

# 327 SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 13

MADRAS, OCTOBER 4, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## THE PLANNING COMMISSION

The Laski memorial lecture under the auspices of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad, was delivered this year by Professor D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. The Ahmedabad Institute has published Professor Gadgil's lecture in booklet form. The lecture is devoted to a survey of the work of the Planning Commission in India since it was set up eight years ago. The main functions of the Commission, as set down in the Government resolution establishing it, were "to assess resources, formulate the Plan, define its stages, appraise progress and make related recommendations on policy and administration." In all these respects, "examination of events since 1955 shows that barring the theoretic formulation, the Planning Commission has failed", says Professor Gadgil. "It failed to put together detailed and meaningful plans after due technical and other examination; it did not produce objective criterion relating to composition of programmes, allocations, etc.; it failed to produce annual plans with appropriate break-downs and failed to watch the progress of the Plan even in its broadest elements; it failed to advise insistently on right policies being followed and at times even participated in the adoption of wrong and inappropriate ones. This means that the Planning Commission has failed and continues to fail all along the line".

This failure, Professor Gadgil does not attribute to the Commission's staff of experts. He gives it unstinted praise and says that the competence of the staff has been shown to be "of a high order". But the staff would seem to have lost their special character, because the Planning Commission itself has turned from its proper advisory functions to activities rightly belonging to Ministries and State Governments. The Commission "has come to mix itself with the actual process of the formation of public policies even in matters other than development".

Professor Gadgil traces the failure of the Planning Commission to the power complex: "It is the power complex of the Planning Commission or its members, their natural desire to exercise power and patronage like Ministers that are chiefly responsible for the neglect by the Commission of its main functions and for a needless extension of its activities over many irrelevant fields".

The intrusion of the Planning Commission into these spheres "has affected the efficiency of the Government itself," says Professor Gadgil.

There is sound sense in his plea that the advisory function of planning should not be mixed up with executive activities or the essential political process of final policy-making. The Commission should be released for detached and independent thinking by the Prime Minister himself ceasing to dominate it by means of a voluntary exit from its membership. Professor Gadgil's survey of the work of the Planning Commission is critical and unsparing but it is just and accurate and characterised by deep insight into our economic realities and a bold disregard of the vanities of the mighty. No Government that hopes to make of planning a concrete effort for the nation's benefit, and not merely paper propaganda for advertisement, can afford to ignore the opinion of so balanced and authoritative an economist.

### Micawber Economics

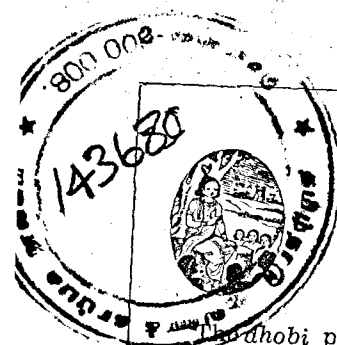
It was clear that the quarterly licencing of export and import quota may mean created a privileged class of traders, a field of patronage, a source of windfall gains, all at high national cost.

Though the formulation of the second Five Year Plan has been a number of important developments in the country, the economy is not yet being operated in any planned manner.

We are too poor to expect always to muddle through transactions. Why somehow and it is extremely dangerous to adopt a Micawber's peace of mind on the tude and expect that in all difficulties, resulting chiefly from mistakes, something will ultimately turn up. Standards which are

— Professor R. to them?

VIGNESWARA



## THE DONKEY AND THE BUNDLE

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

A dhobi put on the donkey's back the usual heavy bundle of soiled clothes and was driving the animal forward. You know the donkey is poor in every way—in birth, feeding and strength. And you know too the double-bundle hanging from over his back and pressing on it almost to breaking point.

While being carried thus, the bundle began to speak to the donkey. "Listen, my friend, I have never seen a creature so servile as you. Whatever blows descend on you, you bear them all. I can only pity you."

Even as the bundle was expressing its sympathy, the dhobi walking behind dealt another blow.

"Look at me—I ride on you as a king upon his courser, do you realise? Walk with your head lifted high, like the royal steed. Don't walk with down-cast head."

The poor donkey had this insult added to the injury of the blows.

"Bundle of dirt! Don't be so proud" said the donkey. "Wait and see what happens to you in a short while!"

"What will happen to me?"

Nothing," said the bundle. "March in silence."

When they came to the river-side, the dhobi removed the bundle and put it on the bank and allowed the donkey to graze. Relieved of the burden, the animal slaked his thirst in the stream and ran off with joy to graze.

The dhobi and his wife undid the bundles, spread the garments and started washing. Making the usual rhythmic *wus, wus*, they beat the cloth hard on the stone slabs.

Lifting his head up on the bank, the donkey showed his teeth.

"Serve you right," he said, "Beat and beat hard. Beat it and crush it till all the pride is squeezed out of it. Beat, crush, beat, crush!"

"Stop, stop. I have had enough," said the cloth; "I shall never talk like that again."

The dhobi would not listen. In fact, he could not hear what was said by the clothes. He was intent on the washing and kept the cloth on the stone. After washing all the clothes, he spread them out on the grass to dry.

"Have you had your lesson?" asked the donkey.

"Yes, I have," said the cloth.

"The worst is not yet over, my friend," said the donkey.

"Good God! Is more to come? What is it? Tell me," said the white cloth.

"You will know it when you go back home. Why talk about it now?" said the donkey.

When they reached home, the dhobi folded the clothes and ironed them. He placed the hot ironer on the coat.

"I am dying, I am dying," said the coat. The dhobi had no ear for this. He pressed the iron hard and moved it on the coat. The coat ceased to breathe.

The donkey, standing outside near the door, said, "As you sat a little while upon my back, you talked and talked at me. What do you say now?"

"Enough, my friend. Please be still. I have learnt my lesson. I have had enough of riding and more than enough of what comes after. I shall never more get astride your back."

"But you cannot escape your fate," said the donkey. "Till you are torn to shreds and cast away, you have to suffer all this at the dhobi's hands. Remember." The cloth confessed, "Your suffering is nothing before mine."

## The Island Outpost

Time was, when a battlefield was a ravine, a nullah, a grassy ridge backboning long valleys, and a war could be won or lost in a few bigas nearby.

War now has changed, and staffs plan for local security means of "midocean polar lookouts, overseas bal outpost line, and, scouts".

Warful new concept: earth and sea and potential battle-ge new dimensions not be wished

away: they are here until peace at last encircles them; they must not terrify a free nation into inaction.

It may be that this is what all the activity is about in the Formosa Straits. Quemoy, so it is said, is not worth a single life; the nursing islands belong by parentage to the mainland; how would you feel with a mortal enemy five miles offshore; it is insane to fight a war over a dismal outpost. And more.

But these strong, opposition arguments may—I say may, for I do not know—beg the central question: in a struggle for the

world, is this tiny island outpost important enough militarily to put up on it a warning sign?

There are plenty of people in America (as elsewhere) who say no—no more than it was important in Indo-China, when the domino theory, that all would fall if one fell, also was raised. Others, with the new image in their minds of the world as a battlefield, say that here, at the beginning of trouble, while the enemy is weak rather than strong, is the place to be firm and to negotiate.

It is a grave judgment—and a fateful risk. JOHN E. FRAZER



## Sotto Voce

### Our October Revolution

We are in the throes of another October Revolution. The sun may halt in mid-heavens at the behest of a prophet, but the mission of our Europeanisers is proceeding majestically according to plan. Decimal coinage being an accomplished fact, the metric system of weights and measures is the new and far more imposing benefit that our progressive Raj has resolved to confer on us. It is quite aware that there will be transitional difficulties. (That is the great advantage of using long Latin words, they have a blanketting effect on the worrying mind). So we are to proceed by stages. "The measure," according to a discreet pundit of the official mind, is "to be enforced in certain areas and fields in the first instance"

Another with a scientific and detached attitude towards such things is rather more explicit. The system is to be introduced forthwith "in certain specified areas of all the States, in some Government departments and in some industries, both public and private." He points out that, rather illogically, it has been decided to postpone introducing the system in the Railways; but the postponement will at the most be but for a short decade; by the end of which the change-over to the metric system—in all the three major divisions of measuring mass, distance and time will be complete. Meanwhile we are invited to contemplate the prospect of the ousting of the old-fashioned 'palam', 'seer', 'viss' and 'maund' by the conquering gram and its grand-dad the kilogram.

I have not mentioned the 'tola' in the last sentence because, poor thing, it is not given even the grim distinction of obituary honours. Looking at the "con-

version table" thoughtfully published by the newspapers, a stranger would not know that in this country there had existed from time immemorial a basic unit measure of weight whose name itself (Sanskrit in origin but adopted by all other languages) meant simply 'weight'. I can see why the reformers found it convenient to cut out the tola. As its equivalent would be 11-2/3 grams, a vulgar fraction than which nothing is more abhorrent to the decimalist, it had to go.

Perhaps another reason also subconsciously influenced the decision. The tola was closely linked with the rupee when the rupee was really a rupee and could be converted by your private silversmith into bullion without much loss. In those days the good housewife reckoned the tola simply—when she had to buy 'kas-turi', for instance, or 'go-rochana'—as a rupee's weight. The tola, abolished expressly by name, might have roused nostalgic memories of the good old days when a rupee would have bought five seers (24 tolas' weight) of fragrant ghee from cow's milk. And that perhaps was the reason why the 'seer' and the 'viss' had also to disappear. While decimal coinage has a tenuous link with the past through the rupee, which survives, the metric system makes a clean sweep of all old lumber.

The transitional period in which it will be lawful to use the old weights side by side with the new, may cause infinitely greater confusion than the change-over arrangements for decimal coinage are doing. You have only to glance at the conversion table to see why it should be so. While there are only 100 naye paise to a rupee and the margin of profit-making on the side by skilful money-

changers is only 4 per cent (in theory) the housewife buying tamarind will have to remember that one maund is equal to one kilogram and 200 grams. The four-digit operation may completely addle her poor wits already reeling under the double stand of naye paise and purana paise. And the experienced Cheap Jack will have a fine harvest of unearned increment.

As for business and industry, which might have to install new machinery employing the metric system, overhaul their entire system of keeping accounts and subject themselves to infinite dislocation in their foreign transactions, the Government confidently presumes on their adaptability and their zeal for progress. If incidentally countries like Russia that make machinery employing the metric system, stand to make a tidy profit on such transactions nobody will be so narrow-minded as to object to this trifling advantage accruing to friendly nations. No doubt they would still have to do a large volume of business with the U.K. and the U.S.A. which stick to the pound avoirdupois. That they stand to lose both on the swings and the roundabouts may be a thought a trifle too sombre for all but the determined optimists.

But my petty provincial mind still harks back to the harassed housewife. In buying vegetables or making any one of the hundred little deals which constituted her daily round she is quite capable of dealing expertly with the infinite variety of standards which so bewilders our Planners. A 'thookku' may be six and a quarters seers or it may be 'five seers'. A 'seer' again may mean one thing in Madras and another thing in Mysore. But even the newcomer gets the hang of it in a day or two. They learn with ease because of the smallness of the scale of their transactions. Why crucify their peace of mind on the cross of subservience to 'international standards' which are meaningless to them?

VIGNESWARA

SWARAJYA

VOL - III

NO. 13

OCT - 1958

JL  
m2, NSSJ.  
NS8.  
143680.

# SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan has called upon Prime Minister Nehru to "come forward and bridge the present gulf between the top leaders and the people in the country", offering dramatically "to be his lieutenant and assist him in his work" if he were "to take steps for this purpose". It is not for the Prime Minister to bridge the present gulf between the top leaders and the people because the gulf itself is a phenomenon that was not there before Nehru came to power, and manifested itself and developed during his regime of eleven years as Prime Minister. No authority that has itself caused or permitted an evil can be looked up to to come forward and take steps to eliminate it.

Yet there is no exaggeration in the Socialist leader's description of the Prime Minister as "the man of the masses". Just as Gandhi stands for all time as the symbol of the success of the popular revolution that led to the overthrow of foreign rule, Nehru enjoys the glamour of incarnating that success in governmental power. He has the advantage of having come to the helm of affairs with the blessing of the Mahatma. Added to all this, his own qualities of charm, hard work and personal probity have set him up as an idol of the nation.

There is however one great difference between Gandhi and Nehru which is becoming increasingly disquieting as time advances. Gandhi was a competent judge of men and chose his lieutenants wisely. The history of the Gandhian era of politics is the sum-total of the work and achievements of these men. Gandhi had moreover a definite philosophy and never wavered in guiding his footsteps in its light. Nor did he ever spare himself when events or experience or his own deeper reflection proved to his own conscience that some earlier attitude of his was wrong. Falsehood therefore never found any refuge in his patronage or tolerance.

Nehru has shown that he has not Gandhi's gift of wise choice of personnel. Often he has revealed a disposition to back dark horses that have involved the government in dubiety. His weakness for questionable characters with past careers rooted in unresolved scandals has encouraged a deterioration of standards in public affairs. We have now Ministers who are not ashamed of falsifying truth in the limelight of the legislatures themselves. We have now legislators who have turned the opportunities of their status into regular commercial drives and racketeering. An intelligent person like the Prime Minister can-

not be unaware of what is going on. He seems to have permitted if not sanctioned it evidently in order to enable the party regime to go on.

On momentous occasions he has abandoned his own faith and implemented the opposite, converting leadership into expediency, as when the country was linguistically divided. But it is in the economic sphere that the worst effects of the Nehru government are to be seen. The intoxication of Socialist slogans has only led to the pampering of urban labour, creating small and expensive pockets of prosperity side by side with an impoverished countryside and an undiminished area of unemployment. Increased costs of production without added and well-distributed purchasing power have intensified the miseries of the people.

Nehru's leadership is not likely to be bettered in the days to come when he is bound to feel increasingly the weight of advancing age. The best of him we have had in the past eleven years. The quality of that best is reflected in the decline visible to every man with eyes to see in the standards of public morality and official efficiency in the interregnum between the Prime Minister's advent to power and now. After the encomiums of power-worshippers have had their day, history will pay due heed to Pandit Nehru's varied deeds and feats but it will not fail to record the verdict that he was a good and weak man of many graces and excellent intentions who lacked the grit and firmness for dealing adequately with the tough problems that confronted him. Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan should seek inspiration elsewhere if he would like to see the gulf between the top leaders and the people in the country bridged.

Gandhi's mission, as summed up on this page by Rajaji, was the spiritualisation of commerce and politics. The leaders who have succeeded him have lost sight of this mission completely, Nehru not the least.

SAKA

## Gandhi's Teaching

The essential elements of Gandhi's teaching, written by Rajaji in a brief article for Kalki this week, are summarised thus by him:

Gandhi taught that the duty of every man is to resist wrong by refusing to submit to it and to suffer the consequences of such non-submission. This is what is called non-co-operation. The other lesson impressed

by Gandhi on every relevant occasion is that dharma or religion is not to be put in a separate compartment but must inspire all of man's activities including politics and trade and commerce. It is wrong to consider that politics and commerce need not be governed by the principles of dharma. Gandhi's mission was the spiritualisation of commerce and politics.

# INFERIORITY COMPLEX

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A news item from Washington appearing in the papers on September 25 stated that "the United States did not intend to recognise the provisional Algerian regime proclaimed in Cairo a few days ago". Did any one expect anything else? The United States government have not 'recognised' the *de facto* Chinese government functioning before the eyes of the whole world in China for a decade and having its seat in Peking in China and its representatives functioning as ambassadors in some of the biggest capitals of the world. And the government of the United States refuses to accept the advice of even allies and recognises an imaginary government of China sitting outside China with American props and training its borrowed guns on the motherland. This is grim humour. The rest of the world looks upon it as a tragedy. America objects to force being used by China to recover the islands of China but forgets that it is naked American force that has so far separated them from China.

Tragedy or burlesque, this would not have mattered, if the peace of the world were not gravely endangered by this persistent attachment to unreality. A metaphysician who does not recognise the evidence of his senses is no danger as long as he confines his thoughts to his library, but if he goes about in the streets of the world brandishing and distributing deadly arms, reasonable people give another name to the philosopher and arrange to restrain him.

There is an assumption which is half expressed and half unexpressed that intervenes in a subtle manner to mould policy in America, and perhaps generally in the West, that Communism is beyond the pale of law and that whatever morality restricts action in other cases is not to be followed in dealing with a powerful Communist State or in dealing with any country which is exposed to Communist influence. It is this that blinds U. S. politicians

to the rights and wrongs of the Chinese islands and the Formosa issue. Nye Bevan has recently written in the columns of the *Daily Herald* exposing the utter untenability of the American position in regard to China and

its claims to a seat in the U. N. and to the undisturbed possession of the off-shore islands and of Formosa.

These views of the labour leader are shared by a large number of British people who are not partisans of the Labour party. But governments these days are independent of the opinion of their people in regard to foreign

## TO GANDHI: A PENTAD

By C. SUBRAHMANYA BHARATI

Hail, Gandhi, my master come  
To put new life in a land  
Degraded, poverty-struck,  
Her freedom crumbled like sand;  
Utterly ruined, in all  
The world unique in distress—  
India: Rejuvenate her,  
Mahatma, our age-old mistress!

A simple scheme whereby  
Slavery will cease,  
And all our countrymen  
Advance and get increase  
Of riches and knowledge and wisdom,  
And learn to be darers and doers—  
This you invented, foremost of men,  
Fame amaranthine is yours!

How shall I praise you? To whom compare?  
Him who brought the Himalayan herb  
To counter the cruel serpentine arrow?  
Or him who the Thunderer's conceit to curb  
Put up a hill as it were an umbrella?  
The corrosive ulcer of utter dependence  
Cureless and endless, you will cure now—  
With how simple a simple, what magical sense!

To look on thine enemy as thine own self,  
Even him who plans thy perdition;  
To look on every living thing  
As of God's works a sacred edition;  
To bring into politics, that bloody arena  
Of vengeance and contrived disaster,  
A large-hearted wisdom, religion, philosophy—  
How novel, how daring, my master!

