better part of valour and ran. That, of course, was the mistake I made. Where there was a lingering doubt in some in the advancing crowd was now confirmed belief that I was a kidnapper of children and the pursuit took on new vigour and determination. The crowd openly talked of its strategy even while it chased me and I heard my doom pronounced even as I tried to get away from its clutches. It occurred to me that there was a wonderful unanimity on what should be done to me once I was captured. I heard no dissent to the plan that I should be tied to a tamarind tree upside down and burnt alive.

"I prayed and thought of the home and children I was leaving. I would have given anything at that moment to have one last look at my wife and children. My head was in a turmoil and I felt weak. My feet slowed down and my eyes played tricks with me. Then everything went blank.

"I don't know how long I was un-

conscious and how I came to be in a police lock-up where I revived. A kindly police constable who was stationed to guard me informed me that I was in protective custody. I heard shouts and loud noises outside and it appeared to me it was not a peaceful atmosphere. I asked the constable what the trouble was about.

"The constable looked at me queerly and laughed: 'Are you kidding me? Don't you know that the crowd which is storming the police station is demanding your blood. The sub-inspector has already sent an S. O. S. for reinforcements and meanwhile is humouring the crowd and playing for time.'

"They want my blood, what for,' I asked myself and then the events of the past few hours surged in on my mind and I collapsed again from sheer fright. Meanwhile, word had been sent to the S. I. that I had recovered and he came to interview me.

"Mister," he began, "why do you want to steal children and what do you do with them? It was fortunate you fainted near the police station and that we picked you up in good time, otherwise the crowd would have torn you to pieces." He shook me by the shoulders and demanded an answer.

"I did not reply but looked at his face which was familiar. I tried hard to remember and it seemed a long time before I could recall his name. It was Ramu, my school chum and I shouted his name in ecstasy as though the name was a talisman which would restore me to freedom and security. Ramu blinked and gave no sign of recognition. 'Don't you remember me Ramu, I am Krishnan, your chum in school. Come, look closer at my eyes, surely you have not forgotten me.'

"The S. I. was lost in thought for a second and he scrutinised my face. And recognition came in a flash. He hugged me and I tried to keep him away so that he should not be contaminated by my filthy condition.

"'Krishnan, you fool,' he said at last, 'how did you come to be in this position?' I explained to him the vow and the little incident with the urchin.

"From Ramu I learnt that for the past one week there had been a scare in the place about children being kidnapped and that the populace had been considerably excited. The boy whom I had asked for the way had been brought up with a wholesome fear of Poochandis who carried away children, and when he saw me he had no difficulty in identifying me as Poochandi from the description his mother had given him on more than one occasion. He fled to broadcast his discovery and the rest I knew, Ramu concluded.

"Ramu went out and told the crowd that there had been a mistake, that the man whom they accused of being a child stealer was a respectable gentleman who was under a vow which explained his physical condition and that they should now go home and sleep soundly. The crowd, which had been robbed of its prey, slowly melted and Ramu came back, ordered a wash and supply of fresh clothes for me and said I should leave the town quickly and not return until after I had completed the vow and resumed my normal countenance.

"I thanked him for saving me from lynching, got into the train and came here to see my brother on my way to Tirupati where I am not due till tomorrow." He proceeded to give me an account of what happened next door which I have already recorded.

He slumped back in the chair exhausted. I allowed him to sleep and when I peeped into the room, the next morning, he had gone, without waking the house and creating another domestic crisis, for my son is no less afraid of Poochandi as the boy next door or for that matter as boys and girls the world over.

SOLDIERS OF THE SKY

By STANTON EDWARDS

WHAT'S this? A power scooter adorning a vehicle that looks like a power scooter with a boom protruding out the rear. That, in a hurried view, is the one-man portable rotorcycle, the most practical step for the sky cavalry of the future.

The rotorcycle, fast moving into production, will literally fold into a small package for the move to the front, or drop by parachute to reassemble on the ground. It is among several projects known as VTOL, vertical take-off and landing aircraft, that are the forerunners of honest-to-goodness rocket scooters.

It's not just speculation either, this business about an airborne army making lightning assaults via the rotorcycles, or using them to get into the immediate battle area in a land campaign.

Gen. Carl I. Hutton, commandant of the U. S. Army Aviation School, Fort Rucker, Ala., says the army will take delivery of 15 H32's, known as Flying Hornets. These rotorcycles weigh only 550 pounds and are powered by a 23-foot-long rotary blade driven by small "ram jet" engines at the blade tips.

The new principle of flight with no inside power plant eliminates transmission systems and other complicated parts standard in conventional-drive helicopters. It resulted from the U. S. Services' search for a baby's copter that is less complicated, less expensive to operate than previous models.

Constructed of fibreglass in the fuselage and tail boom, the Flying Hornet can go as high as 7,000 feet. It has a 28-mile range.

Other revolutionary VTOL projects have been tested, but none to date has reached the same advanced stage as the rotorcycle.

Consider "Bee" and the Flying Platform at Link. Helicopters, in both Army and Navy, are the rotorcycles that are in demand for the future of VTOL flight.

BRAIN CHILD OF ZIMMERMAN

Thrust vector flight, the aeronautical principle used in the projects, was the brain child of a Connecticut engineer, Charles Zimmerman. Experimenting with his "aerocycle" through the war years, he was eventually able to command the attention first of the U. S. Government, then of the Hiller people.

The Flying Platform is the first heavier-than-aircraft to be flown in which ordinary controls are scrapped. In riding the platform the amount of thrust is exerted to raise it as is applied by the weight of the pilot downwards. When the forces are equalized, the vehicle is stable. To move, the pilot need only tilt his body in the direction he wants to go. Estimated flying time for the platform, in one form is shed, however, to 20 minutes.

Another project, the Heli-Vector, which uses the Zimmerman patent also, has a 60-mile range on a 21-gallon tank of fuel.

"These revolutionary changes from conventional aircraft will make the last 50 years of flight look like horse-and-buggy days," states Gen. Hutton.

THE AGE-OLD BUGABOO

There is yet another side to the story of the U. S. Army's use of aircraft. It is the age-old bugaboo of rivalry between the army and the air force. Army leaders say they are concerned with land battle and it is their job to provide soldiers with the necessary equipment and weapons. They cannot, in the words of officials, subscribe to any policy that prevents them from having what they need.

A popular military conception is that anything that walks belongs to the army; anything that swims belongs to the navy, and anything that flies is the property of the air force. This can be a shortsighted and awkward viewpoint; it is now realized. "What is really needed in the United States and Canada are sea, land and air forces organized and equipped to win a war and win it fast", says Gen. Hutton. "Each of the forces must have whatever is necessary to get them rapidly active in the overall campaign."

The dispute is not confined to the United States. In Canada, De Havilland Aircraft is rushing the production of a "flying truck", the DHC-4, that can take off from a football field and transport soldiers to the front.