The broad road, the war road, of all out destruction,  
For that you have nothing but contempt:  
The straight path and narrow of service unselfish,  
O Pilgrim, it is this you attempt.  
To fight without enmity for freedom and nationhood,  
Non-co-operate with those that would thrall men:  
This is your way to win salvation for India—  
Peace on earth, good will to all men.

Translated into English from the original  
Tamil by P. S. Sundaram, M.A. (Oxon)



## MAGNIFICENT DYNAMISM OF MRS. BESANT

By B. SANJIVA RAO

affairs and are governed more by extraneous forces than by internal public opinion. He has exposed the fallacy of objecting to Chinese 'force' to recover the islands, when the separation of these from the government of China is itself the result of the continued application of force of arms supplied from abroad by a foreign nation to a discredited ex-dictator on the strength of an outdated treaty with a China that is no longer existing. Pulling in various and contrary directions, the urge in those who have a sabre to rattle it, the fear of being thought to be really unwilling to venture, genuine hesitation to precipitate world disaster, the fear that hesitation may be mistaken for weakness, the dread of being thought and spoken about as following a policy of 'appeasement', a mounting and irresistible inclination to terminate tension by bursting into action, the knowledge that such action must lead to retaliation and total disaster, all these alternately influence either party in the cold war backwards and forwards, but in the sum bring calamity nearer and nearer to the world each day. There is no greater danger to world peace today than the fear of being thought to seek peace. A terrible inferiority complex has seized great America. May her wiser statesmen soon deliver her from this! And may the warring Powers soon turn their thoughts to the abjuring of the use of all nuclear weapons, big and small, that mankind may be saved from unforeseen and multiplying troubles!

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

It is twenty-five years since Mrs. Besant passed away. Yet to those of us who had the privilege of knowing her and working with her she has never ceased to be a living inspiration. Year after year we remember with gratitude her great work for the liberation of India, her vast educational and social work. It is possible that all this wonderful effort for the uplift of the Indian people has to a certain extent obscured the source, the background of her magnificent dynamism. Mrs. Besant's incessant activity was the expression of an unceasing and intense spiritual consciousness. She realised the existence of a Power that ceaselessly operates in the lives of individuals and nations, guiding, shaping, destroying, constructing till the appointed goal is reached. She believed that every individual is an agent of that Divine Power, every event a significant part of the world process. Her daily life was a revelation to us of the beauty of a life lived in this faith. No detail was too trivial, from the writing of a letter to the delivering of a lecture to a vast audience. Every letter was written with her own hand, for it not only contained advice and instructions but conveyed a silent blessing. She came into contact with thousands of people. They gave her the right to bless and serve. However late the hour the visitor was not to be denied access, and in her relationships with men what magnificent faith and trust. She was constantly deceived by people who exploited her generosity. But "never distrust", she said, "even though you may be deceived a hundred times". Her love was an everlasting forgiveness. She had a passionate urge for perfection. Every action, every gesture was the expression of her deep faith and loving understanding.

It was this extraordinary understanding that enabled Mrs. Besant to gather round her and into her

movement men and women from the most diverse countries and professing the most varied creeds. The orthodox pandits of Benares distrusted her. She succeeded in making them sit in conference and agree to a joint statement of the essentials of the Sanatana Dharma. She fought the proselytisation by the Christian missionary in India, but gave marvellous lectures on Mystical Christianity in Europe. In India she lectured on Hinduism, on the Upanishads, on the Bhagavad Gita, on Jainism, on Buddhism, on Islam, on Sikhism, on Zoroastrianism. Her unparalleled power of interpretation enabled her to get at the heart of every religion. She realised that with our limited mind that divides and distorts we can never hope to know the Supreme. The mind ever breaks up the integrity of the transcendental Light and all that we can ever know are but fragments, coloured and distorted reflections of Truth. The seers of Truth, the Rishis, the great Spiritual Teachers have to transcend the mind. But the experience of Reality gets broken up in the process of transmission. Religions are psychological techniques invented by the disciples of great teachers in their attempt to convey to the immature mind something of the Truth revealed by the Teacher. Rituals and ceremonials are attempts to stir the emotions and maintain a steady response.

But organised religions are still within the field of the mind and it is the mind that creates division. Religious conflicts dissolve only when the deeper Truth that is the heart of true religion is seen. Mrs. Besant realised this in her own life, and wherever she lived religious and cultural strife disappeared.

There is no religion higher than Truth and Love for the Light of Truth dissolves the darkness of ignorance and Love is the universal solvent that dissolves all problems.—A.I.R. broadcast.

## IDEAS ARE PRICELESS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The opinions of the great make news, and the caption favoured by columnists "These Names Make News" has its attraction because of the celebrities quoted or described. In New Delhi there is at present a minor series of conferences to safeguard the rights of scientific patents and literary copyright, the object being the promotion of incentive and the guarantee of rewards for original work. When kings owned their subjects all creative skills belonged to royalty and it was the prerogative of their Divine Order to render their accomplishments unique. There is the fable about the hand of Taj Mahal's architect being maimed by Emperor Shah Jehan lest the artist repeat the performance and take away from the uniqueness of the monument. Likewise the story is told of Haroun-al-Raschid that on the completion of a marvellous mosque he amicably asked the designer whether anything better could be contemplated by him. Artists are naive spirits. He answered that with his experience he could excel his own feat. The story goes that the man was beheaded. Why? The egotistic fear that some one could surpass the majesty of his days. To quote the conceit of a king in the language of Shelley:

My name is Ozymandias,  
King of Kings:

Look on my works, ye  
Mighty, and despair!

The digression brings me back to the relevant query whether great world-teachers ever cared to copyright their views which I hasten to add do not represent mechanical devices or playwright production. The wind bloweth where it listeth. For me the copyrighting of fine poetry or genuine humour or sincere expostulation is something execrable. The wise man chooses his parents, according to Eugene Sandow meaning that animal health depends largely on heredity. Everyone of us from the days of Adam and Eve is a casual speci-

men of collective output under the variation of undependable environments. I do not belong to myself because in the first 21 years of our determinant period I didn't fashion myself. Nor did you, brother; the old folk at home, the teachers and the professors must answer for superficial marks of difference in this quasi-emotional riot under the shelter of the *alma mater*, so monotonously mentioned in Convocation Addresses.

Views ought to make news. I imagine a Yankee-wise reporter listening to the Sermon on the Mount. He could rush to the Roman Censor in Jerusalem to let out a piece of news.

"What news?"

"That man says that — and in the hearing of a listening Roman legionary too — declares that if one cheek is slapped, he should turn the other, for a second service".

Procurator: "I don't believe it".

He might not have believed it; but still the Galilean's views have stood out as news. "Thou hast conquered O Galilean", cried an Emperor at the phenomenon of the sequel to the Sermon on the Mount in the next century.

Gandhiji's opinions from the day he published *Hind Swaraj* have been news, for Mahatmaji never receded from his Tolstoyan conclusions of 1907. In his subsequent writings, Bapu makes certain variations of priority and procedure, but never a betrayal of fundamental conclusions which are far above copyright reservations. Wisdom is better than knowledge. He who trades in wisdom trafficks in knowledge and all its expressions of entertainment. In my opinion (humble of course) trade-marks must be washed out; anyway they are being stolen and adapted regardless of Berne conventions in the unequal struggle of manufacturing countries. As for pronouncements of quasi-ethical import, I

regard them as above the price of rubies, and it is an obligation on the part of purveyors of news to publicise them for the guidance of mankind. Some of the reflections of C. R. on current events and their eternal background have the merit of news but news agencies invariably quote them on the publication-day of SWARAJYA without mentioning the first medium. For nearly two-and-a-half decades at least one column of the paper on Thursdays was devoted to the views of Mahatma Gandhi, with acknowledgement of the source, *Young India* or *Harijan*. I once ventured to advise Mahatmaji to impose copyright charges on extracts from his weeklies which on principle shunned advertisements. He observed that he was content to express his views so that others could know. Brushed off, I approached Mahadev Desai with my smart suggestion, but he told me Gandhiji would not hear of salesmen or commission-agents in the spread of his opinions. I wondered why the alien bureaucracy did not attempt a little choking to check some of his heresies; indeed the article "Shaking the Manes" upon which he had been convicted for sedition by Justice Broomfield at Ahmedabad had been re-propagated by the *Associated Press* of India as if in abrogation of the offence. Apart from the aversion of democratic people to censorship in peace-time, there was the circumstance that an Irishman, Mr. Maloney, was then General Manager of *Reuters* and the *Associated Press* (working well with profit-motive) and he enjoyed publicity like a good Dublin Home Ruler even if it be at the expense of British prestige. What Gandhiji commercially neglected Vallabhai Patel prized. A casual "will" of Mahatmaji in which he affirmed his faith in *aparigraha* (non-possession of worldly belongings) added that if anything of value survived he would like the Navajivan Trust to own it. Leaving nothing to chance, Vallabhai had it strictly probated. It is today a treasure-trove, though Gandhiji put no copyright reservation on all he had written and

## TYRANNY AGAINST TAMILS IN CEYLON

### DEMAND FOR ENQUIRY

Mr. E. M. V. Naganathan, General Secretary, Federal Party, held in detention for an indefinite period under pretext of emergency, has written to the Prime Minister of Ceylon demanding an enquiry into the treatment of Tamils by the Government of Ceylon. The following are excerpts from his letter:

It is now over eleven weeks since the leading members of the Federal Party have been placed under house arrest—without any charges framed against them and denied the right for trial in open court as well as the right of appeal to the Supreme Court against this detention.

It is common knowledge that many more Federal Party members have been detained in addition to the original 56 detainees announced by the 'Competent Authority' even though not one jot or one tittle of evidence can be adduced against any one of the detainees as regards their participation in violence or incitement to violence whilst on the other hand the C.I.D. information will prove to you that as a party and as individuals we have always advocated and been guided by the principles of *ahimsa* and non-violence.

By contrast, belatedly and reluctantly, less than half a dozen members of the Vimukti Pera-

spoken. Many of C. R.'s views bear the same quality but "publicity-catering" today is so distorted in the salutations of those in power that sagacious counsel about happenings from uncommitted sources is not enterprisingly "covered" by the reporting fraternity at the behests of policy-makers in the newspaper industry. I believe that non-conformist views held by intelligent men make news, and any attempt to play them down is a positive disservice.

muna have been interned even though this party had openly incited and organised their people to violence, loot and arson against Tamils in the Singhalese majority areas as part of their party's programme of work.

The Tri Singhala Peramuna, the U.N.P. Youth League and the U.N.P.'s official journal *Siyarata* have according to your statements in Parliament and documents which we can produce incited and engineered violence and even murder against Tamil citizens living in the Singhala majority areas.

It has now been proved by recovery from prominent members of the M.E.P. and the M.E.P. Youth League in several parts of the country of stolen articles of jewellery, that members of your party (including Parliamentarians) have taken a leading part in lawlessness, murder, arson and loot; but none of the organisations mentioned above have been interned.

Again certain organisations of Buddhist monks have openly participated in intimidating Tamil householders in the Buddhist majority areas and we have unchallengeable proof of some of these Buddhist priests taking a leading part in extorting money from Tamil shopkeepers as 'security insurance' against thuggery, which undertaking was never honoured, yet the E.B.P. and other such organisations of Buddhist monks have not been proscribed and monks well known for their leadership in the lawlessness and loot have not been even legally restrained—with the result that within the space of one week (21st May to 28th May) the entire Tamil population numbering over 100,000 permanently resident in Singhalese Buddhist majority areas have been completely uprooted by organised terror during which they were subjected to arson, loot, humilia-

tions, untold sufferings, assaults and atrocities terminating in several hundreds of deaths—some being burnt alive, others mutilated with knives.

If for obvious reasons you still decline to appoint an international commission of inquiry, are you at least prepared to consent to a much easier proposition, viz. to appoint two judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon to investigate into the truth or otherwise of the various statements, allegations and insinuations made against the Tamil people by the 'Competent Authority' and the P.M. of Ceylon over the Ceylon Radio and in their news handout to the Press? The two judges of the Supreme Court may also investigate the charge that the Police Radio at Colombo and elsewhere was utilised to spread utterly false stories to inflame the Singhalese masses against the Tamils and to justify the Government's unrighteous actions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Federal Party's policy is well known. It holds the view that the union of two or more autonomous linguistic States within the framework of a Federal Union of Ceylon is the only rational and democratic form of constitution in a heterogeneously populated country like Ceylon and the only way by which the Tamils can achieve and secure their political, cultural and economic freedom whilst being associated closely in unity and fraternity with their Singhalese compatriots for their mutual well being and progress. Unlike the aggressive communal or racial aims and objectives of several Singhalese political and religious organisations, one of the fundamental policies of the Federal Party has been 'the promotion and maintenance of goodwill and close co-operation with the Singhalese people in the interests of federal solidarity and fraternity'.

Mr. Prime Minister, I challenge you once again in the name of democracy and parliamentary government to charge us in a court of law or release us forthwith. It must be conceded that in

certain countries under *very exceptional circumstances* a few (a very few) only of political leaders are held in detention without trial but only when the Government has proved a valid justification for their arrest, not bringing them to trial. In the Federal

Party many more have been held in detention since the original 56 announced by the 'Competent Authority' and there are now about a hundred held without trial and without any attempt at justification for their detention except for some childish insinua-

tion against the Federal Party made by the 'Competent Authority' which has since been roundly ridiculed by the very persons whose words (taken out of their context) the 'Competent Authority' had mischievously exaggerated as 'evidence'.

## A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER



**LITTLE BOY: LARGE SHIRT!** Little Vijay has got into mischief again—and into Daddy's shirt this time. What a clean shirt it is...sparkling, like *all* Mummy's SUNLIGHT washing!

Look again at that pile of clothes, sheets and towels! A lot of washing? Yes, but it's done with such a *little* SUNLIGHT. That creamy, extra lather washes so much, and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Make SUNLIGHT *your* soap for the washing!

**SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT**

S. 260-X32

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                       |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                                 | 1,00,00,000  |
| Paid-up Capital                                       | 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other<br>Funds (including<br>Share Premium) | 99,50,360    |
| Deposits                                              | 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTIONED.

London Agents :

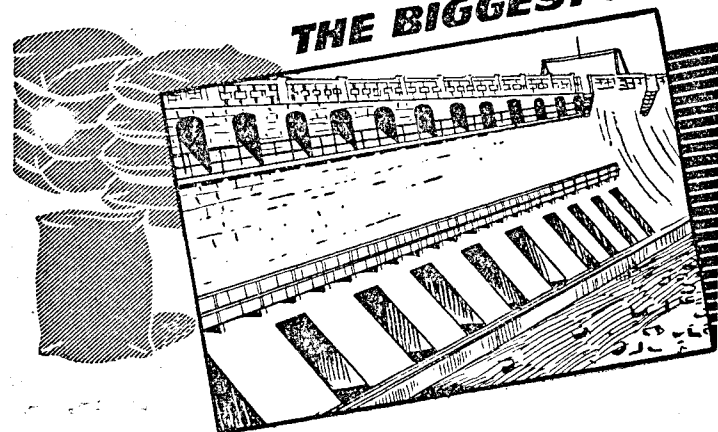
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

**SOLID STRENGTH  
AND STABILITY** Behind  
**THE BIGGEST DAMS**



**DURGA BRAND**  
**PORTLAND CEMENT**

Manufactured by

**THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.**

Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST. MADRAS-1

Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents :

**THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY**  
**(Private) LTD.**

**RAJAHMUNDRY.**

## REFORM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

By Prof. D. D. KARVE

The present system of public examinations current in India has so many defects, in addition to not being a uniform or accurate system of evaluation, that a detailed consideration is unnecessary. It will suffice if the main defects are briefly mentioned.

(1) With the end-of-year examination as the sole criterion of merit, the student is disinclined to carry on regular study throughout the year. A few weeks before the examination, he begins to study in real earnest and cramming is thus encouraged. Also, "Notes" and "Guides" become his main props, as the time is insufficient to go over the whole course carefully.

(2) As the number of questions that can be asked in a three-hour paper is limited and as a large amount of choice of questions is given, the student usually does not feel it necessary to cover the whole of the subject. He usually tries to make a rough guess of the likely questions and concentrates on these. And in this he is often helped by his teachers, by the writers of "guides", the editors of "students' magazines" and conductors of private coaching classes. The result often is that even in the degree examinations, in which students are expected to get a thorough knowledge of the whole subject they get good marks with only a patchy knowledge of the subject. I would say that, even apart from any other reform, the system of asking more questions than the number that a student is expected to answer, should be abolished at once. Provided all questions are based on the curriculum that a student has gone through, he must be in a position to answer all of them. "Selective study" must be discouraged.

(3) Memory plays an important part in the current system of examinations. Problems or other types of questions requiring some ingenuity on the part of the

students are usually avoided and those that involve reproduction of material read elsewhere are favoured. The evaluation is very often based only on what a student can memorise (and that also during a short pre-examination period) rather than on his basic knowledge of the subject or on his capacity to apply it intelligently.

Now if I were to suggest that the type of public examination described above, should be completely abolished and each institution where students receive their training should be empowered to give certificates, diplomas and degrees, it will definitely be dismissed as absurd, unrealistic or impracticable. Although that is the system that would be the most logical and is in vogue in the U.S.A. and some other countries, I am afraid it stands no chance of being accepted here. Also, the teachers and heads of institutions in India have not yet shown that they can assert their independence and integrity vis-à-vis guardians, donors, benefactors, and other influential members of society and the kind of system current in other countries may not, at least for the present, be found workable. Under that system, the certificates and degrees of an institution soon get the recognition that they deserve, because it would not take long for business concerns, Government offices, institutions of higher research and such other places where the students are employed or get further training to find out where the good students and the bad students come from.

I suggest that the system of giving marks out of 100 be done away with. A student's merit should be evaluated in two ways. First his teachers should, on the basis of his year's work, put him in grade A, B, C, D, E, etc. This classification should be the end-result of the periodical tests the student has been subjected to, his

record in seminars and tutorials, the reading he has done, etc. These details as to how they finally decide the students' grade should be left to the teachers themselves. Secondly, those students who have secured one of the first three grades (Excellent, good, fair) should be allowed to offer themselves to a written (or practical) test, generally of the current public examination type, but with no option allowed in the question paper. Here they receive a second classification: A, B, C, D, E, etc. The students' final mark would then be a double letter mark like AA, AB, BA, AC, CB, etc., the first letter being the year's work mark and the second the final examination mark. All those who get at least CC should be declared to have passed the examination while those who have a D or E in the final test should be declared to have failed. Of course those who get a D or E in their "home" test are not allowed to take the written test at all and fail at that stage. Further, it must be noted, that this proposal could be applied to all qualifying examinations of the type that are held by universities, etc. where a minimum performance is necessary for a pass. For competitive examinations, where you wish to pick up the best so many of a number of applicants, the present system of examination with proper safeguards, coupled with an oral examination (when the candidate can naturally not depend upon "selective" study of a subject) may serve the purpose. In such examinations, there is no question of regular study throughout the year.

One of the reasons why all kinds of malpractices have occurred in connection with the examinations conducted by statutory bodies is the great importance attached to the results. Attempts to obtain prior information about the questions in the paper, bribes offered to paper-setters and examiners, smuggling of answer books written by non-candidates into the examination hall and then into the bundles of answer books, etc., all show the same thing. There have been cases of



candidates attacking the invigilator or supervisor who detected and reported such malpractices. If, however, every candidate's all-year record as reported by his teachers had the same importance as his record in the year-end examination, this readiness to risk disciplinary action in order to get through the year-end examination, which at present is the only test, will be eliminated to a great extent. Getting an A or B, or C in the year-end examination will be of no use to a candidate if he has not already got an A or B or C in his all-year work.

Another result of this system will be that it will not be possible to have the kind of ranking in the examinations that we have at present. Such a ranking has, in any examination where even a moderately large number of candidates appear, really no validity. In an examination where large numbers of candidates are being examined, any attempt to arrange all of them in an accurate order of merit based on their total marks is, in my opinion, bound to give a false picture, because the candidates (a) offer different subjects, (b) are examined by different sets of examiners, and (c) no valuation of an answer book can be accurate to 1%. Statements like "This candidate got 79.3% marks and the other got 73.8% marks" cannot have mathematical validity and can have, in all probability, only a limited significance. Proceeding further, I would suggest that the large amounts of money in the form of endowments which are at present invested in Government paper, only the interest of which is to be utilised in giving prizes and scholarships to students standing first or second in this or that subject, should be utilised in other ways for the furtherance of education. The reason is simply that any attempt at determining who stands first or second is bound to be subject to a number of uncertainties when the number of candidates is large. I am further of the opinion that a prize or a scholarship given under these conditions (i.e., for securing first or second rank) is not the best way of encouraging good students and is also not

## CINEMA

# INDIAN FILMS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay :** It is six years since the International Film Festival was held in India. Thanks to that festival, a movement for neo-realistic films got into swing in this country and pictures like "Do Bigha Zamin" and "Boot Polish" were made. During the past three years, the Indian films have won many awards abroad and won high acclaim from critics. But apart from the selected films exhibited in the festival, we in India have not been able to see many notable foreign pictures produced by Italy, Japan, China, Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, France and other countries. And unless a World Film Festival is held as proposed by Shri J. C. Jain, the Sheriff of Bombay who has returned to Bombay after attending the festivals of Berlin, Karlovy Vary and Venice, we will have no opportunity to see them.

Indeed, as suggested by Shri J. C. Jain, an international film festival held in India will get better response and will have wider appeal; for, in India pictures from all countries could be screened as India does not belong to any political group. In Berlin, for instance, no pictures from Communist countries were shown; in Karlovy Vary, some of the non-Communist countries were not represented. In India, there will always be effective in that. Instead, all good students, say those getting AA, should receive encouragement and financial help and if necessary even the capital amounts of the endowments may be used for that purpose.

I hope that some university or examination board could be persuaded to give a trial to this proposal, for a definite period of years and to find out by means of as objective a study as possible, whether it leads to an elimination of selective and year-end study and encourages habits of regular study of the whole subject.

be no such problem. At Tashkent where the Afro-Asian Film Festival was held last month, the delegates had proposed India as the venue for next year's festival. But the two Indian delegates were hardly in a position to extend an invitation on behalf of India. Incidentally, at Tashkent, according to the delegates the best picture shown was the Chinese "Lan Lan Toon Toon", the story of a young kid and his sister. Those who have seen Chinese films recently shown at private shows by the Chinese consulate in Bombay are very much struck by the great progress Chinese films have made since "White Haired Girl". Some of the Chinese films will be shown at the proposed Chinese Film Festival to be held in Bombay by the Indo-China Friendship Association. One hopes that this festival would be better organised than the recent festival of Japanese pictures.

While such festivals of Chinese or Japanese films are welcome, the idea of holding a truly international film festival deserves concrete support from the Government of India. Such a festival will give an impetus to our producers to make pictures for the international market. Now that even New York has hailed our two pictures "Boot Polish" and "Pathar Panchali", we can look forward to the day when, like Japanese films Indian films will prove great dollar-earners.

Producer Kuldip Sehgal and director Lekhraj Bhakri have tried to put all suffering and tragedy in Tasviristan's latest offering "Sahara" which gives Meena Kumari her first opportunity to act the role of a blind woman.

Meena Kumari is cast as the orphan girl who is turned out of her house on the night of her wedding. The entire episode involving the clandestine love affair of her sister-in-law is far from con-

vincing. But at the end of the first sequence we have Meena Kumari on the road seeking refuge and her lawful husband undergoing punishment for a murder. She gets refuge in a distant town in a beggar's den run by a cunning couple. Her benefactors blind her and turn her into a beggar and exploit her. But just when she has lost all hope, a child 'sold' to the couple arouses her affection and she showers all love on the child and lives for him. The final climax when the child falls ill and the money-lender betrays her, refusing to give back her money is melodramatic in the extreme. The suffering and agony ends when the repentant husband returns to the suffering wife and the cunning couple gets its just punishment.

Morbid and melodramatic, the picture is very crudely presented and has no relieving feature. It is the excellent performances not only of Meena Kumari but Daisey Irani, Kuldip, who rises to great heights in the last reels, and Kanhaiyalal that lifts the picture from mediocrity and gives it its fine moments. The music in contrast to "Fashion" is surprisingly poor and in no way offers relief to the monotonous proceedings of the story.

"Battleship Potemkin" produced thirty years ago in the Soviet Union and directed by Sergei Eisenstein has been selected as the best film ever produced. It tops the list of twelve outstanding pictures selected by 117 film historians of 26 different countries. Chaplin's "The Gold Rush" and De Sica's "The Bicycle Thief" are voted second and third.

S. Eisenstein's triumph is the triumph of the greatest film-maker of the world. For Eisenstein, who died in 1948 was as great a film theoretician as he was a film creator. His "Battleship Potemkin" is the finest example of the use of montage. The perambulator sequence is still unmatched. His published essays on films make very difficult reading. He has been described as the Coleridge of film aesthetics—brilliant, inspiring, diffuse. After the advent of Sound, Eisenstein went to Holly-

## BEFORE THE FOOTLIGHTS

# PLAYING WHILE WAITING

By S. V. RAJAGOPAL DAS

Come on, let's play Pozzo and Lucky. I am lucky . . .

The two down-and-outs in the second act of Samuel Beckett's stark portraiture of the human predicament, "Waiting For Godot", gambol, mimic, do a dance, philosophise, cry, embrace and perform a balancing feat on one leg. It is worse than the theatre, one man says. Circus, says the other. Or the music hall. Thus they talk and talk.

They are happy. But are they? They have a doubt. Each tells himself (and the other) he is happy. What do they do now they are happy? They wait for Godot.

They waited for Godot yesterday. "Was that yesterday?" One does not know. One does not care. One is too tired to remember. One is not a historian. But one is not let alone.

The other prods one into remembering things, the landmarks of a day that is dead and buried. The injury in the shin. The bone-marrow that has been begged for and picked up. The black shoes which have become too loose and brown overnight. What about the tree from which they wanted to hang themselves? Even the

tree has been transformed overnight and has put on leaf. It must be the spring.

They did not hang themselves from the tree yesterday, since they were suddenly confronted with the problem of precedence. Who after whom?—that was the question. Then they did not hang themselves as they decided it was safer not to.

Instead they decided to wait for Godot. One is bitter. "Nothing happens, nobody comes, nobody goes . . . it is awful". He is far wrong. Of course a good deal—but not too much of a good deal happens. The feet get swollen. Then the man happens to feel hungry. He gets his favourite pink carrot. He eats it. He talks while he munches the carrot. Surely he has no valid reason to grumble at all, when all this happens to him?

And then they come, Pozzo slave-driving his Lucky. They come; they go. The boy sent by Godot also comes and goes. But Godot does not come today. Yes, it is awful.

Delhi's Theatre Workshop, who are responsible for an impressive production of the much talked about play, mention that most of

wood and with Upton Sinclair tried to make a picture of Mexico. The picture was never completed.

Marie Seaton, who has written his biography, had edited the material which we had an opportunity to see in India at a private showing. The film revealed the mastery of Eisenstein. Later he made two parts of the life of Ivan the Terrible with Cherkosov playing Ivan. The first part was shown, the second was banned. In all, Eisenstein made seven or eight films; but each film was a masterpiece. His life was as stormy and colourful as his films.

Now it is learnt that all the material he shot in Mexico has been collected by Soviet authorities and his cameraman Tisse and

director Alexandrov are compiling a film on Mexico as originally designed by the great master.

Eisenstein's contribution to the film art is as great as of D. W. Griffith and Chaplin, his two contemporaries. In fact, he was a greater intellectual than both and is the originator of what is known as Soviet realism which is now adapted by the Italian neo-realistic school of film-making.

The greatest pity, however, is that even after thirty-three years of its making "Battleship Potemkin" has not been publicly exhibited in India. So Indians had no opportunity to see the world's all-time greatest film; and may not get it unless we have art theatres to screen such films.

the dialogue is monotonous and repetitive and seemingly pointless but they have found new facets and new truths at each rehearsal. Certainly there is something more, something deeper, than what we see and hear. That is the whole point of the play. Take, for instance, Godot himself. (Or should we say, Himself?) The Godot legend is built up by bare suggestions and brief glimpses. None but the terrified boy-messenger (who is too afraid to be able to express himself anyway) knows anything about Godot. They are simply waiting for Godot.

Again, the Pozzo-Lucky episode. When we see them first, Pozzo is the pompous master holding a long rope tied round Lucky's neck. Lucky is the silent thought-machine. Ordered and whip-lashed, he thinks aloud. When the command performance begins, he is already in the middle of an intense discourse.

"For reasons unknown..." on and on the machine goes and stops at Pozzo's bidding. When we see them for the second and last time, Pozzo is blind. The rope round Lucky's neck is his rescue now. To each man his due. And Lucky himself has become dumb. When has this happened? Pozzo in a fit of fury shouts back: Is it not enough for you to see what has happened? What on earth is the idea in wanting to know when?

The taut twilight tragedy of the central theme—about the Old Unhopefuls striving to clutch at the last straw of a 'Godot of hope'—is relieved and at the same time put in perspective by touches of gentle irony and now mild, now boisterous comedy. When the shoes are found loose, the loose-limbed man is cheered up by his companion that he may wear socks some day. (A profound idea, all of a piece.) When he goes determined to lift Lucky from the ground he gets another sensible bit of advice, to discover first if Lucky is dead, in which event the enormous exertion would be entirely useless. There is the comedy of the hats, three hats including Lucky's doing the rounds on two heads. (A

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### 'FREEDOM IN THIS WELFARE STATE'

Sir,—With reference to the letter of a "Citizen" under the above caption (SWARAJYA, Sept. 6), I request you to publish the following.

As regards the statement that the Trust "pockets a cool five thousand chips in the preliminary prospecting", I have to say that the Trust incurred an expenditure of about Rs. 4,900 in printing, making blocks for designs, advertising, etc., not to speak of the time and labour spent by the staff and me in evolving six decent type-designs which are of some value. We ordinarily charge one rupee per design. What is the price usually paid to a private licensed surveyor for a building design? The C.I.T. cannot help it if its housing schemes are popular! But, it neither desired nor expected such a run on the application forms, of which only 1,500 were printed initially. The receipt of about 2,000 applications with deposits for about 400 houses is a "head-ache" which any administration would like to avoid.

It is true that the Seethamma scheme of the C.I.T. forms part of a Corporation T. P. scheme for the area. Under Corporation T. P. schemes, only broad outlines of development are indicated, and it is left to the owners of the lands covered by the scheme to develop their sites. The Corporation itself rarely if ever forms

feather in the cap of the players, this sequence.)

The play is set in barren country. The mood of the play is as barren. It is set in a low and depressing key. Here is no gripping beginning, no well-developed middle, no grim climax. Life is like that, without beginning, middle or end. No eager expectancy, no exciting suspense in this waiting, for Godot. The characters are too wayward to feel the tempo and the tension. Listless though they are and uneventful though their waiting is, the impact of the situation is unfailing.

the roads. The T. P. schemes do not require parcelling out as house sites, and 250 grounds of vacant lands in the heart of the city would have been otherwise lying unused, as they have been for the past so many years. But now, under the C.I.T. scheme, some 120 low-income group families will get housing accommodation in a convenient locality. The land was owned by a dozen persons, with every likelihood of the huts, which had sprouted on its outskirts, enveloping it in due course. The owners have been left with adequate land for their own use, and a few developed and well-shaped plots have also been offered at special prices to such among them as have asked for them. As for the alleged high cost of developed sites, suffice it to say that the C.I.T. works on a no-profit, no-loss basis as required by Government. It also means that the land owners receive high compensation from the Collector!

In regard to the criticism that the C.I.T. advertised for this scheme also before it got actual possession of it, I should like to mention that all the procedure under the L. A. Act had been put through, and the cost of acquisition on demand deposited with the Collector long before the prospectus was made available to the public. Further, the Trust is a statutory and quasi-Government body, comprising five senior officers of the State Government and five eminent citizens, and not a private "company". As for the alleged "fat establishment", its cost works out only to 5 to 6% of the total value of its activities, and, even if it is kept idle, the Trust's present permanent annual income of Rs. 1½ lakhs will feed the staff.

The Trust has so far sold about 700 developed, middle class house sites, and built more than 500 houses in the City within the last 3 or 4 years, surely not for any "effect or show"! As for the alleged "inconvenience, worry, expense, and misery" to the

holders of the vacant lands, it is well to remember that our country is tending towards a democratic, Socialistic pattern of society, and a few must sacrifice to some extent for the sake of the happiness of the many who have more and deeper reasons for worry, misery, etc. And many of the owners who could not dispose of their lands without heavy outlay on T. P. requirements, have found a relief in the C.I.T.'s action of acquisition. The only sanctioned private layout in the Seethamma area has been excluded.

(CAPT.) D. GNANAOLIVU, I.A.S.  
Chairman, C.I.T., Madras.

### SRI M. P. DESAI'S PERCENTAGES

Sir,—With reference to C. R.'s article entitled "Sri M. P. Desai's Percentages" (SWARAJYA, Sept. 12), the following observation by a famous person under "Quotable Quotes" in a back number of *Reader's Digest* comes to my mind:

"There are three kinds of lies—(1) Falsehood, (2) Half-truths, and (3) Statistics."

JINNI CHARI.

### LAND REFORM

Sir,—The one argument which you have stressed in your leading article on Land Reform appeals to me most and is worth repeating. When certain rights and privileges are conferred on future generations of the present working class, there is absolutely no guarantee that they will take to agriculture, as the present Government is thrusting opportunities for education and Government jobs on this privileged class who come under the list of backward classes. Then what will happen? The tenant cannot be vacated, his share ratio cannot be altered, nor will he take to the plough himself. He may sell his rights to a sub-tenant and so on.

Thus agriculture suffers and any quantitative propaganda for food-production will be of no avail.

A similar situation arose during the war when many able-bodied youths working on the fields were taken away for war purposes. After their return, with their acquired habit of wearing boots, tight dress, drinking tea and smoking cigarettes, they would not go

back to the fields. They preferred to be watchmen in big offices in cities. The Government in the name of the National War Front printed costly pamphlets and spent a lot on the Grow More Food drive but the driver found none to drive.

Your article cautioning against over-enthusiasm in Land Reform is truly welcome.

K. V. ARUNACHALAM.  
West Mambalam.

### ISWARA DUTT

Sir,—SWARAJYA has done well in highlighting the qualities of head and heart of Sri Iswara Dutt on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Sri Dutt has risen to prominence in Indian journalism by sheer hard work and force of character. He has no doubt had his share of the buffetings of fortune in our Fourth Estate, but he never sacrificed principles for expediency.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has but echoed what the late Dr. C. R. Reddi said years ago—that Sri Dutt's writings belonged to literature. To a natural flair, for writing Sri Dutt added a diligent study of the best in literature, and that has made him the literary craftsman that he is.

I was one of those who were drawn to Sri Dutt by his writings. A chance reading of his sketch of C. R. years ago made me a lover of his inimitable style sparkling with wit and irony. I have since had the good fortune to know him personally and enjoy his friendship. I consider it a rare privilege to have among my friends one who is not only a writer of distinction but a good gentleman.

May he live long, in happiness and contentment, to continue to serve his countrymen.

Trichur V. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN.

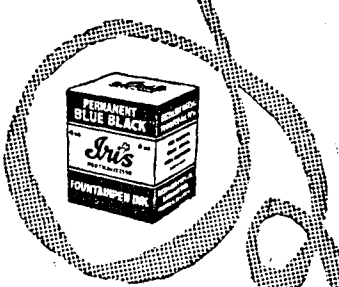
### UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE EDUCATED

Sir,—The article on "Unemployment of the Educated" (SWARAJYA, 30th August) aptly reflects the minds of young men like me, who even though taking a high rank in the university have no chance of getting any job just because they are born unfortunately in a particular caste,

the Brahmin caste. It is high time the Government take proper measures to give adequate facilities for the educated unemployed. Otherwise they will naturally join the "anti-social forces".