While it is not a VTOL project in the strict sense, it does embody the service versus service philosophy; it will give the Canadian army control of some air movements and thus clip some of the jurisdiction now enjoyed by the RCAF.

Why should an infantryman have to walk little more than a half mile an hour when he should be getting to his destination sooner and faster? army officials ask. Tactical concepts in action today are based on a combination of fire-power and movement, a tie-up effective in Korea, they point out. Fire-power neutralizes the target, the movement captures the objective. Now, they wonder, just what role will the rotorcycles and similar projects play in their military theories?

None of Russia's satellites will be allowed to exercise discretion on this point.

There is also the possibility of Pakistan too ultimately going red. The Communists will certainly infiltrate from India into Pakistan and it is doubtful whether Pakistan, with the dissensions in its leadership, will be able to resist the spread of Communism.

The upshot of all this will be that India will have served the Communist cause of aggression in the most generous terms.

Let us now consider the possibility of India's alignment with America. It will mean that we shall retain our independence, since America is not going to interfere in our internal affairs whether politically, economically or culturally, that we shall modernise our army and shall no longer have to consider Pakistan as a serious danger to be reckoned with, and that we shall remain non-Communist with some hope of immunity.

INDO-PAK. AFFINITY

In such a case, the differences between India and Pakistan will melt and both will see the advantage of close co-operation (foreign policy will be a common factor) which might ultimately lead to a re-union of Pakistan and India. The partition is not final since it was only a political expedient and one political

expedient can be followed by another quite contrary to the first. The US will certainly favour such a step since it will be more convenient for her. The Hindus in India will not oppose this step since there are already many Muslims living in India today. It is also very likely that East Pakistan will endorse the plan.

However, Pakistan may resist it on religious grounds. The Islamic group-ego has grown with the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state. This involves two possibilities: either Pakistan may resist for quite a time but may finally agree to a merger or she may go over to Communism to preserve her Islamic character. (Nasser has been acting in much the same way). The first is more likely since Pakistan will be retaining her Islamic character by merging with India but will be losing it totally by going communist. But in case Pakistan decides to go over to the Communist camp, it will mean that we shall have one single enemy in the form of Communism-cum-Islam. Strategically speaking, this contingency will be better than having two enemies as we now have.

Alliance with America is much the safer course. To ignore this historical necessity is to (1) fall a victim to that geographic monstrosity, the Indo-Pak partition and (2) to put to grave risk the welfare of future generations of Indians.

THE FOLKSONGS OF INDIA

By BALA RATNAM

THE folksong, as Krapp says, is "a song, i.e., a lyric poem; with melody which originated anonymously, among unlettered folk in times past, and which remains in currency for a considerable time, as a rule, for centuries." It is very often the sound, not the sense, that constitutes the beauty of these songs. They are replete with minor details, and refuse to follow any rules of prosody. All the same they are a source of delight and relaxation amongst the rural people.

India's folksongs are of the soil, of open and free atmosphere, and are of many varieties. They are unfettered by any conventions and are the spontaneous expressions of the human heart. They enshrine the genius of the people. They relate to every walk of life from birth to death, and are handed from generation to generation, and village to village, by mere oral transmission in the absence of written records. They do not form the monopoly of any single individual, but are a universal possession. It is therefore no surprise that some changes are made in the passage of these songs through various hands.

The folksongs are associated with religious rites, and social ceremonies. Men and women, young and old, all alike share the unalloyed joy of the songs. Their roots going deep down into the ancient soil, folksongs help us to understand the mind and temper of the people; they breathe the life force of their genius. The songs are generally simple in form and matter, and give an insight into the motive forces of the folk-mind.

UNIVERSAL APPEAL

Folksongs have justified their existence. They touch that which is universal. Released under the spell of music, the peasant works in the field;

"like the shadows of wheel-spokes moving, life's eternal joys and sorrows roll on with him as the refrain of his music of toil repeats its call; as its constant notes of love for nature find place on his lips." The toiled at the fields has his songs; the solemn occasions of his life—the seed-time and the harvest—enrich his imagination.

The boatman, smart and sturdy, sings songs of sweetness and sorrow while going along the current of water when he is free from playing the oar. His songs tell of love and romance, and it may be mentioned that from very early times Kerala afforded all facilities for boating, studded as she is with a large number of streams and rivers, lagoons and lakes.

The boatmen are always jolly, and their songs are sometimes full of cultural and literary value.

"It is long since I saw my black darling
I sought her far, I sought her near,
Alas! Alas! the woe it did bring
Gentle breezes, whisper softly
Murmur, zephyrs sweet and low,
Tell me if you have seen my dearest
As wandering here and there, you go
Past the lovely land of Goa,
In a stone house near Bombay
Dwells she with her lovely daughter;
Both I saw one sunny day."

The literal refrain of this snatch of a song is as follows:

"Thai, ke thur thum,
Thai, thoom thath thath thai
Thai, thai thim."

Another delightfully interesting song reads:

"Who will marry this lovely maiden?
I will marry her! I will marry her.
Seven hundred fanams, I demand.

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CHANGING DATES

By "NAMBS"

FROM the 22nd of March 1957 onwards we are having a Saka Era Calendar in addition to the one present, the Gregorian Calendar. The Tamil, the Telugu, the Malayalee, the Muslim, the Bengali—all have their own calendars based on their respective social practices. Alongside of these is the Gregorian Calendar, which we have observed all along and which is observed all over the world, bringing uniformity for general purposes. Even the community holidays and festivals are found in these "English" dates and every one in the land has got used to this.

THE WORLD CALENDAR

About twenty-five years ago a World Calendar Association was formed in America as a non-profit philanthropic body with the idea of bringing about calendar reform. This was the work of Miss Elizabeth Achilles, a rich heiress who decided to devote her wealth for the purpose of calendar reform. A large number of enthusiasts all over the world supported the new idea, to have one calendar which could be adopted all over the world by all religions, castes and communities. With its Headquarters in New York this Association was also very helpful to all its members who visited the metropolis on business or holiday. The Association published a quarterly journal propagandising the idea, publishing articles from experts in different walks of life.

The World Calendar took shape with the promulgation of a year with 365 days, divided into four quarters of 91 days each. The last day of the year was not to be counted but was called the World's Day. In the leap year the 366th day was added after the first two quarters of the year. This day was left off as a

holiday. So it was an arrangement by which the First of January would fall every year on a Sunday. Many other advantages were claimed for the Calendar. The Association approached to the United Nations in 1952 with a request to have the World Calendar idea adopted all over the world. This proposal gained further strength in the year 1954.

THE UNESCO MEETS

On April 20, 1956 the UNESCO sat to consider the proposal made for the aforesaid calendar reform. Of the 80 countries addressed by the Secretary-General of the U. N. only 32 countries replied. Mr. C. W. A. Schuman of the Netherlands said in the Council that it was not the time to consider the proposed calendar reform because of its implications on religious sentiment and because of the objections from various other quarters. The United States opposed the idea of the World Calendar reform by saying that the UN could "usefully devote its manpower and funds to more vital and urgent tasks." By a 15 to none vote in the Council the World Calendar proposal was indefinitely shelved.

The above quoted remark applies to what is happening in India. Because while no positive benefit is found in what is called a new calendar of the Saka Era there is enough to confuse the people.

Then why has this complicated change been forced on our great nation? Of course, in India today if some one in authority has a brain wave it has to be carried out, however foolish it ultimately may turn out to be.

NEW CALENDAR FOR INDIA

The Council of Scientific Industrial Research appointed the Indian Calendar Reform Committee in 1953 and its inaugural meeting was held on the 21st of February 1953. In his message the Prime Minister of India observed: "It is true that for Governmental and many other public purposes we follow the Gregorian Calendar, which is used in the greater part of the world. The mere fact that it is largely used makes it important. The Calendars are the natural result of our past political and cultural history and partly represent the past political divisions in the country . . . It is difficult to change a calendar to which people are used, because it affects social practices. But the attempt has to be made even though it may not be as complete as can be desired."

Well it is this desire to make an attempt which fell upon the Calendar Reform Committee presided over by the late Dr. Meghnath Saha. Mr. A. C. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University; Dr. K. L. Daftary, Nagpur (died 20-2-1956); Mr. J. S. Karandikar, former editor of *Kesari*, Poona; Prof. R. V. Valdia, senior lecturer in Mathematics, Poona; Dr. Gorakh Prasad Reader in Mathematics, Allahabad, and Mr. N. C. Lahiri, Ganitachar, Astro-Research Bureau, Calcutta, were the other members of this Calendar Reform Committee.

The Committee is said to have studied the thirty odd types of calendars used in various parts of India. Actually the two main varieties would be what is called the Solar Calendar and the Lunar Calendar. For example, the New Year Day of Tamil and Malayalam eras fall on succeeding days in most years; in some years they fall on the same day. The Bengali New Year day also coincides with these days. The Telugu New Year's day happens to fall a few days before this Tamil New Year's day.

Dr. J. Nussbaum, Secretary-General of the Religious Liberty Association, speaking in Bombay on 16th April 1954 strongly opposed the move for calendar reform. He said, "before some years America was in favour of such reform but they now strongly opposed it." He further said that the Gregorian Calendar, introduced by Pope Gregory in 1542, was accurate and would continue to be so for centuries to come.

In 1792 France made an experiment in Calendar reform and then gave it up.

WASTEFUL EFFORT

So experts hit the headlines in the newspapers, and ultimately the test came when the U. N. took up the suggestion of the World Calendar Association as sponsored by India in 1954. This idea was given up by a voting of the Council in April 1956. But the Calendar Reformists in India would not let it go. The World Calendar idea came up in America, but that very country has now given it up; but here in India we persist in this wasteful effort.

The Calendar Reform Committee in India has made a voluminous report which is sold at Rs. 9 a copy. Their suggestion has been accepted and we have now what is called the Saka Era. The year 1956 is said to coincide with the year 1877-78 of the Saka Era. The year under Saka Era would begin on March 22nd in the ordinary year and on March 21 in a leap year. So with 22nd March 1957 the Government of India has put the Saka Era into use side by side with the existing calendar.

As to the use of the calendar change or the purpose of it, no one has been able to define it so far. So we have to leave it at that. The chairman and one important member of the Indian Calendar Committee died before they were able to see their suggestion adopted. Peace be to their souls.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

"Darling," said the Hollywood bride, entering her home with her new husband, "this house is familiar. Are you sure we weren't married once before?"

A railroad agent in Africa had been reprimanded repeatedly for doing things without orders from headquarters and one day his boss received the following telegram:

"Tiger on freight platform eating the driver. Wire instructions."

"Dad, I've got my first part in a play," announced a prospective actor. "I act the part of a man who's been married for twenty years."

"That's not bad, son," replied the father. "If you're any good they might give you a speaking part in the next production."

An airman forced to bale out over Belfast on a Sunday, crashed to the ground. People rushed to his assistance.

"What happened?" one of them asked.

"My parachute let me down—it wouldn't open," replied the airman.

"Well you might have known," said the other, "nothing opens in Belfast on Sundays."

A tramp was appealing to a sympathetic-looking woman. "I wasn't always like this, lady. I used to be a top electrician at a theatre, but I was fired because of a terrible mistake."

"You poor man," said the woman. "What did you do?"

"Well, I was gradually dimming the lights as one of the strip-tease girls finished her act. Then she called for her tights—but I thought she said lights!"

"Are you intending to make a purchase, madam?" asked the exasperated assistant.

"Certainly," replied the customer acidly.

"Well, I'm glad to know that, madam. I thought you were stock-taking!"

A man dashed into the fire station. He was very excited and burst out with: "I'm sorry to interrupt, but my wife has disappeared again."

One of the firemen looked up.

"That's too bad," he sympathised, "but why tell us? Why not notify the police?"

The intruder shook his head.

"I don't dare tell the police," he explained. "I told them the last time she disappeared—and they went out and found her."

A commercial traveller had to make an urgent telephone call and was annoyed to find that the only telephone box in the hamlet was occupied by a woman.

He tried hard to keep his temper as she thumbed her way through the telephone book. At last he opened the door and volunteered his services as politely as he could.

"Can I help you to find a number, madam?" he asked.

"It's kind of you, but I'm afraid not, thanks," she said. "You see, I'm trying to find a nice name for my baby."

An old lady at the zoo was sitting on a camel, while the keeper was trying in vain to make it move. At last the old lady got off and started to pet it, but still it would not budge. Suddenly, however, it got up and went running off at a speed. The keeper turned to the old lady: "Madam," he said, "what did you do to him?"

"I only tickled his back!" she replied.

"Well," said the keeper, "you'd better tickle mine. I've got to catch

Short Story

By Sudha Ranganatha

THE MOLE

I have done something which nobody else has been able to do
for quite a while . . .

IT was about five in the evening. Our club will be usually crowded between the hours, five and six. We were all sitting under the tree, and as Mrs. Parvatham had not yet come, we naturally started discussing her.

Janaki began angrily, "She wangles even salt and mustard from her husband's clients. She abuses his position and brings down his prestige."

Let me tell you Janaki's husband Sundaravaradan, is an extremely 'honest' gentleman—he refused to accept presents even for his daughter's wedding, and he made her give them all back—that is a bit hard on Janaki, isn't it?

"Now, you must not say that she can at least keep her big mouth shut for five minutes a day"—said Meenakshi, laughing. It was Meenakshi's way to laugh at every thing. She has got both her son and daughter well married. Her son-in-law and her son have got good jobs. No wonder, she laughs at everything.