ONE EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

For Writing Comfort



FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/ISB/A

## TAMIL VALMIKI RAMAYANA CHURUKKAM

In easy elegant Tamil Prose adapted from the Tamil Prose translation of Valmiki Ramayana by Pandit S. M. NATESA SASTRIAR—451 Pages—A book for every Tamil Home and School Library.

Reduced Price Rs. 2/-

K. MAHADEVAN,  
82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
MYLAPORE, :: MADRAS-4.





## SOCIAL SERVICE

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

There was a big college in Sarojininagar. Don't search for this town in your atlas or geography book. The name is fictitious..

The students of the college started doing social service. The lecturer in mathematics was their leader. 'Social service' means helping the poor.

In Vettuvanpatti, a neighbouring village, there was a very heavy downpour of rain and the houses were damaged.

The students got into a lorry and descended on the village.

Seeing the town-clad men, the villagers complained, "Our roofs are all leaking. We are suffering a lot."

"Don't worry," assured the maths. lecturer. "We shall set everything right." And turning to the students, he said, "Get on to the roofs!" The boys hesitated and held back. They were new to this kind of job.

"Why are you standing still?" said the teacher. "I shall get up and show you the way." When they saw the old man climbing on to the roof, a few boys followed. When the other boys saw these standing on the roof, they too became

enthusiastic. They all got up. The woman of the house cried out in agony, "Good Lord! If you tread like this on wet tiles, what do you think will happen? Won't they break?"

And break, of course, they did. The boys walked up and down on the roof. Wherever they set foot, the tiles broke. The damage caused by the rains was made far worse by the boys. The maths. lecturer knew nothing about wet tiles. And as for the students, the poor fellows knew even less.

The unfortunate owner of the house shouted aloud, "Get down! Get down!"

They got down.

"Don't be afraid, my brother!" said the lecturer. "We shall set everything right. We shall write to the authorities and get funds for buying new tiles and repairing the roof."

The party returned to Sarojininagar. It rained at Vettuvanpatti that night also. The poor children in the house suffered a lot. The woman cried and complained to her husband, saying again and again, "Why did you allow these monkeys to climb the roof? Now all is lost!"

But what could the poor monkeys do? The lecturer's ignorance and excessive enthusiasm ended in this damage.

The maths. lecturer sent up appeal after appeal to the higher authorities. He applied for funds for replacing the broken tiles. The Secretary to Government refused. The students and teachers collected some money from among themselves and gave it to the farmer. It took three months to do this.

They learnt the lesson that it was wrong to climb up and walk on wet tiles in a hurry. When the lecturer and some of the students went to the village again to hand over the cash they had collected, the woman of the house blessed them heartily. She was delighted at the sight of cash. The teacher was no less delighted that they got off so lightly without any further scolding.

The students were clear in their minds that they would never more launch on any such enterprise.

Eager to find out how and where tiles were made, they visited the village potter's house. They saw the clay and the wheel and the potter's skill. They marvelled at the way the pots were made. The teacher said, "Come, come. It is time to return." But the students could not easily tear themselves away from the potter's house.

He said abruptly to Kipling, "What's your dream?"

Kipling's response is not important now, but Rhode's incisive question still suddenly confronts men and nations. Our danger is always that we lose the dream. In the repetitive commotion of each new day, the stirrings over Formosa, the anxieties of Calcutta and New Delhi, once-luminous outlines may vaporise and fade.

This ought not to be so. The recurring glimpse of pillars and temples raised in the mind spurs us on through brambles.

JOHN E. FRAZER

### The Dream

Rudyard Kipling, in his "Something of Myself", tells of first meeting Cecil Rhodes in South Africa. The great empire-builder, according to the great English writer, was inarticulate as a schoolboy of fifteen, and "had a habit of jerking out sudden questions as disconcerting as those of a child—or the Roman Emperor he so much resembled".

blessing. It is a stimulation for further inexpert handling of resources and for postponement of the salutary corrective effects of limited means. Foreign funds that come too easily are disposed of too carelessly and tend to burden the nation with debt but no corresponding benefit of equivalent value.

A heavy responsibility rests on every kind of recipient of foreign aid to see to it that it is spent wisely, economically and with care, as one would do with one's own income. Unfortunately this principle of duty does not seem in the past to have been honoured

by the administrators of foreign aid in India to the extent demanded by the national interests.



## Sotto Voce

### In Parasurama's Land

For the past fortnight I have been going up and down, back and forth in lovely country under the most favourable auspices. September and October were the best time for seeing Kerala, I had long been assured, and so I found. As the road to Parasurama's Land I took passed through a good bit of Mysore before ascending the Blue Hills to debouch into Kerala, the panorama that presented itself to tired urban eyes was one of infinite variety as well as of gorgeous richness. The august heights of the inner Himalayas have a stark grandeur of their own. But for lush vegetation and the intimate mating of earth and water there is nothing to beat the West coast.

I had seen Somnathpur, that breath-taking jewel of Hoysala architecture, on an earlier visit. What struck me painfully on the present trip (as on a visit last year to Belur was the ubiquitous hand of the vandal, I am aware that the stone of which these temples are built is not hard and weathers too easily. But surely it could not be merely due to the action of wind and rain that almost every one of the exquisitely carved big figures on the outer walls had suffered disfigurement in an identical part of the anatomy, the nose. If my surmise—that the mischief may be due to crazy fanatics—is wrong, the Archaeological Department must think of better ways of fending off the ravages of time

Malabar is a land of detached homesteads. The contrast offered by the populous Brahman 'agraharas' included within the municipal limits of Palghat is all the more striking. These, traditionally eighteen in number, are clustered in three or four main groups with green belts of cultivated country around them. The units inside each group are hardly

more than single streets divided by a lane from the next. But they all have their separate names—many of them startlingly reminiscent to a Tanjorean of big or once big villages on the Kaveri—and their separate temples, the favourite deities being Ganapathy and Bhagavati. It is clear that here is preserved something of the older community life which these emigrants from the East brought with them when they crossed the ghats through the Walayar gap.

In 1,600 miles of motoring we rarely happened on a thoroughly bad road. A short stretch of ten miles along the backwaters on the Kottayam-Quilon section which skirts a brand-new 'Industrial Estate' was rather trying. It may be that there was an alternative road which we missed. For a conscientious motorist had directed us to look out for a new bridge, which however remained mysteriously elusive. On another section nearer the capital, as a preliminary to the widening of the road—rather wastefully as it seemed to me, since it was planned to enable four or five cars to ride abreast—the macadamised surface of the existing road had been scrapped; though why this should have been done was not clear unless it was in conformity with the Communist doctrine that you must destroy before you can build!

Inside Kerala there were either no milestones or they were discreetly hidden from the motorist in a hurry. Where there did appear one, the information it carried was mostly in the local language, showing that the Kerala Government is no less patriotic in this irritating way than the Governments of Karnataka Mysore and Tamil Madras. But the wayfarer meets with undeviating courtesy. People of all

classes are eager to help with information which is precise and reliable. The poverty of the countryside is as obvious as its picturesqueness; as my young companion remarked, we seemed to encounter not a single fat man. On the other hand we did not see a single man or woman wearing dirty clothes (though in this respect Travancore compared rather unfavourably with Cochin and Malabar).

Parts of Kerala are perhaps among the most thickly populated areas in the world. And the roads are practically one long street and full of people at all hours of the day. By contrast the temples, mostly unpretentious and half hidden in their sylvan surroundings, are restful sanctuaries for the spirit. (At Kanya-kumari, however, I had a shock. Cheek by jowl with the famous shrine and practically hiding it was a hybrid memorial to the Mahatma). There is a seemliness and quiet decorum in the way worshippers, fresh from their morning bath, pay their devotions in the sanctum or perform 'japa' or 'surya-namaskara' in the precincts. In all the big temples, Anantasayanam, Janardanam, Trichur, there are shrines for all the principal deities. There is no narrow sectarianism here. And in fanes like the celebrated one at Guruvayur and spots like Kaladi hallowed by the fragrant memory of great saints, the humble of heart may pulse the living presence of Deity. *Sānnidhyam* is a favourite word on the lips of the pious Malayali.

VIGNESWARA

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

The finish with a future!



**Spartan**  
Plastic  
paint

A galaxy of glorious colours is yours to choose from the amazing Spartan Plastic Paint colour range. Bring all round freshness into your rooms with Spartan Plastic warm-welcome colours and hear your friends say, "What a lovely colour!"

**ADDISONS PAINTS - Madras-II**

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 14

MADRAS, OCTOBER 11, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## IS INDEBTEDNESS A BLESSING OR CURSE?

India tops the list of borrowers from the World Bank in the year ending June 30, 1958. In this period we received seven loans of the total value of 165.5 million dollars. The aggregate amount of loans so far received by India from the Bank is 405 million dollars. Does this distinction of outstripping other countries in borrowing-achievement redound to our credit, or is it a sign of improvident management reflecting an insolvent economy?

Sri P. C. Joshi the Communist leader is disturbed by India's indebtedness to the World Bank. He sees in it the advance signal of impending economic slavery. But it is not the loan or its size or its relation to our repaying capacity that causes him disquiet. It is the fact that in the New Delhi conference of banking dignitaries now going on, it is only the Finance Ministers and bank governors of capitalist countries that are the sole participants.

The Communist objection is not to foreign aid as such but to indebtedness to the Western powers, in particular the U.S.A. If instead of dealing with a bank located in Washington, our transactions had been with a similar institution in Moscow, the Communists would have waived their objection and foreseen no prospect of economic slavery in such transactions.

It is wise to be politically wary in incurring monetary obligations, but the experience of the world since the second world war does not reveal Russia as quite

the safe customer in such matters which the Indian Communists would have us believe she is. Since the second world war Britain relinquished her hold on India, galvanising two continents into an urge for freedom that has revolutionised the relative position of Europe with Asia and Africa. European imperialisms have been fighting a losing battle with the colonial peoples of these two continents and some of these have already blossomed into new free republics. In this same period, Russian dominance with the full use of military power has been established over millions of inhabitants in Eastern Europe. As for the United States, it can claim to be the only great military nation of the modern age with no territorial ambitions for the exercise of political sovereignty over the land and property of other nations. If international political considerations have to be worked into regional economic plans, there is far more reason to dread Russian assistance than American, whatever might be the propaganda of the Indian Communists over the issue.

Economic problems should be settled free from the hallucinations of partisan propagandists from either side of the international power bloc set-up. Economic danger, intensifying in time into economic slavery, springs from the conversion of alleged temporary obligations into a permanent liability. If we borrow beyond our capacity to repay, the lender will cease to be a benefactor

and transform himself into an inevitable source of evil egging us on to improvidence and living beyond our means. The wisest comment ever spoken by a foreign visitor about our greatly advertised second Five Year Plan comes from Sir Jeremy Raisman, a former Finance Member of the Government of India in the period just prior to the British withdrawal. He says that the Plan suffers from a certain imbalance between heavy industries and agriculture, that the agricultural base of India is not at present strong enough to withstand the over-centralisation on heavy industries and that excessive privileges to labour affected productivity and served as a stumbling block to progress. In other words, a great part of the aid we receive, like our other resources such as taxation, goes to the nursing of defects that impede progress, and does not serve the cause of progress itself. How, then, can we hope to repay the loans we receive without going in for other loans?

Our Government is inadequately served in the matter of economic talent. The highest planning authority in the land, the Planning Commission, has come to be the haunt of *ad hoc* persons of indifferent capacities belonging to a list scheduled for the special favours of the Prime Minister. More resources mean to planners of this calibre more opportunities for waste and bungling. From this standpoint the aid that comes from abroad cannot be called a

# SIDELIGHTS ::

There has been some correspondence in this journal about the City Improvement Trust. The chairman of the Trust has replied to it in the forthright manner characteristic of him. Captain Gnanavolivu is an energetic officer with a high sense of duty, capable of swift drives. He seems to have mastered the theory of the value of time, and on his office table the visitor is confronted with a plastic board on which is inscribed the admonition "Time is precious. Don't waste yours and mine". On the two occasions when I called on him I was so impressed by the inscription that I dared not stay a second longer than was absolutely necessary for the transaction of the business on hand. Verbose visitors who take half an hour when five minutes would suffice, waste a great deal of the time of Government officials. The latter take

their revenge by wasting the time of the public. The inordinate delay to which members of the public are subjected even when they visit Government officials by appointment is one of the most depressing features of our Swaraj administration. It is easier to see a Minister and get politeness out of him than a sales tax officer or an import and export controller. Not the least of the wastages persisting despite so much ado made about the Plan, is the wastage of the time of busy men when they have to do with Government officials. It is as if the value of time, as the primordial source of all productive activity, has not yet dawned on India's Planners. I wish there were more Gnanavolivus about in important official departments to realise the preciousness of time and see to the prevention of its frittering for the benefit of the Government and the public alike.

## CEASE FIRE IN QUEMOY

Whatever good things Russia or China may do at any time it evokes the headlines, "Western Powers Sceptical", "An astute move" and the like. Whenever a grave crisis faces mankind it is most unfortunate that the Powers that flatter themselves as being the saviours and the angels of the world churn up such reactions to whatever happens for the benefit of mankind just because it comes from the other side and embarrasses them. All diplomatic propaganda and military strategy having been keyed up to a wicked and sinful heart on the opposite side, when something good and natural happens, it confuses and worries instead of being useful as it would be if taken at face value. This situation tends ever to frustrate hope and turn good into barrenness.

Mankind cannot hope to progress towards peace unless this attitude on the part of the

West is changed. We cannot liquidate the enemy. We must work for co-existence. And this is done only by developing natural trust.

Caution and wisdom become just folly if they are exaggerated and turned into morbid suspicion. The essential first step is trust and taking gestures at face value. It is a pity that one is not ready to take unilateral action oneself and yet when the other side takes it, it is suspected to be mere strategy. We are again and again compelled to bemoan this tendency to suspect. It poisons and nips the tender bud of peace. Co-existence is a species of friendliness and this cannot come into being in the killing atmosphere of self-righteous suspicion. May some good angel work himself into the heart of the West and end this morbidity!

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In the present controversy over C. I. T. housing the laurels go not to the chairman but his critics. He claims as a meritorious achievement the piling up of a scale of reserve income adequate enough to maintain the staff even if they remained idle and did no further work. His critics seize on this very fact as proof of deviation from the Trust's declared policy of no profit, no loss. At any rate there is no doubt that the C. I. T.'s low income-group housing projects are such only in name. None but the rich can afford these houses, and the aspiring poor are being compelled, after a desperate initial effort, to seek relief by getting rid of their acquisitions in favour of more well-to-do buyers. The entire scheme of house planning of the C. I. T. needs drastic revision if there is to be any room in it for real benefit to people with low incomes.

Ramayana pravachana in Mysore by Sri Anantharama Dikshitar was completed on Monday. His scholarship, wit and wisdom, power of expression, marvellous memory stored with an infinite variety of stories and anecdotes, the musical timbre of his voice and his astonishing gift of recitation and exposition made a great impression on all who heard him and they were transported to a different world filled with the atmosphere of devotion and piety. Rajaji, by setting the example of regular attendance, invested the discourses, which lasted 41 days with great prestige. On the concluding day there was a shower of plaudits and presents, and verses in Sanskrit and Tamil in honour of the Bhagavathar were composed and sung by Sri S. Y. Krishnaswami. The outstanding event of the occasion was Rajaji's speech. He warned people against crude imitations of the heroes of the Ramayana. Only a Rama, he said, could kill Vali and only a Yudhistira serve dharma once in a while with an untruth. A fine point, this, which I wish our Congress Ministers performing pada yatra in imitation of Bharata of old, would assimilate. As Rajaji

(Continued on Page 15)

## THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Dulles in his book "War, Peace and Change" wrote some years ago: "For a nation to base its relations with the outside world on the assumption that change brought about by force is in fact non-existent is a policy of absurdity. . . . For any nation to close its eyes to such changes and to treat them as non-existent, means the election of such nation to live in a world as unrelated to reality as that of Alice in Wonderland". Mr. Dulles who wrote this is himself precisely doing what he condemned in such strong terms.

It is refreshing to read what Nye Bevan has said at Scarborough pledging himself if not the whole Labour Party unconditionally to do away with British nuclear tests when the party takes office irrespective of what others may or may not do. And he bases this promise on the solid Christian ground that Britain can't do something that undoubtedly poisons other innocent nations and succeeding generations. America makes a cheap jibe saying Russia has finished her 'propaganda exercise' and has therefore resumed nuclear test explosions. What is called 'propaganda' is nothing but the moral power of any unilateral action in the right direction. If one likes it, one gives it the right name. If you dislike it and wish to resist it, you call it 'propaganda'. The fanatics who crucified Christ called his teaching by some such name. Yet that propaganda has come to stay and is the only hope of Western mankind.

Citizens in all democracies have become flocks of timid and industrious animals, of which ruling politicians have become the shepherds who undertake 'to spare the citizens all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living' as De Toqueville prophetically wrote in his book on Democracy in America. This criminal activity that goes by the name of test explosions must serve to wake up

indifference and rouse mankind to a sense of responsibility to prevent governments from committing any longer this insane crime of poisoning God's world. Russia unilaterally stopped her tests and called on America and Britain to follow. But these Great Powers did not respond. Khrushchev has not been able to hold out very long. He has yielded to the siege of the other nuclear Powers. But Russia is even now ready and eager, so Khrushchev declares, that these test explosions should be stopped by all the Powers and at once and unconditionally. Russia has realised that poisoning unconcerned nations and future generations of mankind is no legitimate part of any national defence. But the U.S. government is still arguing as if this crime against innocent nations were a lawful right and must be considered and negotiated along with other issues related to disarmament. And Britain loyally joins this claim of her dominant partner. Opinion in Britain has definitely revolted and repudiated this claim that the poisoning of the world's atmosphere and land and water is a part of the legitimate national defence, even if nuclear weapons were any real defence at all for Britain.

A reading of the latest British official hand-out as to what citizens should do by way of previous precaution against nuclear

bombing makes dismal reading and confirms the universal conviction that there is no such thing as civil protection or precaution in this kind of warfare. Indeed this official hand-out must itself serve to turn the people of Britain against nuclear tests. The awful danger into which the present foreign policy of the Conservative government is leading Britain is made clear by this hand-out as to so-called 'precautions'.