"Let her talk and I don't mind it. But she must allow others to say at least one word in between. She is trying hard for Secretaryship this year. If she gets it, our club will become perfectly odious"—blurted Shankari. Shankari is always in haste saying things hurriedly whenever she gets a chance. She has got her mother-in-law and sister-in-law living with her still, and I do not blame her for her hurry either.

"I don't mind her incessant talking. What I cannot bear is her beha-

viour—as if she is the only person in the world who knows every thing and that all the others are dunces!" added Muthulakshmi. Everything is always "unbearable" or "intolerable" for our Muthulakshmi. Poor thing! she does not have a child to console her.

"Yes, yes, she is always talking only about herself. Oh, there she is coming," I said, and put a stop to the conversation.

From where we were sitting, we could see Mrs. Parvatham stop the car at the gate and let herself down slowly. Then she waddled near the tennis court, where my daughter Rajani and her friends were playing glared at them for half a second, and then started coming towards us.

As soon as she neared and was within hearing distance, she started off "Oh, do you know that the boy gets the whole property?"

"Which boy? What property?" asked Janaki. "Oh yes, I forget that you people would not know about it. The judgement came only today. A millionaire died recently without leaving a proper will. All the relatives were fighting for the money. Suddenly, a boy appeared from nowhere and claimed that he was the long-lost son of the old man." Here she paused to catch her breath, and then seating herself comfortably, continued, "this boy had a mole as big as a pepper just in the middle of his neck, right below the chin, why you have a black one just there," she exclaimed turning towards me. "But,

I do not propose to contest the estate," I replied, as if that lady would be snubbed by this. "Well," she continued serenely unaware of the titters round her, "They proved that this boy was really the son of the old man. He has snatched the whole estate right out of the mouths of so many people! A similar case was heard in Louisiana in '25. It was with the help of the mole that this fellow also got his money. After all God has kept the moles there for a good purpose only. Why three years ago in Egypt . . ." Here Shankari could stand it no longer and interrupted. "No auntie," (we all called her auntie, out of respect for her age), "you can't say that. If we had as many brothers-in-law as we have moles on the right side and as many sisters-in-law as we have moles on the left, we are definitely doomed. I have got only one mole on my left side and see what trouble it has been giving me after twenty years." Even Mrs. Parvatham laughed because we all know what a virago her sister-in-law was.

"No, no, I do not mean it that way. It is easier to identify people because of these moles. My brother who is a superintendent of the Police, says, that the moles have helped quite a lot in identification of malefactors. She argued,

"But then you cannot say that the presence of a mole is entirely for the good. As far as the thieves are concerned, the moles are not lucky for them. Besides I have an idea that finger prints are the only infallible means of identification," I retorted.

"No, but listen. Last year—" she started again. I had to stop her somehow. "From my personal experience I should say that moles are rather unlucky to have. Why this mole that you pointed out just now, has been the cause of so much trouble," I told her.

"But . . ." began Janaki, and before she could proceed further, I signalled her to stop and continued my story.

"As usual, for this year Diwali purchase I went on shopping, rather early. I got nice things for everybody except Rajani. She was particular about a pale grey saree with bright green border and green dots all over it. I could not get that particular shade of grey here. Somebody told me that the shops in the City had better varieties and especially one shop—Swamy Silk Stores.

"Well, I went to China Bazaar, and moving through the crowd, turned into Nainiappa Naicken Street, and there took the third turning to the left. Here it was "one way traffic and no parking." So, I got down at the stores, and asked the driver to go one full round and then come again for me.

"The first thing that caught my eye was the beautiful grey saree displayed in the show-case. It was really delightful with its bright green border, all worked over, with zari in a pattern of seven petal lotus. The sari was decorated all over with small lotuses in green silk, and the border motif was repeated twice at the Pallav, where it will settle nicely over the wearer's shoulders. The price was rather high, Rs. 165, but I did not mind. I asked the salesman to fold it up and wandered further inside the shop. I was lucky again for I found the exact shade of grey in blouse material—grey with green and gold checks at Rs. 20 a yard. I asked him to take out three quarters in that and make out cash bill. This man mumbled that he would fetch the proprietor to accept the cash and brought him out of the interior. In spite of the ordinary castemark on the forehead and the uppercloth with its irreproachable folds, his face was vaguely familiar. But, I could not place him. Probably I thought, the attraction of the saree was making me soft towards him. He took the cash register and remarked casually, "we have got a fresh lot of Mysore crepe silks. Would you like to have a look at them?" Then lifting his head for

my answer, he looked at me, and suddenly gave a shiver. He started fixedly at my neck, and asked in a reprov- ing tone. "Aren't you Kondaneri Rajagopalan's daughter?" I was too surprised to answer and merely nodded in affirmation. "I recognised you by your mole. I am sorry, but this saree is not for sale. Please try somewhere else," he said. He must have guessed my bewilderment, and he added an explanation, "I am Ayyaswamy." He walked away, leaving me in a daze.

"On my way home, I recollected my memories of him. When I was six years old, I was staying with my maternal grand parents in their vil- lage. My grand father was well-to-do and I was his pet. I remember still, the big house sur- rounded by groves of mangoe, tama- rind and coconut trees. I was al- ways playing in the glades, though a discreet watchful eye was kept on me by the servants. My grand father always used to get out clothes woven by a friend of his—a Balu Mudaliar who owned several looms. This gen- tleman had come to see my grand father one day and he had brought his servant boy, Ayyaswamy, along with him. While the elders were talk- ing inside the house, this boy aged I think about ten or twelve years, had climbed up a mango tree, and was helping himself with the fruits. I ask- ed him to throw down one for me, and he refused. Immediately I raised a hue and cry and my grand father came running out. He had the boy bound to a tree and whipped him. Though I had forgotten the boy's face, I can never forget the look in his eyes when he was being thrashed. Later I learnt that he had left Balu Muda- liar and run away to Madras.

"So Appaswamy had made good and was prosperous enough to own a shop in the heart of the City, and what is more indulge in his grudge against me. Tell, I consoled myself with the

thought that a mango had saved me nearly Rs. 200.

"Still, if I had not had the mole, I would have got that exquisite saree!" I concluded.

Rajani had finished her game by this time, and she came up to us. "Mummy, we must go now. We pro- mised daddy we would be home by six," she said, and then noticing my neck, took her hand-kerchief and wiped it. "What is this mummy? I told you before we left that you had a spot of coal dust there and you have not yet wiped it," she added in a mildly vexed tone.

Even Mrs. Parvatham did not have anything to say to this. I walked to the car which was near. Just as I got in, Sankari came running up to the car and panted, "Do you mean that you have just bluffed us all this while?" I just smiled and said, "Well I do not know about bluffing. What- ever it be, I have done something which nobody else has been able to do for quite a while. I have kept that woman silent for more than half an hour listening to somebody else. Cheerio."