It is unfortunate that the Labour party has not yet summoned the strength of character to make its nuclear armament policy more definite. The card-vote by which delegates' votes are multiplied by the number of members of each union is not a true indication of public opinion among the workers of Britain. It is more an indication of confidence in a particular leadership than a vote on the issue of nuclear tests or any other particular issue. The anti-nuclear campaigners who are doing vigorous work in Britain have a great deal yet to do to bring the Labour party policy to definite shape. The Geneva Conference which appeared to be almost a certainty has again lapsed into the realm of may-be or may-not-be. It is unfortunate that test explosions galore have started again. But it may be that this itself may induce re-thinking instead of indulgence in light-hearted recrimination. The fate of the world is in the hands of leaders whose wisdom appears to be open to much doubt. It is only Providence that can save the world.

## THE FILLING IN THE PIE

Just as the housewife puts the poorham on the prepared flour and makes it into a complete and sweet modakam, or a savoury kachauri, and aatman fills the sareeram and makes it a person.

So again, says the Acharya, the individual aatman becomes what it is, by being filled with the poornam that issues out of the one and only poornam, God.

Without the aatman, the sareeram is but an inert mass. So also the individual aatman would be

an inert nothing without the antaraatman, which is God. The one and only poornam, that which fills and completes everything is God, without which it would be modakam without poornam.

Every being around you is filled with that poornam. You have Him everywhere, there at a distance, and here in yourself. Far and near is God everywhere. Everything has issued out of Him: poornaat — from God, poornam — everything, uda-



chyate — has issued.

That, there, is poornam, God!  
Here this, is poornam, God!

Poornam adahpoornam idam  
poornaat poornam udachyate.

This is the first line of an Upanishad *saanti mantra*, that is, an invocation for peace of mind. The second line takes us to the great conclusion that God informs every being that we see and therefore everything partakes of the Divine.

Look upon every being as same with you, and all as divine.

Poornasya poornam aadaaya  
Poornam eva avasishyate

The divine essence informs every being; for has not every being issued from Him? How can the quality of the source fail to be the quality of what issued from it? Look upon all beings then as divine and filled with the all-filling *poornam*. *Poornam* in the Upanishad *mantra* means the whole, or all, as well as what makes a thing complete as the *poornam* completes the *modakam* and makes it what it is.

So the Isaavaasya Upanishad *rishi* says

yastu sarvaanibhootaani  
aatmanyevaannupasyati  
sarvabhooteshuchaatmanam  
tato na vijuguptate

He who habitually sees lives as if resting and moving in his own body and sees himself as functioning in the bodies of all beings, and thus feels one with all beings around — such a person has no aversion or fear of anything. This constant practice of compassion leads to identity.

yasmin sarvaani bhootani  
aatmaivaabhoot vijaanatah  
tatra komahah kah soka  
ekatvamanupa syatah

When one has attained knowledge and realised all beings as himself and everything has therefore become himself, there is no grief or delusion for such a one. He is emancipated.

The meaning usually given to this *Saanti* sloka is this: The whole is God; from Him who is whole has issued all this whole; yet He remains whole, making the *mantram* an exposition of the relationship between God and soul, of the mathematical properties of infinity, that when it is

subtracted from, it still remains infinite. The interpretation I have sought to give makes it a part of the yoga preached in the *Gita* and particularly *Gita* Ch. IV. 35, Ch. V. 7 and Ch. VI. 29 as well as slokas 6 and 7 of the *Isopanishad* itself.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

### What makes a Man Attractive?

Plain men in many parts of the world can take heart if their womenfolk hold the same sort of views as women in Britain on what makes a man attractive. The BBC "Woman's Hour" programme asked six women to give their answer to this question over the air recently and here are some of the masculine charms they found irresistible:

Mrs. Doris Rainbow, mother of 12 children: "A man must not be too good-looking — just presentable. If he has a twinkling in the eyes you know he's a happy personality." She liked "men who worked hard, were fond of children, dressed quietly and were courteous."

Miss Leila Williams, 'Miss Great Britain,' said: "I used to think a man was attractive who was handsome, but as I got older I went for personality." She had a preference for older men with a touch of grey at the temples.

Seventeen-year-old Maureen Scally did not find perfectly handsome men attractive either, but was a bit more specific about what she did like: "Men who are over five feet ten inches, and have very fair hair and very blue eyes with darkish eyelashes and eyebrows...strong enough to lift me, because I shall demand to be carried over the threshold when I marry...Gentle, tolerant and quietly-spoken." She was on the lookout for a "fair-haired, blue-eyed, medical student standing quietly in a corner."

French-born Pamela de Bayou, who described her third marriage to a publisher as "perfect", liked men who were "over six feet, emaciated, dark, pale, and extravagant." They should like angling, but not other sports. Even if a man had all these attributes she could not marry him if his voice was ugly. She

liked looking at Frenchmen and Italians, she confessed, but would never marry anyone but an Englishman.

Writer and critic Siriol Hugh Jones who is married to a BBC producer, said: "I like men with beautiful voices—so big that they never need to shout...I like calm, gentle, relaxed men who aren't out to impress, who aren't fussed by much nor shy, nor self-conscious—who give you the feeling there's all the time in the world to spare." She had often suspected that the reason for the formidable success of the Americans in Britain during the war "was the dotty way they have of holding your elbow when you step on and off the pavement as though you were about to scale Mount Everest." Most Englishwomen were accustomed to rushing along in the wake of some man who seemed to have an urgent date with the horizon. She also had a fatal weakness for "great wits and dazzling intellects" and practically nothing gave her greater happiness than "to be wooed by a conversation of which I have never so much as caught the drift..." She liked most of all the man who liked women—not the type who expected to enslave every woman by the first slaying glance from his flashing eye—the man who "just likes them."

Penelope Mortimer, novelist mother of six, was certainly not attracted by good looks. "Exceptional beauty in a man usually seems to conceal the brain of a small, egocentric fly," she said. She could not believe that any woman was really interested in pounds of muscle unless in the eyes there was a "flicker of Einstein, a squinting reference to Sir Philip Sidney." Her romantic preference for the "creative soul" had led to some disappointments, but she still had "a soft spot for the lean and hungry,—the ones who look as though they have cut their own hair with a blunt razor blade and have mercifully insoluble problems...Almost any man with charm, a touch of melancholia, a dash of vanity, and a quiet passion for putting up shelves, could lure me out on to the balcony."

## SYNTHETIC SUCCESS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The late R. S. Sarma, a phenomenon amongst politicians and a politician amongst businessmen with journalism as the lever of success, used to classify his rivals in three categories. It is very prudent in these days to dress well and brag, but Type No. 1 keeps boasting about unique things he has already done; Type No. 2 exults over the colossal feats he intends to perform; and Type No. 3 dilates on the marvellous deeds he is actually achieving day by day, if only you carefully watch such advance as an admiring spectator. Sarma himself was never hesitant of playing in any of the roles since he was convinced that in a world of illusions there is wisdom in adaptation.

A versatile correspondent of the second World War dwells on Lloyd George reminiscing on his performances in World War I when he launched expeditionary forces and mobilised Empire-Credits scorning the erudition of John Maynard Keynes and the trumpeteering capacity of Northcliffe which he despised.

The roving journalist found Roosevelt proud of what he was actually doing; and there was Chiang Kai-shek vainglorious of what he ultimately aimed at doing. Stalin and Churchill during interviews with them would expatiate in all roles. Stalin was a Marxist author, Churchill a historian which probably explains the difference. The same criterion could be applied in our own terrain in India where we endeavour to repair a plan-shattered economy in a war-shattered world by daring improvisations, cap in hand, without strings attached to the extended specimen of headwear, hat or turban or just homespun cone, with no truculent slant. Chavan's Gandhi-cap and Munshi's *ditto* are donned with a contrary slope which axially aggravates the bilingual difference, but then the problem must be solved under the caption of "jonalijed jolidarity"; or else it would all become a gamble in

futures as they say in kerb-stone transactions. Zonalised solidarity is however a speculative scrip, not a blue chip as defined by Mundhrabhai, that man of genius who, despite his reputed aberrations, extorts the admiration of the *canaille* as the French define the mob. The Gandhi-cap itself has a zonal shape, with an invisible axis; but in orthography C and K seldom make any difference as you are free to shout Cnife when you think of a Kry to that effect.

"Thanking your Honour in anticipation" is a phrase I abhor though the No. 2 type might be an adept in that form of official correspondence soliciting favours. The core of the Plan, the centre-point of the target, not the fringe of the proposal is sometimes named "acid test". Progress in India is measured by the increased use of acids, of nitrogen, of oxygen, of oxides, of cowhides. All the three types of Padma-Bhushans are entitled to due recognition, but only in due course, I am afraid. The Cambay shout of

oil to overwhelm the market has staggered imagination that's all too faint to warrant claims of oil-self-sufficiency.

Had he continued to live another ten years, R. S. Sarma would have accomplished the synthesis of all the three roles.

Still, on the whole wisdom lies in the verse taught by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow for juvenile recitation:

Trust no future howe'er  
pleasant  
Let the dead Past bury  
its dead.  
Act, act in the living  
Present,  
Heart within and  
God o'er head.



Quick,  
soothing  
relief  
from pain



The gentle touch of  
AMRUTANJAN,  
Conqueror of Pain,  
quickly relieves  
throbbing aches  
and pains.

AMRUTANJAN



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
Calcutta-7.



## CAPITAL COMMENTS

## DHEBAR BHAI'S PLANS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Junius delights to think that he now enters on his second year in the service of SWARAJYA. It is a joy to him to have (but for one omission last week due to personal reasons) written continuously for this weekly for a whole twelve-month, and to continue the feature for what it is worth, while it is his good luck to have stirred the enthusiasm of friends, known and unknown, and near and distant. There can be no greater satisfaction to a writer than to have been allowed to be his own censor or mentor, nor a more agreeable reward than the Editor's readiness to harbour the writer in his own bosom. For, this is of no small account — in days — in these days — when a contributor's freedom is so much curbed by proprietorial interests or editorial exigencies and when personal friendships are not easily set aside in any discussion of public affairs. Far worse is the growing tendency on the part of those who conduct papers, to be instinctively susceptible to the smiles or frowns of the powers-that-be — and too ready to adjust themselves to the moods of the mighty. SWARAJYA is luckily one of the too few journals in the country which can take just credit for criticism free from malice, for attacks, if any, without motive, or for praise, 'without strings'. Junius could wish for nothing more than the very climate in which he has found it possible, indeed congenial, to pour out his heart or indulge in his musings.

It is an uneventful but interesting time at the Capital, with our big men back home—the Finance Minister from U.S.A., the Prime Minister from Tibet, and the President from Japan. Mr. Morarji Desai's mission to Washington was undertaken with a definite objective, to secure aid for the Plan. It is yet too

early to say how far he has made India's task easier by rallying American support. But he has personally achieved a notable victory by strutting on the international stage in glittering plumage. Mr. Jawharlal Nehru's visit to Tibet was wrapped up in a mood of enquiry. And it suited the peculiar temperament of the man who loved to shift himself from the shifting sands at home, and get rid of, for however short a time, what to him are the doubtful encumbrances of civilisation. He enjoyed it all as he alone could—and has come back, we hope, thoroughly refreshed. Having ventured out of the home-frontiers for the first time, President Rajendra Prasad was happy to have gone to Japan and spread the authentic gospel of Gandhism, with the advantage of having been, among his colleagues, nearest to the Mahatma in his way of thinking. Yet more visits by Indian celebrities to other climes and countries for spreading our culture abroad and cementing the bonds of friendship among the peoples of the world, are pending, or impending. Few seem to know that the Congress President is also inclined to do his bit or best for us. He has kept his thought as a closely guarded secret but it will not be long before he takes his countrymen into confidence. For aught I know, he may buzz off to 'unexplored' regions and saunter about the African zone, to understand the Negro problem better and do something noteworthy by way of consolidating the Asian-African front. And why not?

Perhaps in the whole annals of the Congress, no President has more often resigned or threatened to resign than Dhebar Bhai. His drawers, if not his pockets, are stuffed with letters of resignation as were 'honest John's' (Morley's). It is not his fault if he is not permitted to wash his

hands of the A.I.C.C. On his part, he seems to have made no secret of his feeling of disgust, at the way the Pradesh Congress Committees have been functioning — or not functioning. But, in any case, he has to hold his soul in patience, for a little time more. The next session of the Congress is not far off. At Nagpur he will say his goodbye—and make room for — can the reader make a guess? It is hazardous to conjecture but not so in respect of Congress affairs. The next President will be the inevitable Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and no other. U.P. will take the leadership off from Gujarat, and, whoever may fail, Lal Bahadurji won't. Apart from his personal virtues and charm, there is not another man in the whole country who enjoys Mr. Nehru's confidence in a greater measure. And that means a lot. The immediate future of India will so largely rest on the Pant-Shastri axis, not the Desai-Dhebar one.

## The Anglo-American Alliance

Referring to the Anglo-American alliance Sir Stephen King-Hall writes in his "News Letter" of September 17:

During the past year or so American foreign policy has put so severe a strain on the alliance that one has been reminded that alliances are means to ends and not ends in themselves. Here we differ completely from what seemed to be the opinion of the British Prime Minister when he remarked at a reception during the recent Middle East crisis that, so far as Britain and America were concerned, he would rather be wrong together than right separately.

Referring to the Quemoy crisis he writes:

The alliance is to be significant, we have an obligation to do our best to make our great ally see the folly of her present behaviour? It is not a service to the alliance for one of its members to sit back and watch the other ally doing wrong.

It may be said: "What can we do?" Our reply is that, since

it is evident that a threat to peace exists, we should take this matter to the United Nations and in that forum quite openly oppose the absurd American policy towards Communist China. We can do it politely, regretfully and courteously, but it is highly dan-

gerous to think that this great issue can be disposed of by amiably agreeing to differ. If the Anglo-American alliance cannot stand the strain of the British Government supporting publicly as well as privately what they believe to be right, just because it brings

them into opposition to American policy, there is something wrong with the alliance.

It is true that the Communists are responsible for the present operational "aggression" against the islands, but not a word comes

(Continued on Page 11)



## He tears paper all day long!

HE'S not destructive by nature; it's his job to tear paper wrappers... scientifically, to test their strength.

Wrappers, containers, cartons and packing cases are subjected to exhaustive testing at Hindustan Lever! As for the products themselves—they are also constantly undergoing the most gruelling tests. From raw materials to finished product, experts, scientists and technicians are sampling and checking.

But why all this testing? Well, we know that you expect *unvarying* high quality of a Hindustan Lever product. The only way to maintain it is by quality control at every stage. This quality control also enables us to conserve precious national resources and vital production time.



HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME

## CINEMA

## RAW FILM CRISIS

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** Lack of self regulation and internal dissensions have been the bane of Indian film producers. As a result, it is hardly surprising that the raw film crisis has brought about a crisis in the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association. The disgruntled producers, who feel that their claim for fresh permits has been unjustly rejected by the steering committee of IMPPA are now threatening to form a separate organisation of film producers in Bombay. If this organisation materializes, it will be the third association of producers.

Originally there was only one association, IMPPA. At one time it was dominated by the studio owners and the independent producers formed another association, which did not live long.

But some years ago, the studio-owner producers of Bombay formed a powerful group and a new association, the Producers' Guild. The Guild, which has ten important studio-owner producers on its membership panel has also not been free from internal dissensions. But fortunately the jealousies and differences of the members have not yet resulted in the breaking up of the Guild itself.

The case of IMPPA appears to be more delicate and its future will be determined by the general meeting called by certain members to amend the constitution of the body. The 'active' producers feel that the reserved seats for studio and laboratory owners should be abolished and producers who have been inactive for

three or four years should not have the right to dominate IMPPA. The meeting scheduled for 15th October will perhaps change the entire complexion of IMPPA. Meanwhile IMPPA and the Guild have also failed to come to any agreement over the raw film distribution policy.

At a meeting of fifty producers held at Famous Cine Laboratory under the presidency of J. P. Tiwari, ex-President of IMPPA, a move to form a new association of producers was made by Deep Khosla. The new association expects a membership of 70 producers, including ten members of IMPPA; it will comprise of independent producers mainly, who would not like their applications for permits to go through IMPPA's steering committee. With three different producers' associations and several unattached producers making claims for raw stock, one can well imagine the plight of the controller of raw stock who has to issue permits. Unlike in the South, where the

producers are united, the dissensions amongst the producers in Bombay may force the Government to take over the raw film distribution completely and issue permits without reference to any of the so-called representative associations, on the merits of the case of each individual applicant.

From the realism of 'Do Bigha Zamin' to the romanticism of 'Madhumati' may be a far cry. But there is no doubt that Bimal Roy is as much adept in depicting the slums of Calcutta as in depicting the scenic beauty and grandeur of Nainital. Not only that, he rises to lyrical heights of romance and beauty in presenting a story of eternal love.

The story of Madhumati, the nimble-footed Pahari girl, who falls in love with a 'Babuji' from the city is a simple tale of unrequited love. The love blossoms in the sylvan setting of hills and forests; and as it is about to fructify in union, the evil zamindar sends away 'Babuji' on a false errand and tries to rape the girl. In desperation, the girl jumps from the balcony and dies. Babuji returns and is shocked by the tragedy. He wanders aimlessly until he meets Madhavi, whose resemblance to Madhu rekindles in him the desire to avenge his beloved's death.

In a surprising climax, the zamindar confesses his crime and is arrested. But just as Babuji thanks Madhavi for helping him, he finds that Madhavi was delayed and the girl who helped him was Madhu. He follows her and dies.

This tragedy has been changed into a happy ending by introducing a prologue and epilogue. In the prologue, we find a youth recounting the tale of his past life; in the epilogue he meets his wife who is none else but Madhu reborn. The final reunion in the second birth thus transforms a tragedy into a spiritual triumph of love.