AWKWARD SPLIT

As every sub-editor knows, it is always dangerous to split one sen- tence into two headlines; the parts may acquire unintended meanings of their own. So with banners. We read of a demonstration lately put on by the African National Congress in Uganda. Banners were carried ins- cribed with slogans, among them, "We are fed up with the British Gov- ernment." But it proved impossible to get the whole slogan on to one ban- ner in large enough letters, so it was split. The first banner read: "We are fed"; the second: "Up with the Bri- tish Government."—(From the *Man- chester Guardian*)

New Books

ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE LITERA-
TURE. Edited by Donald Keene.
Allen & Unwin. 35 sh.

LITERATURE reflects the mind of a people more than anything else; and hence if we wish to really contact a people we must study their literature in all its variety. When the people have the essentials of greatness in them and the attractions of varied gifts with the inevitable weaknesses of human nature, then their literature will be of special de- light and usefulness to the readers. These are the considerations that make an anthology of Japanese lit- erature welcome to us.

The Japanese had raised themselves to the position of a world power by their talents, industry and enterprise. Their artistic gifts are of an indivi- dual and delicate nature, with a sim- plicity and economy of means that make them particularly attractive to outsiders. At the same time there are also the inherent excesses of emo- tion that bring their own ruinous effects. These are all reflected in their literature, specimens of which are put together skilfully by Dr. Keene in this comprehensive volume.

Though the Japanese literature is not as old as the Chinese or Indian or Greek it goes to some generations before Christ. But the earliest sur- viving Japanese book, according to Dr. Keene, is the *Kojiki* which was completed in 712 A.D. In this book may be seen the simpler characteris- tics of the Japanese mind. After that the Chinese influence began to be felt and a more philosophical tone crept into the poems and other works. But the *Man Yoshu* of the eighth century, "one of the world's great collections of poetry," is still Japa- nese though there are some Chinese

influences. With the Chinese influ- ence came also the influence of Bud- dhism. Abandoning the world was often used as the *deus ex machina* in the stories for escaping out of diffi- cult situations.

In Japan as in other countries it was poetry that developed first. Prose began to make progress only in the tenth century. Ki no Tsurayuki was one of the most important prose writ- ers. Fairy tales, poem-tales and dia- ries helped the writing of prose. Many of the writers were women. *The Tosa Diary*, *The Pillow Book*, Murasaki Shikibu's *Diary* and others are delightful books. But it is the *Tale of Genji* that is the supreme master- piece of Japanese literature.

Next come the dramatic works. The *NO* stage was a special feature of Japanese dramatic work. Other- worldliness, stillness and profundity were its characteristics. Against it was the *kyogen* stage presenting brief comedies. All these plays reveal a gossamer quality which is typically Japanese.

War and love figure as usual in many of the works. A poem referring to the civil war that was destroying the nation has some very interesting lines which may be quoted as typical lines:

Upon one body
Double heads opposing
Chopstick beaks in order,
Peck peck pecking off to death
One bird: both heads and body.

Some of the most important authors whose works are represent- ed in this anthology are Murasak Shikibu, the author of *The Tale of Genji*, Yoshida Kenko, the author of *Essays in Idleness*, Seami Motokiva the author of *Birds of Sorrow* and

other plays, Ihara Saikaku the author of many stories, and Matsuo Basho who wrote the Prose poem on the *Unreal Dwelling*. The variety and fullness of the selected pieces enable the reader to have a comprehensive view of Japanese literature till the mid-nineteenth century; and that is a pleasant view indeed.

THE BUDDHA, THE PROPHET AND THE CHRIST. By F. H. Hilliard. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 12-6 sh.

ANY study of the great religions of the world shows similarities between them all. Mr. Hilliard's study of the founders of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity shows that there are similarities between the lives of the founders also. There is no wonder that there are similarities between the religions because all of them aim at lifting man from the earthy and material to the spiritual and heavenly. But it is surprising that similarities should be found between the lives of the great founders. How surprising it is will be seen when the number and nature of the similarities are noted.

These similarities are made clear and emphasized by the author of this book by arranging his account of all the three lives in a similar way. First there are the sources. There are the sacred scriptures of all the three religions and the traditions about them. Then come the accounts of the birth. In all the three cases a divine birth is claimed. Next all the three are presented as receiving a call to their mission, which is followed by an account of their ministry. The three die in different ways, but supernatural or unusual events follow the death. Finally there is the rapid growth and development of the religions.

At first sight it would appear that the similarities were due to contacts between them. It is quite possible that there were contacts. Not only the earlier religion might have influ-

enced the later but the later religion at a later time. Besides, Mr. Hilliard refers to a theory Dibelius put forward in his book, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, known as the "law of biographical analogy, which might explain the similarities. Among other things, Dibelius says: "At bottom to be found a fixed idea of the life of a holy man: such a man may neither be born nor die without the significance of the event being proclaimed from heaven. His future calling is announced even in youth, and in the same way his end throws its shadow in advance. Divine powers are always ready to help him in stress and to proclaim his merits. Some of the similarities may be due to this law of biographical analogy and some must be due to the labours of biographers and disciples working into the accounts of the lives of the Masters some ideas suggested by what was known about the others.

Attention is drawn to these similarities and the attempt is made by the author to explain them in the carefully written and objective account of the lives of the Buddha, Muhammad and Christ. The sacred writings are allowed to tell their own story, and the author intrudes as little as possible. For a dispassionate and reliable study of the three great religious teachers this is a very useful book.

P. L. STEPHEN

Madras Corporation Chronicle. (Vol. 1 No. 1, March 1957)

In the post-Independence era, there is an unhealthy tendency of making a lot of fuss over little things. This bumper issue of the Corporation is a case in point. We think the amount of money and effort wasted over the production of this costly publication could have been better utilized in providing amenities, say to the slum dwellers.

D. S. G.

FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

THERE is a saying that whatever may happen, the show must go on. In the spirit of this saying the unit of the late Amiya Chakrabarty has kept up the schedule of the shooting of *Kathputli* which Amiya had left unfinished.

According to the schedule fixed by Amiya, the recording and shooting was fixed for the last week of March. And it must be said to the credit of his brother and the unit, that they have succeeded in carrying on the work according to the schedule as if nothing has happened in between.

Nitin Bose who was about to start a Bengali picture based on Tagore's story responded to their call and rushed to Bombay to complete Amiya's unfinished work, suspending his own Bengali picture. Nitin Bose for whose integrity and craftsmanship Amiya had highest respect, is the fittest man to complete Amiya's production.

While the shooting of *Kathputli* was resumed on the evening of March 21, the Film Journalists held a meeting in honour of the late Amiya Chakrabarty. High tributes were paid to Amiya Chakrabarty's achievements as a film maker.

At this meeting a suggestion was made that a memorial hall should be built in honour of the distinguished departed film personalities like Saigal, Chandramohan, Amiya Chakrabarty and others. The suggestion is worth serious consideration by the industry at a high level.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK

A. V. M.'s *Miss Mary* is a romantic comedy of the type for which the producers of Bombay and Calcutta

are more famous. The subject itself is as old as *Manmoyee Girl's School*, produced about twenty years ago in Bengali. Since then, as far as I can recall, it has been brought to screen in Hindi at least thrice in pictures like *Nai Roshni* starring Sardar Akhtar, *Aage Kadam* featuring Motilal and *Girls' School* directed by Amiya Chakrabarty with Geeta Bali as the star.

Of course, in each case, the treatment was different and even in *Miss Mary*, the treatment is considerably refreshing. But as in all the aforementioned pictures, *Miss Mary* is essentially the story of a young graduate youth and a girl who pretend to be married to get a job in a school, and are forced to stay together. The complications arising out of this fake marriage provide much of the laughter. In *Miss Mary* the story is further enlivened by making the heroine a Christian girl unaware of Hindu customs. And further dramatic interest is created by the revelation of the girl as the long-lost girl of the school's rich owner. In addition, we have new characterization of a family detective out to search the long-lost girl and a beggar who becomes the young couple's 'major domo'.

Yet the incidents are few and though Rajendra Krishna has tried to make it as interesting and delightful as possible with his witty dialogues and aptly timed lyrics, the screenplay has a tendency to drag. In spite of the superlative production values and intelligent direction by Prasad, the entire atmosphere is so unreal and fantastic that the picture lacks conviction, and the revelation of the mole and locket in the very first reel deprives the audience of any suspense in the climax. In fact, the picture has no climax as such. For the revelation that the couple is pretending to be married causes no consternation and neither do they lose their jobs nor any calamity befalls them. As a result the goody-goody climax is rather tame.

Meena Kumari as Miss Mary gives a brilliant performance. As the hot-tempered young girl who gradually falls in love with her fake husband, she is superb. Ganesh, the hero is comparatively tame. How one wishes, this role were played by Kishore or Raf; they would have made all the difference to the film. Kishore is wasted in the role of a detective; why he was not selected for the hero's role is a real mystery! He however puts over a brilliant song and dance number which, purely from the point of view of entertainment, is the highlight of the picture. Among the rest, Om Prakash is delightful as 'Nadu,' thanks again to the dialogues by Rajendra Krishna. Jagdish Sethi and Achala make a good pair while Jamuna provides some eye-filling dances.

The musical score by Hemant Kumar is pleasant and some of the songs, including the two duets between the hero and heroine, are likely to be popular. Though lavishly produced and entertaining, the picture suffers for want of incidents; it has an old theme which lacks novelty and refreshing note.

PERSONALITY OF THE WEEK

G. D. Madjulkar, the author of *Toofan Aur Deeya*, has won the award from Sangeet Natak Akademi for his contribution as a writer to the films.

Madjulkar is perhaps not such a familiar name to the Hindi film-goers though he has contributed about fifty screenplays during the last decade. Madjulkar is a self-educated man. He started his career as a teacher in Kolhapur but always yearned for films. So he joined Huns Pictures and started playing small roles. In Winayak's *Brahmachari* he played four or five different parts. It was later in *Pahila Palna* produced in 1942 that he got his first important role. He played the hero's orthodox father; he also composed the lyrics for that picture.

During all these years he wrote lyrics and short stories. Though

often discouraged, he did not give up writing. He got his break when V. Shantaram accepted his script *Ramjoshi* for which he not only wrote the dialogues but songs as well. Besides he played a stellar role in it. The picture was also made in Hindi and titled *Matwala Shair* in which Manmohan Krishna was introduced.

After writing *Ramjoshi* Madjulkar shifted his headquarters to Poona and wrote several outstanding screenplays in Marathi, some of which like *Jeeva Jyoti* (Bala Jo Jo Re) and *Chacha Chowdhary* (Pedgaachi Shahane) were transcribed in Hindi. Others like *Nanhe Munhe* were also produced in Hindi, but unfortunately the Hindi versions did not prove as successful, as they could not have the same impact of Marathi language.

Two years ago, G. D. Madjulkar joined Rajkamal. And his very first screenplay *Toofan Aur Deeya* proved a great hit. Since then he has written *Do Ankhe Bara Haath* for V. Shantaram and also the screenplay of Vijay Bhatt's next picture. He has also been assigned the job of writing the screenplay for Raja Paranjpe's picture for A. V. M.

Now a busy man, G. D. Madjulkar's ambition is to write in Hindi himself. As a result Madjulkar is bidding for the highest honour in the Hindi film-world. Those who have seen his work on the Marathi screen will acknowledge that he richly deserves the honour conferred on him by the Natak Akademi.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

A new picture entitled *Taxi Stand* went on floors at Famous Studio on March 20 under the direction of G. Jagirdar.

Guru Dutt and K. K. Kapur left for Karachi on March 22. They are expected to visit Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Gurgue in their three-week tour.

Guru Dutt and Nutan are likely to be co-starred in Bimal Roy's next picture *Sujeeta*.

KERALA IN THE CRUCIBLE

By KASHYAP

THE capture of power by the Communists in Kerala blazes a new trail in India's constitutional contour. It will undoubtedly strain the relations of the State with the Centre. It must be recognised that within the framework of India's present Federal Constitution the scope for implementing the electoral programme of any non-Congress party in a State will be very much limited as long as the Centre is controlled by the Congress. Though the economic programme of the Congress with its acceptance of Central Planning as the main instrument of development is hardly distinguishable from the Communist approach to economic problems, the Congress leaders at the Centre will fully exploit all opportunities to discredit the Communist Ministry in Kerala and bring down its prestige in the eyes of the people.

The Communist leaders have been realistic enough to acknowledge the constitutional impediments placed in the way of their implementing the programmes in the election manifesto. They must be content by carrying out a mild scheme of administrative and economic reforms that will avoid frictions with the Centre. They will not be able to nationalise the foreign-owned rubber and tea estates in Travancore because it will have hostile reception from the Centre and as it falls strictly within the jurisdiction of the Centre. The only fields where the Communists can possibly bring about certain radical reforms are education, agriculture and general administration.

DIFFICULT PROBLEMS

Apart from the problem of evolving harmonious relations with a Congress controlled Central Government, the Communist Ministry at Trivandrum

will have many difficult problems to tackle right from its inception. It will have to keep under check the various brands of communalism which have been flourishing in Kerala for the last many decades and end the lethargy and corruption rampant in Secretariat. It will have to adopt a purely secular policy in order to win the support of the Christians who form a powerful minority in the State and who look towards their Church for the protection of their rights.