Whether one believes in such re-unions in second birth or not, one must admit that Bimal Roy has presented the story with utmost charm and used every

cinematic device to make the love story both interesting and beautiful. Visually, the picture is a treat; and even the dramatic handling is so clever, that in spite of its inordinate length, the picture never lacks interest. Adequate portrayals by Dilip and Vyjayantimala, who scores over Dilip in many scenes, superb photography by Dilip Gupta, haunting music by Salil Chowdhary, excellent art direction, sound effects and editing have all contributed to make 'Madhumati' a highly romantic and charming film. It reveals Bimal Roy, the artist, at his best.

'Madhumati' is thus the most beautiful romantic film to emerge in several years.

Kuldip Kaur hit the headlines last week. Mr. B. D. Nadkarni, Additional Sessions Judge, sentenced Kuldip Kaur to rigorous imprisonment for one year and a fine of Rs. 1,000 on the jury returning a verdict of guilty on charges of fabricating false evidence and using as genuine a forged document. Hemraj Mehra was also found guilty of the same charges and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

## Lieut.-Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI

Dr. Monica Felton writes:

Dr. Krishnaswami sent for me when he knew that he was going to die. I had not been in to his room for a few weeks, and although I knew how ill he was it was still a shock to see his body so wracked and diminished by suffering. But when I sat down and he took my hand in his I realised that his spirit was still unchanged as he said, in the brusque tone with which he always tried to hide his care and consideration for other people: "I am afraid you will think I have been neglecting you." And as he went on talking, facing his own death and all that it would mean for his family, he was still as concerned as he had always been for the welfare and happiness of everyone he knew.

Kuldip Kaur had pleaded not guilty. Kuldip Kaur who comes from a respectable Sikh family made her debut on the screen in Lahore, before partition, in Roop K. Shorey's pictures. After partition she came to Bombay. Though in the beginning she was playing heroine roles in Bombay, thanks to her success in 'Ziddi' and 'Grahasti', she became a popular vamp. During the last ten years, she has appeared in over a hundred pictures. Her latest picture to be released in Bombay was 'Sahara', in which her performance won critical tributes.

She was appearing in 'Panchayat' and other pictures while the case was proceeding against her. It is not known how the producers would complete her work during her period of imprisonment.

Rajendra Singh Bedi, Sahir Ludhianvi and Acharya Atre are the three screen writers who have gone to Tashkent to attend the Afro-Asian Writers Conference.

Author-producer Rajendra Singh Bedi and director Amar Kumar are soon launching a social picture under the banner of Cine Co-operative. Vyjayantimala and Kishore are the stars.

When I became his tenant, just over a year ago, we were no more than acquaintances, and his daughters strangers or almost strangers. Yet in no place in which I have ever lived have I ever been made to feel so much, and so easily, at home. And it did not take me long to discover that the constant and undemanding kindness, which never thrust itself upon me but was always there in any moment of need, was not simply a part of his general attitude to life, but the real key to his personality.

He tried to hide it by a manner which was generally dry and sharp, sometimes sarcastic and often coloured by the indignation which he felt at every manifestation of dishonesty, muddle, inefficiency and corruption. Other

## COTTON YARNS

OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS

FOR HANDLOOM, POWERLOOM AND HOSIERY FACTORIES

## MADURA MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

Phone: 250 (5 Lines)

MADURAI  
SOUTH INDIA

Telegrams: 'HARVEY'

MILLS AT MADURAI, TUTICORIN AND AMBASAMUDRAM

5,00,000 Spindles

Counts up to 80s

We Supply:

WARP YARNS, COMBED YARNS, HOSIERY YARNS,  
CONE, CHEESE AND HANK YARNS, SINGLE AND FOLDED

## SPECIALITIES

Yarns for the Manufacture of ROPES — HEALDS — CANVAS — TAPE

BELTING DUCK — TYRE CORD — SEWING THREAD

MULTI-PLY AND CORD YARNS

MANAGERS: A. &amp; F. HARVEY LIMITED

PANDYAN BUILDING, MADURAI, SOUTH INDIA

Phone: 420 (4 Lines)

Telegrams: 'HARVEY'

# THE NIZAM SUGAR FACTORY LTD.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Premier Sugar Factory of the East

\*

WHITE CRYSTAL SUGAR

AND

'NIFA' BRAND CONFECTIONERY

Pure and Delicious Sweets and Toffees

made on uptodate automatic plant

under hygienic conditions

will be in the market

shortly.

|                          |                        |                     |
|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Head Office:             | Factory:               | Cables & Gram:      |
| Abid Road, P. O. B. 109, | Shakarnagar (C. Rly.), | "SUGAR"             |
| Hyderabad-Dn.            | Confectionery          | Phone: {5605, 4937, |
|                          | Azamabad,              | {4876, 4996         |
|                          | Hyderabad-Dn.          |                     |

Representatives of the Managing Agents:

THE HYDERABAD CONSTRUCTION CO., LTD.

ABID ROAD, HYDERABAD (Dn.)

## ISWARA DUTT'S SERVICE TO JOURNALISM

### PANDIT PANT'S PRAISE

The sixtieth birthday of Sri K. Iswara Dutt was celebrated on September 27 at Constitution House, New Delhi, when the Union Home Minister G. B. Pant presented him with a commemoration volume. As the daily newspapers virtually blacked out this function, we give below a brief report of the day's meeting:

"Mr. Iswara Dutt is a person of deep erudition and wide culture who elevated journalism to the level of literature", said Pandit Pant, when he presented the commemoration volume.

The meeting was convened by four M.P.s, on behalf of the Iswara Dutt Sashtiyabapoorthi Celebration Committee. The gathering included the Speaker, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, several M.P.s and leading citizens.

The commemoration volume, edited by Mr. A. V. Rajeswara Rao and Mr. M. V. Ramana Rao and brilliantly produced, contained a number of messages including those from Dr. Radhakrishnan, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Rajaji and Dr. C. V. Raman.

The veteran journalist Mr. K. Rama Rao and Mr. D. C. Das, I.C.S., felicitated Mr. Iswara Dutt in eloquent terms and praised his gifts and qualities.

Addressing the gathering, Pandit Pant recalled Iswara Dutt's *Twentieth Century*, a magazine of outstanding brilliance which reflected the Editor's fastidious taste. The *Twentieth Century* had been a power in those days, stimulating clear thinking and dispassionate judgment. He wished, though the magazine stopped, that its founder-editor Sri Iswara Dutt, should live till the end of the 20th century.

Personally, Sri Iswara Dutt was lovable. He made many valuable and lasting friendships. He had many characteristics which endeared him. He had wit, wisdom and an expansive outlook. All that was imbedded in Vic-

torian liberalism was to be found in his thinking and activity, said Pandit Pant.

Adverting to the movement for political freedom Pandit Pant said that Sri Iswara Dutt, without being in the thick of the political struggle, made an invaluable contribution to it by bringing to bear on it, through his journal and writings, a clarity and comprehension which untied many knots and solved many puzzles.

The services of Sri Iswara Dutt to the country were, he said, inestimable. And in the years to come there would be great need for his services. The country wanted men like him and he hoped he would spare himself for its service.

In his reply to felicitations, Mr. Iswara Dutt expressed his joy as well as gratitude, on having been "the lucky recipient of so eloquent a token of public recognition and friendly affection".

Paying a glowing tribute to Pandit Pant, he said: "My earliest recollection of him was as a political gladiator who shared with my beloved old chief, Chintamani, the distinction of having galvanised public life in U.P. Since then he has grown in stature; today he wields the bow of Ulysses. This man of the hills which majestically overlook the plains, the whilom chief of the most catholic of our States, the sleepless sentinel of our vast and far-flung home-front, the principal armour-bearer of the Nehru government and the most outstanding Parliamentarian of the day, has pinned his name down to the page of contemporary history. And it is to his lasting credit that like another in his day, by the sum total of his attributes and the sway of his personality, he has once for all blasted the theory, or common fallacy, that the Home Office is only the seat of politicians while the Foreign Office is the home of statesmen. May he be long spared to us to bear the cumulative

weight of our myriad problems on his Atlantean shoulders."

Finally, Mr. Iswara Dutt said he would regard the whole function as symbolic and interpret the public tribute to him as 'a noble and magnanimous gesture' to his entire fraternity.

The function which started with a welcome address by Mr. H. C. Heda, M.P., came to an end with a vote of thanks by Mrs. Yashoda Reddi, M.P.

### The Anglo-American Alliance

(Continued from Page 9)

from Eisenhower or Dulles about the fact that for months the islands have been used by the Nationalists as advance posts for aggressive action against the Communists. The Nationalists have boasted about this. They have claimed to be blockading Amoy and that they have used the islands for raids on to the mainland and as intelligence and propaganda centres; they have bombarded the mainland from Quemoy. To-day the batteries on the islands are silent because they have run out of ammunition.

Reading American official statements one might suppose that Quemoy was an unarmed seaside resort used by weary Nationalists which the Communists have suddenly attacked.

### NEW BOOKS

|                                                                                            | Rs. | nP. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>A Course in Modern Linguistics</i> : by Charles F. Hockett.                             | 42  | 69  |
| <i>Two Women</i> : A new novel by Alberto Moravia                                          | 14  | 62  |
| <i>I Like It Here</i> : A new novel by Kingsley Amis                                       | 11  | 00  |
| <i>Questions of Precedence</i> : A novel by Francois Marriac translated by Gerrard Hopkins | 10  | 19  |
| <i>The Rainbow and the Rose</i> : A new novel by Nevil Shute.                              | 13  | 00  |
| <i>Lunacy and Letters</i> : Essays by G. K. Chesterton                                     | 10  | 19  |
| <i>The Shaping Spirit</i> : Studies in Modern and American Poets by A. Alavarez            | 12  | 19  |

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :  
"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                   |              |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                             | 1,00,00,000  |
| Paid-up Capital "                                 | 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) " | 99,50,360    |
| Deposits "                                        | 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTIONED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THIS C. I. T. BUSINESS

Sir,—The lengthy explanation offered by the Chairman of the City Improvement Trust, (SWARAJYA, 4th Oct.) unfortunately, is based on vague generalisations.

To take the last point first: That the only sanctioned private layout in the Seethamma area has been excluded, is intriguing. If it had been included why was it excluded, when, and for what reasons? The answers to these questions may be illuminating and explain the ways of the C.I.T.

Prospectus Cost and Proceeds. 3,000 copies (may be more) at Rs. 2.50 must have brought Rs. 7,500. Excluding the alleged cost of Rs. 4,900 for production there still remains Rs. 2,600 as gain for this "No-profit, no-loss" establishment!

A type-design used a hundred or a thousand times bears only one cost, so why drag in the cost of a private surveyor's design for a single building?

In the production of the wonderful prospectus is reflected the efficiency of the C.I.T. establishment. The loose wording of the terms, the want of precise instructions to applicants and the one-sidedness of the conditions of the agreement are glaring enough. One may wonder whether such an almost-one-sided agreement can stand the test of law and

justice. Isn't it a statutory and quasi-government body that backed it?

If 2,000 applications and deposits for 400 houses brought a "heavenly" which the C.I.T. would like to avoid, the whole establishment (lately added to by new engineering staff) must need tons of (how many kilos, by the way?) aspirin for the great work ahead!

Seethamma Road Scheme. Is it not true that a main road in this is still being formed by the Corporation of Madras under its T.P. scheme? That scheme was expressly made to develop the large area in the locality, not for fun. If the development was delayed from 1943 till 1958 who was responsible, the Corporation or the land-owners?

The spectre is raised of 250 grounds of vacant lands being enveloped by huts and the picture projected of 120 low-income-group families being provided with houses by the C.I.T. Could not the Corporation of Madras, on completion of the main road, have been helped to proceed with its scheme and provide sites to the owners in their respective plots and urge them to build suitable houses therein? Why should it be taken for granted that land-owners would keep

people will no doubt write about the energy with which he would fight for any cause which he believed to be for the public good. Sometimes when I went into his room I would find him writing an article or one of his letters to the press. He would stop to read me what he had written. Then he would go on to explain the connection between the topic he had been writing about and what he saw as the chief problem of India today: the need for intelligence, honesty and integrity in the conduct of public life. We did not always agree: but even when we disagreed most, I would be struck by the combination of generous indignation and complete personal

disinterestedness which always characterized his point of view.

He loved Britain and most things British, and I have often heard people say that his outlook on life was more British than Indian. I never thought so. Men of his quality are rare in every country: and such men have never been needed in the world more than they are needed today.

"The trouble with most people," he said to me once, "is that when they see something wrong they wait for somebody else to say so." He never hesitated: and the fittest memorial that his countless friends can make for him is to resolve to follow the example he himself set.

their lands and dote on them what time houses are in great demand all round?

Here are a few statements by the chairman which are typical of the vague character of his explanation. The owners are said to have been left with adequate land for their own use. ... A few well-developed and well-shaped plots have been offered at special prices to such as have asked for them. ... The land owners receive high compensation from the Collector.

Details about the owners, their number, the extent of lands and their location, the special plots and special prices, and the reasons therefor will be useful in evaluating the function of the C.I.T. and the need for the land acquisition proceedings. Also what is the highest figure of compensation and the lowest paid by the Collector for land and the highest and the lowest price for ground charged by the C.I.T. in this area? The difference ought to show whether it has any relation to the cost of providing the promised amenities, per ground.

This may also clear doubts about the methods adopted by the C.I.T. to distribute a definitely few houses and sites among definitely many applicants, and how the so-called middle and low-income group of people are served.

The cost of the "fat establishment" may work out to 5 or 6 per cent of the total value of its activities. How did the present permanent annual income of Rs. 2½ lakhs which is enough to feed the establishment even if it remained idle, come into being on the much advertised "no-profit no-loss" basis of the C.I.T. work? It is good to be told of the 700 house sites and 500 houses in the last 3 or 4 years' record. How about the earlier concrete hollow block affair and the Cox-cheri white elephants?

In a brilliant peroration the Chairman introduces us to the high falutin of the country's march towards democracy in a Socialist pattern of society and reminds us of the need for a few to sacrifice for the good of the many etc. etc. This will certainly

please the gods on high, but the man on *terra firma* in Seethamma area may well ask in all humility, how many of the great C.I.T. establishment have sacrificed in their merciful effort, how much, how often, for the redress of the misery and worry of the many.

Much more can be said on this subject but the answers to the above questions will enlighten everything. If the object of the C.I.T. is the rise in the number of houses in the city and not who does it, private owners and agencies could easily have been made to help in the effort without any talk of inconvenience, worry, misery etc.

Madras

CITIZEN

### TAMIL FILMS

Sir,—It would appear as though people without the requisite knowledge, technical skill, practical training and experience, have entered into the film making business. They produce numerous uneducative and unhealthy films at short intervals in a way appealing and attractive to the illiterate and uncultured masses who constitute a vast majority of industrial and plantation labour in rural and urban areas.

What with obscene and indecent group dances, marring the prestige and dignity of Hindu art, culture and civilization, Tamil films have descended to a very low level.

Disgusting dialogues, head-splitting music and boring songs often force one to get out of the auditorium for immediate relief.

That Tamil films should have gone bad and, worse still, that they should contribute to moral degradation and spiritual deterioration instead of educating the illiterate and uncultured, is a matter for profound regret.

It should be considered sheer waste of time and energy to produce such unworthy and unhygienic films, though they may possibly fetch enormous profit to the film industry, especially at a time like this when there is acute shortage of raw film and import restrictions are made to meet the stringent foreign exchange crisis.

S. PASUPATHY  
Kolar Gold Fields

### INCORRECT REPRODUCTION

Sir,—The poem by "Author Unknown" in your issue of September 27 is neither reproduced correctly nor is it unknown. It is the fourth and loveliest of Mathew Arnold's lyrics addressed to Marguerite, the girl he fell in love with in Thun in Switzerland; the full story, together with extracts from the poem in question, is in Lionel Trilling's excellent critical biography of Arnold. Is SWARAJYA getting so worried on Hindi imperialism that it is slipping up in English literature?

Calcutta

P. LAL

### Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

very properly warned us at the meeting, laborious pains in formal imitation of the great do not constitute the teaching of Ramayana. It is enough if one listens to the story. The influence established in the heart by the listening will do the rest, as water does to a plant, without anyone having to take pains to get the water do its work.