The backward district of Malabar throws another big challenge to the Communist leadership in Kerala. The people of this district (formerly part of the composite Madras State) believe that their needs are neglected by the administration and no systematic effort is being made to remove the economic backwardness of the area. A powerful movement is likely to be launched by the leaders of various political groups in Malabar for the shifting of the capital from Trivandrum to a centrally situated town like Trichur or Ernakulam. The Communists, above all, will have to infuse by their actions, a spirit of confidence in its regime in the minds of the seven lakhs of Malabar Moplahs who are still ideologically linked to the pernicious philosophy of the Muslim League.

WILL UNEMPLOYMENT BE SOLVED?

The people of Kerala do not expect the Communist Ministry to work miracles. But they certainly await its plan to liquidate unemployment, increase agricultural production and find a solution to the myriad other problems arising out of the high density of population in the State. The Ministry must give top priority for implementing a short-term plan for the setting up of small-scale and

cottage industries and avoid the wastage of public revenues.

The leaders of the Communist Party in Kerala are young in years. They lack administrative experience and hence they will have to depend on the permanent civil service to an enormous degree. But they are fortunate to have as their leader Mr. E. M. S. Nambudripad who has been tipped for the Chief Ministership and who enjoys the confidence of all classes of people. If the Communist-led Ministry works within the framework of the Constitution and implements a modest programme of reforms dur-

ing its tenure, it will help to boost the prestige of the Communist party all over India. But if it abridges individual liberty and wastes its energy in struggles with the Centre and wounds the religious susceptibilities of the people, Communism will lose its appeal to 370 millions of people.

Whatever may be the fate of the Ministry, its working will be watched with great interest by the rest of the country for it introduces a novel experiment in the co-existence of a Centre and a State, controlled by two political parties preaching different ideologies.

WHAT WILL THE COMMUNISTS DO TO KERALA?

SPEAKING at a largely attended meeting held recently under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute at Bangalore, Mr. Philip Spratt, former Comintern emissary in India and one of the leading ex-Communists of the world, said that the Communists in Kerala would not dare to violate the Constitution of India and thereby run the risk of President's rule in Kerala. They would function within the framework of our Constitution and carry out the programme of any Social Democratic party. It would not be possible for them to introduce any radical reforms and fulfil their tall promises as this would require large funds which the Communists in Kerala could hardly hope to get from the Centre where the Congress was in power. The Communists would not resort to Stalinism or Telangana tactics nor would they start guerilla warfare as their comrades in China did in Yenan, unless they captured power in at least three or four States. They might however build up a secret army in Kerala for future use.

Prof. Venkata Rao speaking next said there was every possibility of Kerala becoming the Yenan of India. The Opposition in Kerala would be ruthlessly wiped out by the Communists, and the Communists would immediately resort to Stalinism without waiting for other states to go "Red." They would strengthen their position further in Kerala by infiltrating themselves into every department of the government and public life. Intense propaganda for Communism would be done by the C. P. I. under the patronage of their government in Kerala and any propaganda against Communists would be ruthlessly suppressed. However, people should not lose heart and all patriots and democrats in India should make concerted efforts to educate the people of Kerala regarding the nature of the Communist menace, and this task was easier in Kerala where it was the educated class that voted for the Communists.

WHY THE REDS WON

Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar, Secretary of the Libertarian Social Institute, said that it was for the first time in

the history of international Communism that the Communists in Kerala had come to power through the ballot-box. It was not out of love for Communism that the people of Kerala voted for the Communists but out of sheer disgust at the Congress misrule, corruption, nepotism and inefficiency, and because there was no other democratic party to give them an alternative. To a great extent, Pandit Nehru himself was responsible for the Communist victory in Kerala. By openly associating himself with the Communist dictators like Bulganin, Khrushchev and Chou En-lai and by exalting Communism as having all virtues except for its creed of violence, Pandit Nehru himself boosted the prestige of Communists, which was on the decline after the disclosure of Stalin's crimes by Khrushchev and the rape of Hungary by the Communists. The people of Kerala thought that it was better to vote for the Communists who, according to Pandit Nehru himself, had all virtues but for their creed of violence than vote for the Congress the only virtue of which was its philosophy of non-violence.

Both Mr. Venkata Rao and Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar disagreed with Mr. Philip Spratt in that the PSP was the only alternative to Congress, and that it was necessary to strengthen it

in the interest of the democracy and if India were to be saved from Communist menace on the one hand and Congress dictatorship on the other. Mr. Venkata Rao said that the rank and file of the PSP was just the scum of the Congress and that there was little difference between these two parties so far as the ideology was concerned. Mr. Bankeshwar dubbed the PSP as a party of leaders without followers and as a house divided against itself. A party like the PSP without any definite set of principles of discipline could hardly be considered as an alternative. At best, the PSP could be described as an ex-Congressmen's club. "While the PSP dubs nationalisation of insurance as totalitarianism, it talks of even more nationalisation in its manifesto. The PSP talks of nationalisation and decentralisation in the same breath, and this muddled thinking on the part of PSP leaders is due to their double loyalty; while they are emotionally attached towards Mahatma Gandhi who stood for decentralisation, they are at the same time intellectually inclined towards Karl Marx who stood for the centralisation of all political and economic power in the state, and the abolition of private means of production and private property."

—Karnatak Press Service

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gress, but chiefly in the addition of economic bondage, in the form of either collectivist or corporate economies, to political and intellectual bondage. (We may not realize that in spite of the downfall of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan in 1945, out of about eighty sovereign states, not less than twenty have totalitarian governments—two thirds of the communist variety and one third of the fascist variety.) In its moderate form (clerical-traditionalist or social-democratic in countries of Western civilization) the monistic state preserves representative institutions and a good deal of the political freedom previously enjoyed by the citizens, but, weakening the sense of responsibility of the citizens and limiting the scope of autonomous action, it tends to deprive the nation of much of its vitality and leads to a stagnation which people may enjoy, but which certainly is not conducive to material or spiritual progress.

DECLINE OF LIBERALISM

There is no denying that Liberalism born in nations where tolerance replaced the fanaticism of the religious conflicts has been shipwrecked in the 20th century on the rocks of the economic tension accompanying the growth of capitalism, giving rise to formidable new waves of fanaticism. There is no denying also that in the major nations of the Continent, capitalistic action has often aimed consciously—at least during the last generation—at the suppression of freedom, and that there is considerable evidence to support, on the basis of German, French, Italian and Spanish experience, the socialist argument that capitalism has been the enemy of freedom. Unfortunately Europeans have acted mostly on the assumption that there is a choice only between capitalism and anti-capitalism; they did not stop to think that, from the point of view of the freedom embedded in the institutions of the liberal democratic state, reformed or neo-capitalism may represent a better

answer to the shortcomings of traditional capitalism than the anti-capitalism of collectivists and corporatists, with its abolition of the free market and of the free use of the means of production.