SAKA

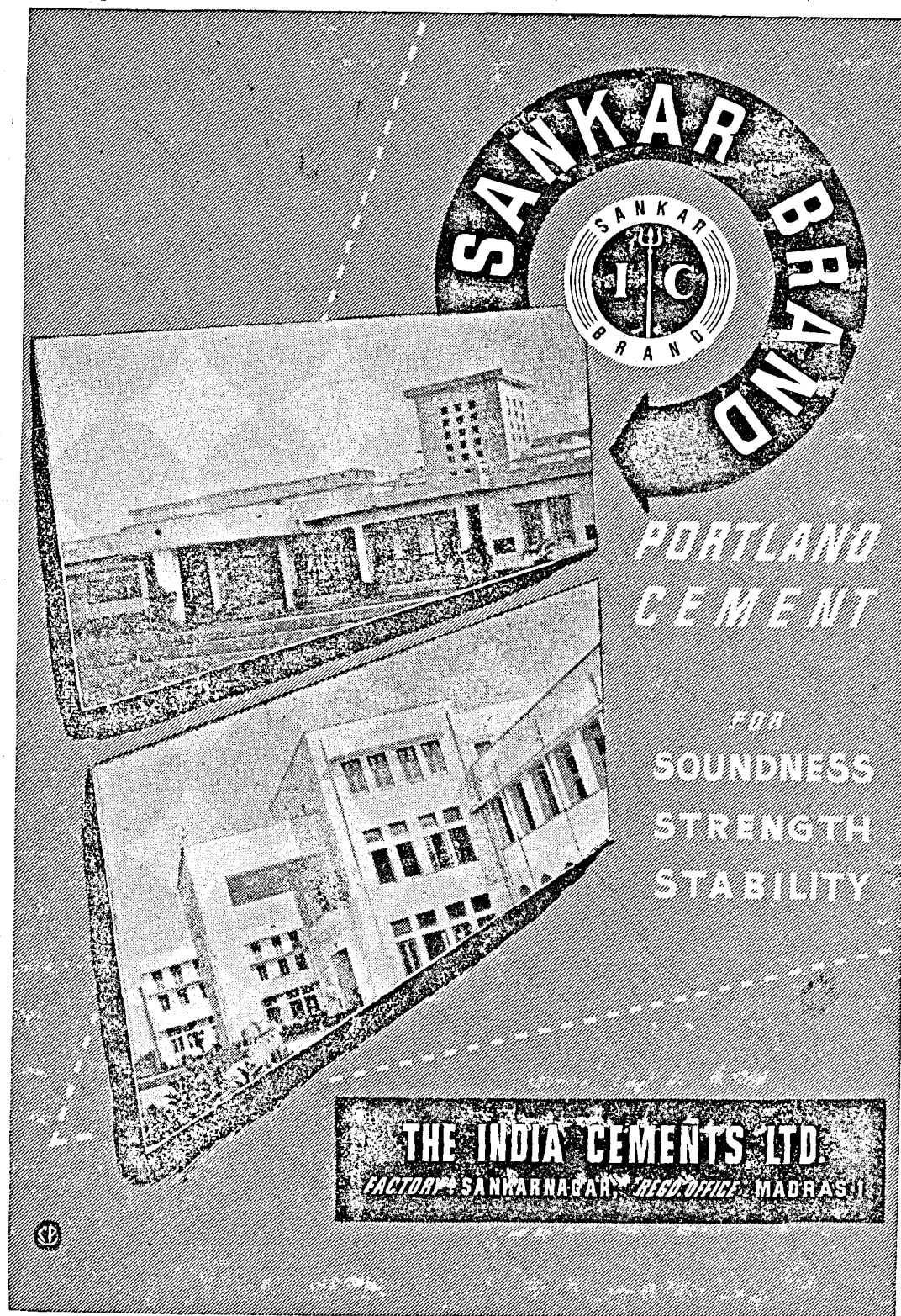
For Writing Comfort

FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN' Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MNC/158/A





Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

# SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 15

MADRAS, OCTOBER 18, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

In his brief visit to Madras, Dr. Radhakrishnan laid stress in his public utterances on the importance of religion. Coming from the Vice-President of our secular State, this view holds within it a world of comment on the secularism that has been in vogue in the country in recent years. Democracy and secularism have combined to foist on India a system of government in which the calculated placation of multitudes in proportion to their size has become the major motive of official policy. This has put administrative justice to flight. The minorities have become fair prey to organised majorities capable of putting their numerical strength to the test for extracting for themselves political and other privileges, and instead of resisting this process, the Ministers and other policy-makers of the Congress have themselves become its promoters and supporters. Pandit Nehru loses no chance of expatiating on the necessity for national unity, but his hortative exercises have no real significance in the present Congress set-up where there is nothing like uniformity of citizenship for all people in the country without distinction. Our equality is no more than an ineffective constitutional equality flourished in paper documents for advertisement purposes. In actual practice, the rulers for the time being in the different States have turned their respective governments into clannish affairs. Indian citizenship has been broken up into fragments and the fragments

have unequal value in accordance with the power and influence of the godfathers pertaining to them.

Those worsted in this game of power politics, with every sort of patronage distributed without regard to fairness or justice, have naturally lost faith in the ruling authorities. This lack of faith is being demonstrated in a myriad ways. Some temper their sails to the prevailing winds and seek with flattery and submission to overcome the disfavour of the mighty and the disabilities associated with it. Others lapse into opportunist philosophies of an essentially depredatory character, giving little or nothing to society in labour or service, but extracting from it the maximum possible gain or loot. These two categories are mixed entities comprising both rulers and ruled, and we owe to their joint and separate operations much of the indiscipline, dishonesty, deterioration in standards, corruption and waste, infesting the body politic today.

A few choice spirits however have stood out of the gambles and wrangles for power and privilege and unprincipled profiteering, and turned to the monitor within as a refuge against the tyrannies and pressures of mob rule decorated with the garments of democracy. In their acts and counsel, these symbolise the supremacy of religion as a solvent for human afflictions. The individual conscience needs no tutoring as to what is right and wrong. It is temporal temptations that

cloud the conscience of rulers and administrators inveigling them into false positions which they know to be false in the belief they can get away with it and that propaganda can make the worse appear to be the better course. The importance of religion, on which the Vice-President laid so much stress, lies in the fact that propaganda cannot cheat it of truth. The religious life compels communion with conscience, which means that every reality has to be faced without deceit and distortion as in the great taskmaster's eye which no subterfuge can escape.

The new power which came to the Congress eleven years ago with the British withdrawal has proved to be a curse both to the Congress and the country because in their moment of triumph the leaders lost character and used their power for sectional and personal profit. The great principle of human fellowship is to do to others as we would like to be done to by them. Society cannot be cemented except by the willing sacrifice of every unfair advantage conferred by power, as its way of life. We have lost count of right behaviour in our pursuit of projects. A standard of behaviour sustained by intrinsic conceptions of justice unaffected by the pressure of interested groups organised for selfish ends is the true secret of right integration in community living, without which democracy is meaningless. It is also the flowering of the teaching of all worth-while religion.

## Noon and Nu

Our Prime Minister's "high regard for U. Nu's person, judgment and opinion" has led him to bestow a qualified praise on the new military regime in Burma, saying that "In Burma there was not that element of going against democratic working as we have seen in Pakistan." Pandit Nehru bases his thesis on the plea that the step taken by the Burmese Premier was a temporary expedient and that he had acted in consultation with the leader of the Opposition whose consent he had obtained. The theory of the sanctity of consent of parliamentary parties is open to grave doubt when it is applied to justify changes that destroy civil government itself. In this particular, there is little difference between the military rule in Pakistan and that in Burma, both of which have unceremoniously made an end of their respective constitutions without the sanction of any properly constituted authority. In fact the supersession of civil authority by military is in one respect worse in Burma; for the Burmese Ministers have not the excuse of having been coerced and physically overpowered such as the Pakistani Ministers have. The voluntary welcome accorded to militarism by U. Nu aggravates the gravity of the change. It might have been pardonable if it had come in spite of himself without his consent. Of course, consent or no consent is not of much significance when military commanders transgress their bounds and entertain political ambitions reducing the freedom of will of leaders of parties to a nullity. But even granting that the volition of the latter can be permitted to remain unfettered, it is surprising that our Prime Minister should be more satisfied with the welcome given to militarism in Burma than with the overthrow of civil government by force in Pakistan.

The prospects of elections under military dictatorship are notoriously uncertain. That Mr. Nehru should pin his faith on these as a portent of bright cheer for Burma in the days to come is another surprising and almost unbe-



## LICKING FOR SALT

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

The Nellore cow, licking her calf, said to her master: "My dear Sir, you cheat my calf and take the milk that belongs to it and you add water to it and sell it. I am pained to hear people complaining that my milk is not good!" But the milkman did not understand cow language.

The buffalo standing by said, "Could you not at least give the cow good food?"

The man next door—he was a doctor—said "When you add water, please take care that it is clean water."

Kandaswami holding the can upside down, said "What, am I a fellow that adds water? I have nothing to do with such tricks. Listen how the milk strikes the tin. Could you hear this sound if there were water at the bottom?" So saying he hurriedly milked the cow.

The compounder boy added, "In this town they do not add water to the milk in the can. They do it to the cow herself". The doctor asked, "How is that done?" The compounder answered, "If the cow is given plenty of salt to eat, the milk she yields would be mostly water."

The milkman said, "If you pay a little more for a measure of milk, we would mix nothing

with the milk. You would get it pure."

"As it is, the price of milk is atrocious. And you want to raise it further. And no matter what price we pay, you will still add water", said the doctor's wife.

The milkman was a bold fellow. He said, "What is the price of grass? And that of bran? And that of oil cake? When the cow's feed costs so much, will the price of milk and butter-milk alone stay steady? And have they not been raising your salaries all round?"

The calf heard all this, but understood nothing. What was milk? What was adding water to it? It could make nothing of all this.

"Mother, they talk of a thing called milk. What is it, mother?" There were tears in the eyes of the cow. She could not answer but she licked her young one harder.

The doctor's little child asked, "Father, why does the cow keep licking the calf like this?"

The doctor said, "There is salt on the calf's skin. The cow needs salt and so she keeps licking it." He was well-read in these matters and his heart had become stone.

lievable development in his political ethic. We witness in the contemporary world the invasion of dictatorship even in realms historically dedicated to democratic traditions. That shows how vulnerable States priding themselves on their democratic character are to totalitarian infections. As these disasters come overnight India can ill afford to be complacent. The piling up of inefficiency, misgovernment, injustice, corruption and waste has mounted up to such

gigantic proportions in Nehru's India that even his good luck as the glamorous idol of the people chosen by the Mahatma himself as his heir has been almost strained to breaking point. It cannot protect the country from the consequences of history for all time.

I believe that the idea of a special scientific type of mind is 90% myth.

—SIR GEORGE THOMSON, F.R.S.



## Sotto Voce

### A Palace Revolution

"Our logical Mikado, seeing no moral difference between the dignified judge who condemns a criminal to die and the industrious mechanic who carries out the sentence, has rolled the two offices into one and every judge is now his own executioner." This Gilbertian combination of roles is what President Iskander Mirza has assigned to the Army. We can only hope for Pakistan's sake that the holder of the grim office will not take his task too literally and that democracy like Wanki-Poo may be allowed to survive by resort to a polite fiction. I cling for comfort to the *opera bouffe* character of the "revolution" as revealed in the domestic relations of the "two-man regime".

General Ayub Khan meticulously 'sirs' the President who, having sabotaged the Constitution, continues to be President, as he says, "by the sanction of my conscience". The 'sanction' of the conscience is clearly subject to the overriding authority of the General's conscience. The latter told foreign correspondents in the presence of the President, "If something goes wrong, Heaven forbid, if he did something senseless—I will act and the decision will be mine." But this, far from disconcerting President Mirza, seems to have put him in such positive good humour that he gave an unsolicited testimonial to Pakistan's newspapers. "Nine-tenths of them are in the pay of foreign missions," he said. When next the Pak Press raises a war-whoop against India it is to be hoped that President Mirza or whoever is in his place will remember this.

President Mirza castigated the malcontents on this ground, among others, that "against India of course they scream for war, knowing full well that they will be nowhere near the firing line." It

is gratifying that (for the nonce) the makers of the revolution are so severe on the war-mongers. But, then, President Mirza is even more severe on these people because it seems they have been his detractors. That can only betoken an intention "on the part of these traitors and unpatriotic elements to destroy the prestige of Pakistan and the Government by attacking the head of the State." Pakistan's prestige must be brittle indeed if it can be damaged by criticism, however sharp, of his conduct as President when he has obviously so poor an opinion of Presidents who could be content to be merely constitutional heads of States.

General Ayub Khan denounced impartially those who claimed the right to destroy Pakistan because they had a hand in bringing it into existence as well as those who had opposed it from the beginning. And he came to the conclusion that Pakistan must wait indefinitely for democracy because she had not enough men for the job. He may not believe with Burke that you cannot indict a whole nation. But he is not being very complimentary to the founders of Pakistan who claimed that the people of Pakistan could survive as a free democracy.

It has long been known that President Mirza did not like the Constitution Pakistan adopted in 1956 and thought that an irremovable executive on the lines of the United States system would be more suitable to the conditions in the country. But no kind of popular government can succeed if, as he and his military colleague imply, there are not enough disinterested, intelligent and patriotic men to work it. And a military dictatorship is the last thing in the world that can be expected to supply what is lacking. The "two-man regime" is not likely

to inspire confidence in the public mind by speaking vaguely of an "Islamic Constitution" or "a Constitution that the people will understand".

No one knows what the ordinary people of Pakistan think of it all. Perhaps they are in a mood to welcome any change that promises relief (however illusory the promise may prove) from the omnipresent incompetence, corruption and nepotism. The dictatorship may, I am even prepared to concede, bring some immediate and tangible improvement in living conditions. General Ayub Khan's broadcast suggests that he is not a novice in the demagogic arts that appeal to illiterate masses. But until the radical defects from which Pakistan suffers are cured it is not easy to envisage peace.

The two halves of Pakistan have little in common with each other. In the West again, the arbitrary annulment of the autonomy of the different States was a grave affront to local loyalties. Above all, grass-roots democracy has not so far had a chance. Pak's plight is a warning to us. If the Congress Party as the successor Government has lasted longer in keeping together than the Muslim League in Pakistan, Kerala is a portent that suggests that this hegemony is breaking up. And the fiction that the Congress is the nation has been responsible for preventing healthy political alignments that could fill the void. If by the grace of God we escape a like experience it will be because the traditions and outlook of the people have endowed them with a stability which her rulers' revolutionary fervour has not been able seriously to damage. VIGHNESWARA

Nobody is all of a piece: we are made up, mentally, of layers; it just depends which layer happens to be uppermost on any given day what sort of person you are then; anyone is capable of practically anything, good or bad—this is something very useful which life has taught me.

—E. ARNOT ROBERTSON



# SIDELIGHTS ::

Thousands of people flock every day to listen to Sri Anantharama Dikshitar. The all-pervasive compassion of the divine power sustaining the universe is his recurrent theme. The other day he told the story of Krishna and the milkmaid. She had returned with an empty pot after selling curd. Krishna said: "Mother is angry with me. Let me hide from her in your pot." "The pot is so small, how can you get into it," she asked. "I can," he replied, and to her amazement, the child entered into the pot and was completely hidden; and when she looked into the pot, he was there, effulgent, containing in himself the whole of the universe.

When some days later Sri Dikshitar invited Rajaji to address the congregation, Rajaji said that the story of Krishna and the milkmaid reminded him of an incident in his own experience that had occurred twenty-five years ago.

I was then living in a small village, near Thiruchengode, Rajaji said.

It was an *ashram*. There was no maharishi there but the name *ashram* was given to it nevertheless. Those were days long before Prohibition. Liquor was openly sold everywhere. We tried to induce the village folk to give up the drink habit. As the rains failed and crops dried up we sold them cholam, their staple food grain, at half the market rate. This concession was given to every resident of any village in the neighbourhood that had taken and kept the pledge of abstinence from liquor.

One day the elders of a neighbouring village brought a young man to me. He had broken the pledge and, in a drunken state he had beaten his wife. They wanted him to be fined.

He admitted that he had beaten his wife and claimed that it was his right. But he stoutly denied the other charge of drunkenness.

"Is it credible that so many elders, your own uncle among them, have invented this charge

to get you into trouble without any truth or justification for it," I asked.

"What I say is perfectly true," he answered. "My accusers have been exploiting the *ashram*. They are in league with plantation workers who do not reside in the village. These are being passed off as residents to make them eligible for the *ashram's* half-rate concession. They have turned against me as I had threatened to expose their mischief."

This seemed quite plausible to me, and lawyer-like, I cross-examined the other side. But they did not budge. Each side stuck to its story with unswerving obduracy.

Eventually it was decided that the parties should proceed to the neighbouring temple hill and swear the truth.

"If he swears on the eighteenth step (till which place harijans could go) that he did not commit the offence, will you accept his denial as truth," I asked the elders.

"Yes," they said.

Why should we go up the hill for this I thought. I took up my pair of chappals and gave it to the young man to swear by. He was a cobbler. "This is sacred leather," I said. "It is father and mother and God to you because it gives you food and you make your living by it."

He took the chappals in his hand and held them over his head. Then a miracle happened. He who had up to that moment stoutly denied it confessed that he had done what the elders had reported.

Ever since then, whenever I see a pair of chappals, the figure of the young man who saw in them a vision of God and spoke the truth comes before me. I regard my sandals not as a cheap thing to tread on, but as a hiding place for God. As Dikshitar told us that Krishna hid himself in the curdswoman's pot, Krishna hid himself in my sandals and made the young man confess the truth. Rajaji's narrative thrilled all

who heard it. It was like an incarnation in a single experience of the whole teaching of the Bhagavatha.

Dr. C. R. Krishnaswami who passed away last week was a man in a million. As a doctor he was full of compassion, but he sustained himself by avoiding every overt expression of it and indulging in rough talk to cover his deep emotion. This roughness of exterior was necessary for him to preserve equilibrium and maintain efficiency. With nurses and students he was hard of tongue and gentle at heart. They understood this dichotomy of his nature, his affectation of sternness to appear strong and hide the tenderness in him, and loved him the better for it.

He had scarcely a patient who did not later change into a devoted friend. This was because of his conception of his vocation as a mission of mercy. Often I have heard him declaim angrily against specialists who send the sick that come to them to other specialists for test after test of their condition exhausting their purses and patience. The ideal doctor, he used to say, should take integrated care of the patient and do all that is necessary for him without dividing his responsibility or sending him here and there on expensive wild goose chases.

To know him was to love him, and to move on close terms with him was to be initiated into the subtleties and niceties of gentlemanliness and good companionship. He had a remarkable genius for friendship. When to play the guardian and when to become the guardian angel; when to chide and when to humour; how to combine freedom with restraint, enjoyment of pleasure with discipline, merriment with dignity; these things came to him with unerring insight. He detested cant and abhorred hypocrisy as life's worst abomination. Too much of anything repelled him. He was an apostle of 'massive moderation'—his own phrase—with a generous share of sympathetic indulgence for human

(Continued on Page 15)

## PAKISTAN

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Corruption and mis-government bring about a volume of discontent among the masses which opens out a passage for ambitions and conspiracies. It is difficult to say whether in a given situation personal ambitions came into being after the discontent attained an intolerable volume or whether they preceded it and only awaited an opportunity. Often the persons fired by ambition are themselves unable to perceive the sequence. So complex is the human mind that it not seldom deceives itself into confounding a justification for a motivating cause, and other people have no time for analysis. The fast-moving events carry them forward leaving no time or power for judgment.

Mirza of Pakistan has declaimed against corruption and conspiracy and set out an eloquent preface to the abrogation of democracy. The contents of this preface, far from exciting any satisfaction in India as may have been expected by superficial observers, serve on the contrary to alarm and dishearten. There is wisdom enough here to realise that whatever has happened in Pakistan can happen in India also.

It is difficult to say whether the Pakistan President found an instrument in the army for a previous decision on the very good grounds stated in the proclamation or whether he became the tool and mouthpiece of the ambitions of the leaders of the army. What has been stated serves to appease popular disapproval.