EUROPEAN CAPITALISM

It is possible that some future historian will summarize as follows one of the main aspects of the decline of European freedom during the first half of the 20th century: (a) When the century opened, capitalism was still expanding; it had been in the saddle for a hundred years or more; by benefiting a few excessively, it had remained a "privilege" in most of Europe; it had accentuated class differentiation by increasing the gap between property owners and proletarians; it had caused a good deal of suffering to the latter. (b) Socialism, reacting against privilege in the name of liberty, against class differentiation in the name of equality, and against suffering in the name of humanity—against capitalism in the name of the three principles of the French Revolution—quickly won the minds of a large percentage of the intellectuals and the hearts of the masses. Property owners, fearful of socialism, gave their support to movements respectful of private ownership of property but opposed to the freedom which had nourished capitalism and had also made the advance of socialism possible. (c) According to the outcome of the struggle for power between the conflicting groups, three types of economic organization replaced capitalism; where socialism remained pure and triumphed, it introduced collectivism, which proved to be in practice (as it had been proved to be in theory by Liberal economists) incompatible with freedom; where socialism triumphed after having been influenced by the non-economic ideas and aspirations of Liberalism and had become labourism or social-democracy, it introduced neo-mercantilistic economies as stagnant

in the long run as the pre-capitalistic mercantilism of previous centuries; where the anti-freedom enemies of socialism triumphed, the free market was abolished and capitalism was replaced with corporate or semi-corporate economic systems, reminiscent of pre-mercantilistic guildism. To the first category eight states of Eastern and South-eastern Europe (not including the Soviet Union) belong today; to the second, many of the states of Central and Western Europe; to the third, the states with fascist or semi-fascist dictatorships.

With due regard to the considerable differences between the thirty-odd European nations and states, the above summarizes the trends dominant in Europe today. Private ownership of property as a significant feature of the economic structure has disappeared in the half of Europe controlled by the communists. In most of the other half, the owners' responsibility for decision has been severely curtailed and has been replaced by governmental responsibility. Everywhere the free market seems to be on the way out.

In North America, both in the United States and in Canada, there has been a different trend; capitalism has become less and less a privilege and the number of those sharing in its benefits has expanded. The growth of the proletarian class has been checked and the proletariat is withering away; this in spite of the arrival every year of hundreds of thousands of European, Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants who refill the proletarian ranks.

DEMAND FOR REFORMS

The social problem has not been essentially different in the United States from what it was, and still is today, in Europe. As the result of freedom on both sides of the Atlantic, what had once been considered submerged and passive layers of the population have become politically conscious. Wage earners are not by

nature or occupation more revolutionary than any other class; all they want, once they start thinking about their own conditions, is a minimum of economic security and stability, fairly regular jobs, limited working hours, a decent wage, some insurance against sickness and accidents, old-age pensions. By the time that a minority of enlightened Liberals in Europe (British Reform Liberals, Continental Radicals) came to the conclusion, at the turn of the century, that a programme of social reforms was compatible with a free economy, with the owners' right to have a major responsibility in deciding how to use their property, it was too late: socialism had already made such a deep impression both on its supporters and its opponents that most citizens, whatever be their political sympathies, agreed that social reforms could be introduced only in the measure in which economic freedom was curtailed, that economic security could be realized only within the framework of at least a partially socialized economy. To be for capitalism as it was at the time meant to be against social reform and economic stability; whoever was in favour of either or both had to look for a non-capitalistic economy. This was the conviction of the workers, the employers and the economists. It was an error full of tragic consequences.

European masses were no more interested in collectivism than their American counterpart. The intellectuals who assumed the role of guiding the masses convinced them that Capitalism had to be replaced with a different system. In order to achieve their rather simple and limited goal, the majority of the masses turned towards socialism in one of its multiple manifestations: Marxist, Syndicalist, Fabian, Christian, Nationalist, etc. Names varied but the content was more or less the same: abolition of the free market, abolition or limitation of private ownership of property.

The Editor welcomes letters on subjects of general interest or topics arising out of articles printed in SWATANTRA but reserves the right to abridge them.

"TEST THEM"

The General Elections are now over. Apart from the question whether the candidates elected are true representatives of the people and have been selected on an intelligent exercise of the franchise, there is one important matter which has been totally ignored by the framers of the Constitution. One can even excuse the introduction of adult suffrage in this country, but one certainly cannot excuse the failure of the framers to prescribe qualifications for the would-be legislator.

In the Lok Sabha, 500 men and women are supposed to represent 360 millions of their countrymen and in the States, taking Madras as an example, 205 men and women are supposed to represent 30 millions of people. While an M.P. on the average represents 7 lakhs of people, an M.L.A. represents 1-1/2 lakhs. It is certainly not unreasonable to expect that these individuals, the M.Ps. and the M.L.As., should have the mental stamina to represent 7-1/2 lakhs of people in the first case and 1-1/2 lakhs in the second case. Is this expectation realized in fact? Even the most ardent advocate of the democratic principle, if only he is honest, must perforce give a negative answer. In practice, it is found that many of these M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s are mere dummies, some of them complete ignoramuses, many of them totally unable to express themselves in public and certainly, unable to express their judgment on the vital issues that their votes are supposed to decide. Many of them, if tested, would not be able to answer, or if they answer at all, answer cogently questions relating even to the broad out-

lines of the structure of the Government, at the centre or in the States and much less those broad questions on foreign affairs, on economic matters and political questions which so often are presented to them. It is no answer and certainly no consolation to be told, as Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani told the public a few years ago, that M.P.'s—the term can comprehend all Legislators—are mere lambs and even where they can exercise some judgment, are not allowed to do so.

The tax payer is groaning under an ever increasing burden and a great slice thereof is taken up by the expenditure on the costly legislatures of this country. He is entitled to expect that the men who represent him are sufficiently competent and really deserve the salaries and allowances which they are able to get, not under any referendum, but through exercise of their votes in the legislatures. As stated already, the Public Service Commission may do a more useful job than they are doing at present by being required to test these legislators, even if it be by lenient standards. This would require an amendment of the Constitution. The Government never fights shy of amending the Constitution whenever it likes.

R. S. SRINIVASACHARYA

LIBRA'S LAUGH

Libra's unerring finger has spotted one yet another winner; this time it is the old school-tie of our Nehru-boy which has made the Prime Minister of India stage the Atomic Age version of the Walter Raleigh act for the benefit of Queen Elizabeth II.

One would have thought that the old school-tie got torn to shreds when Eden tilted at Egypt and later when Britain 'Brutused' India in the UNO, over the Kashmir issue. Apparently, school-ties are made of 'sterner stuff'; or else, Pandit Nehru must have taken time off to put in nine-stitches!

A point of doubt. When ice-cold water is thrown on one's face, does it not wet one's tie too? Wet ties, unless I am mistaken, do shrink and does not a shrunken tie tighten around one's throat?

A READER

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EDITOR: S. RAMANATHAN.

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