An eminent modern historian has, after analysing and examining all probable causes for the downfall of the Roman Empire, given first place to the absence of a good citizen army to balance the power of the professional armies that served the Empire. We in India as well as in Pakistan have spent money, resources and credit over building up a powerful military machine which is certainly

better organized than any political party including the ruling party in office. Personal ambition is an elemental force which waits only for an opportunity successfully to tempt the human mind. The hypnosis of military life is enough to give to generals of the army the same power as political leaders have over their party. The army in Pakistan differs in composition from the army in India. But the differences, while they are a cause for reduced power, are also causes that militate against the unity of India even through fascism. It would be double misfortune if democracy should be replaced not by a unitary fascist rule but the country is divided and ruled by several disunited factions of military power. These and other thoughts issuing therefrom are dangerous even to contemplate and describe. But the lesson should not be ignored although we might not for that reason fill up the picture.

Good government is the only safeguard that we can set up against an attack on democracy by the very machinery that we have set up for the defence of the country against external dangers. For good government we require a properly recruited administrative staff whose members refuse to swerve from their proper duties at the instance of party politicians and the numerous crowd of parasites surrounding the party leaders. We require, further, men in the ruling party who do not mistake party for country and who know the limitations that should prevail and guide every policy, however good.

Those who strive for a single goal at the cost of all others are fanatics and an attitude of that kind makes government go wrong. Human goals are so related to each other that the defeat or frustration of the other makes the original goal impossible of achievement or it transforms its very quality, making what was good into something bad.

Statesmanship consists in the ability to achieve changes that are necessary without frightening society or important sections of it. A party is put in office by reason of confidence in the leaders of that party. These should be guided not merely by a desire to keep the party contented and strong, but by the requirements of society for changes which stability itself calls for in changing times. But there is a tendency to overdo this and things are done so as to frighten the affected people. The true function of the opposition is to prevent this error by force of debate and its constant challenge to replace government. In India such an opposition has not yet come into being. The danger thus is great of error over-reaching good policy.

Apart from government and political wisdom, we have the great problem of improving the level of character among people generally, which has a continuous effect for good or evil on the character of the members of the administrative staff and the ministers. We want a discipline that must fill the place of religion which alas has lost much ground. We want right conduct to become a thing of habit. The difficulty in conduct, it has been pointed out long ago, does not lie in not knowing what it is right to do but in doing it when known. Repetition of moral rules will not therefore serve. The will must be trained to obey conscience. Secular culture and what is called 'moral instruction' do not touch the conscience which must be strengthened so as to be able to overcome wrong desire. Intellectual culture does not provide motives which can overcome the weakness of the will. On the other hand it brings new temptations. We cannot therefore be sure that we have done the right thing in declaring a negative war of blockade against all religions in our anxiety to avoid conflict. We must let all religions flourish and function. Therein only lies hope for democracy to hold its own against its own internal enemies and the dangers of the organized strength of its own tools of defence against external danger.

## THE PROSPECTS FOR A MORE HUMAN WORLD

By P. CHENCHIAH

*This is the second of a series of two articles by the author, of which the first was published in the issue of SWARAJYA dated Sept. 6.*

Man stretched on the wrack of contradiction ever seeks to save himself from the evil impulses that encompass him within and without.

To the primitive tribes peace and war were the two nostrils for breathing. They could not imagine the possibility of life without war. Their external policy was war and internal policy was peace. They fought their enemies but established peace within the family and clan. By separating war economy from the domestic by allotting them different areas and functions, a haven of peace was created side by side with the turmoil of raids and campaigns.

In mediaeval society when war ceased to be the diurnal occupation, the first great calamity in human society reared its head. The commanders of war became the leaders of society. The ethics of war entered the precincts of the social order. The new invasion threatened the extinction of society. They gave to the warrior what he wanted without the necessity of war. Caste was really an attempt to prevent collisions by a freezing movement. The mediaeval world kept its society in a refrigerator and thus preserved society though it made progress impossible.

In modern capitalist society, science has stepped in with inventions of communication—steam engines and steamships—and the frozen mediaeval world began to melt. The individual was released from the custom-bound world into unrestricted freedom of movement. The immediate result was the invasion of war into the region of social life under the name of competition. Even when outside war ceased, the internal war raged fiercely. The devastations that followed the practice of this fight-it-out doctrine brought into existence Communism with

its message of collectivity as the foundation of security. Communism locates the evils of modern society in money economy and property.

Vast changes have taken place in our generation. Primitive society consolidated itself on blood, mediaeval society on religion and custom, and modern society on territory. We fight not for our heritage nor for our religion but for our country. Country has become fatherland or motherland.

Today the great divide runs between Communism and Capitalism. The contending powers are America and Russia. Nations cultivated peace with an eye on eventual war. Peace was propaganda, war was credo. A new Gita has come into vogue which denounces war and urges contending parties to do what Arjuna did—throw down the weapons. Modern wars bring no gain but ruin the victor as much as the vanquished, often more. The conviction that the next war will be the end of the world and civilisation, puts fear of God into old imperialists. With this foreboding of approaching doom in mind, two remedies are advocated; inoculate Capitalism with the virus of Socialism and Socialism with the virus of Capitalism. The national insurance of capitalist countries and the concession of private property to some extent in the Communist countries are the great gains of this process.

"One World", of which the United Nations Organisation is an imperfect symbol, has grown from reactions to extremes of Capitalism and Socialism. An organism may have internal discords but the discords are enveloped in a living unity and modulated to that extent. Even so, the United Nations may end wars, economic and military, by holding the na-

tions together and creating among them bonds of fellowship. If the economic departments of the United Nations Assembly can evolve a plan for equitable exchange and distribution of the surplus produce and commodities of each country we will be marching into a more human world rapidly.

Till the curtain rose over what may be called the atomic age the prospect of a more humane world was bright. Human society witnessed a decline of inhumanity and cruelty and intensification of social feeling. Slavery has ceased except in Saudi Arabia and parts of Africa. In India history was reversed by Gandhi obtaining independence without bloodshed by the new technique of non-violence. For the first time the Sermon on the Mount ideology scored a victory.

Inhumanity still remains, hidden from view. Large scale butchery of animals for food goes on. Class wars are being waged. Minor wars have only ceased giving place to the preparations for a war of world magnitude. Nevertheless a casting of accounts shows a distinct net balance on the side of humanity and diminishing returns for inhumanity.

Just when humanity was heaving a sigh of relief on reaching the higher altitudes, a startling change emerged with dramatic suddenness. It came from a quarter from which we are accustomed to expect boons, namely science. That the first use of atom power should be in war and for the destruction of millions of men fills us with a new distrust of our ability to use the new power for human ends. The atomic age begins with a premonition of the extinction of life on our planet. Science enables machines to oust man from his domain. We are rapidly becoming a mechanical humanity. Automation dehumanizes. Even if we escape the annihilation through atomic bombs, we may live in a dehumanized world where all that we value and cherish as human beings may have no place.

Machines may increase inhumanity in another way. Killing each other by usage and public

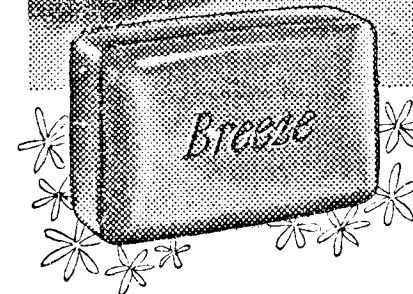
opinion induces profound reactions. A visit to an abattoir may convert a man to vegetarianism except of course the butcher. Asoka who witnessed the damage of the Kalinga war was so profoundly affected that he renounced war. India blesses him as the greatest preacher of peace.

But all these reactions will have no place if unmanned machines and inter-continental missiles conduct our wars.

Secularization—the victory of the Science-State over Religion—threatens one of the precious heritages of life, the Spirit. A United Religions Organization,

parallel to the United Nations Organization is yet to be born. The part religion would play in bringing about a more human world depends on the brotherhood and collaboration of religions.

History so far does not give any hope that man can transcend his limitations. Evolution drives



# Breeze

for a healthier, lovelier complexion!

The keynote of a woman's beauty is a radiant complexion! And beautiful women all over the world know that a lovely complexion means a clear skin that glows with health.

When you use BREEZE Toilet Soap you're not just cleansing your skin, you're keeping it healthy. For mild, delightfully fragrant BREEZE contains 'Actamer', which frees your skin of the germs that cause complexion faults.

Remember, BREEZE is chosen for both complexion care and personal freshness. Try it and you will be convinced.



BREEZE Toilet Soap contains 'ACTAMER' for skin health

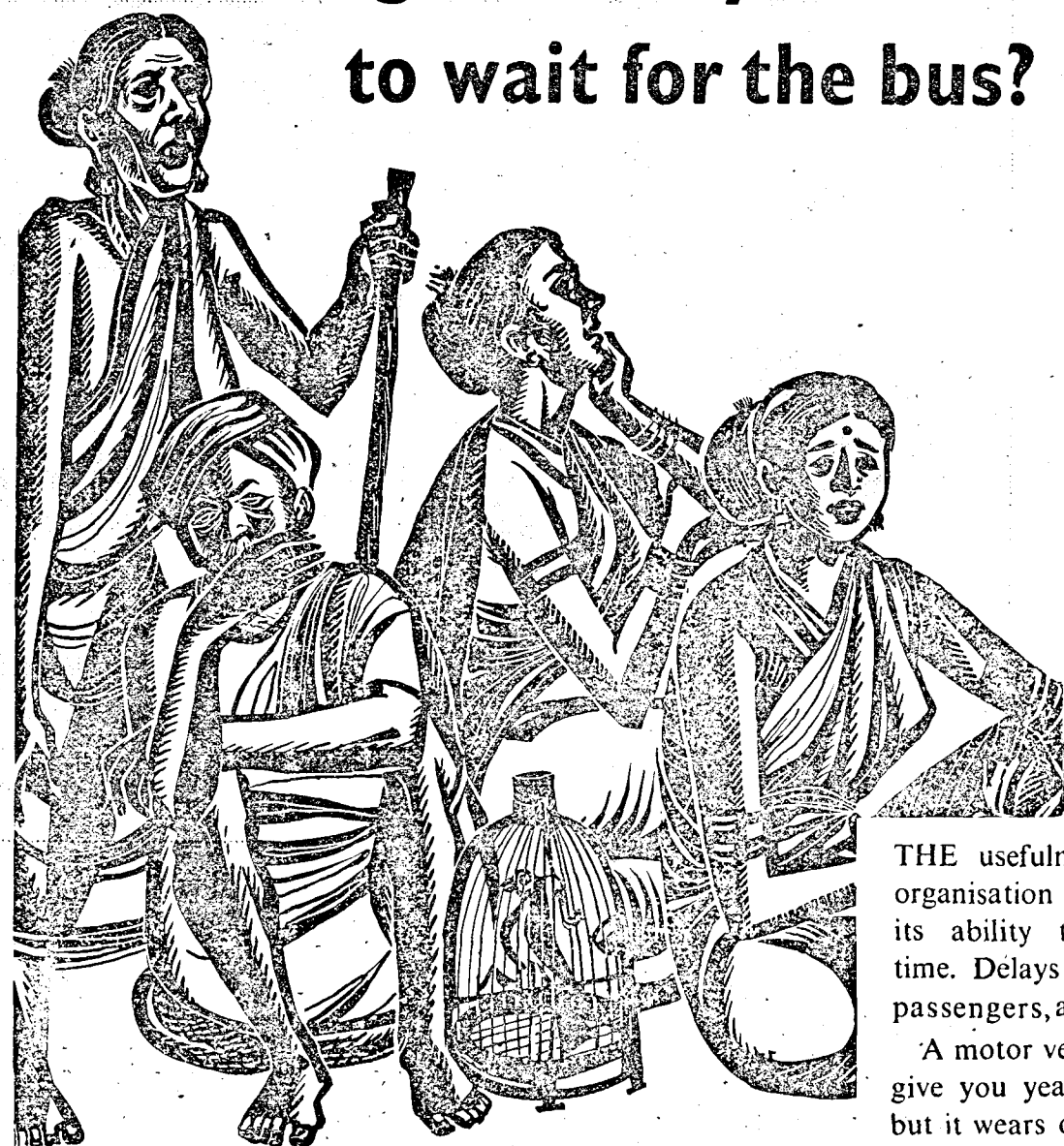
MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED FOR ERASIS CO. LIMITED, LONDON

'Actamer' (Bithional) is officially approved by the American Medical Association

BZ. 8-X52

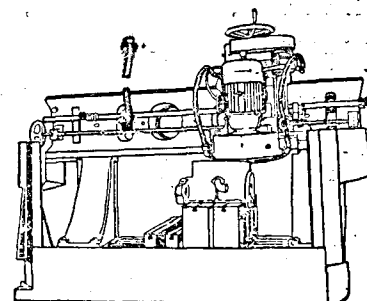


## How long will they have to wait for the bus?



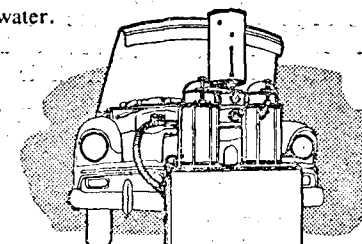
### AUTOMATIC SURFACE GRINDER

It is mainly used to remove the warping on parts like cylinder heads, cylinder blocks, manifolds, etc.



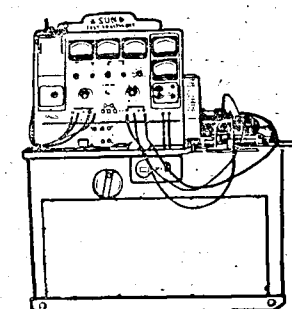
### PRESSURE PURGER

Water that is ordinarily used in radiator contains impurities which form scales, clogs circulation and affects correct cooling. Impurities thus lead to overheating. This "Pressure Purger" cleans them by special chemicals and assures even circulation of water.



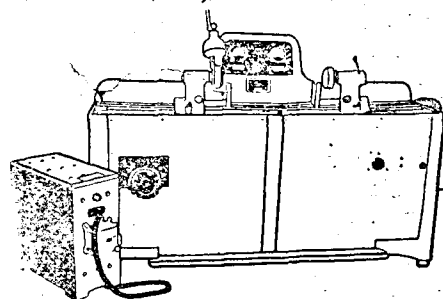
### SUN DYNAMO AND SELF-STARTER TESTER

Tests a dynamo or a self-starter



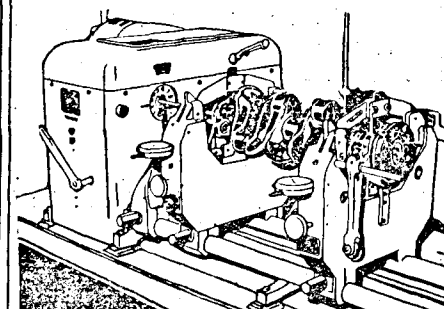
### MAGNETIC DETECTOR

Detects cracks in crankshaft, axles or any other shafts. [an oil with an iridescent (nickel) medium is used, which in light reflects the cracks].



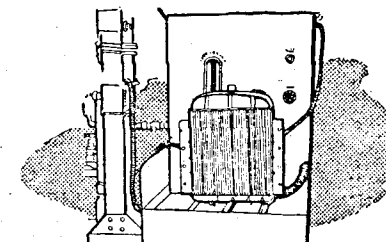
### DYNAMIC BALANCER

A crankshaft, out of balance, ruins the entire cylinder block. At TVS this precision instrument places the defect and we correct it.



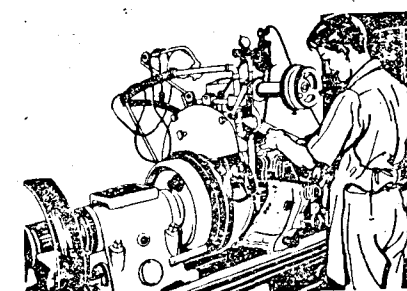
### RADIATOR FLOW TESTER

Every radiator should permit a specified quantity of water flowing through the system per minute. This helps to keep the engine cool. At TVS the efficiency of the radiator of your vehicle is tested with this special instrument.



### CRANKSHAFT GRINDER

On this experts grind rebuilt crankshaft to very close tolerance.



THE usefulness of a road transport organisation is largely dependent on its ability to operate its buses on time. Delays due to breakdowns irritate passengers, and damage its reputation.

A motor vehicle is precision built to give you years of dependable service, but it wears out by constant use leading to increased fuel consumption and

replacements of spares. TVS have up-to-date precision instruments and specially trained personnel for not only detecting defects but also for rebuilding worn-out parts to give you continued efficient service. In effect, you save on fuel, maintenance and replacements. More, your passengers will be happy that your buses operate on time.

**T. V. Sundram Iyengar & Sons Private Ltd**

Madurai - Tiruchl - Tirunelveli - Pudukkottai - Salem - Coimbatore



**Sundaram Motors Private Ltd., Madras**

home the same lesson. Matter may build stellar structures but cannot create amoeba. Animals may increase in size and shape but cannot produce intelligence. Even so man, though his efforts be titanic, cannot leap over the walls which nature has built round him. Mutation alone can do this and mutation does not lie in our efforts but descends as pure grace. In the words of Sri Aurobindo the supramental power has to descend into the stream of biological life and remould man from bottom to top. The struggle for a more humane world will not be labour wasted but labour ultimately crowned with success. To achieve the impossible we must at least attempt the impossible. Sons of God are not supermen—they are a new race but a new race emerging out of the old—the old rendered fit for receiving the new seed. The more we cultivate humanity, love, fellowship, the more we eschew inhuman oppressions, cruelties. Not only will we be nearer to a new humanity but also become better to receive it.

The prospects of a more humane world are fifty-fifty, hence unpredictable. Today both good and evil have grown to cosmic dimensions. We are not in a crisis of the beginning, or middle but in a crisis of the end. The process has reached a stage when it has to fulfil or annihilate itself. We will either die or be god-men.

Biology tells us that the chances of life in the hostile world in which it took birth was one in a billion. Yet man has lived and outlived his compeers. A benign Providence broods over life, casts a magic spell over it, guiding it safe through the innumerable and interminable vicissitudes that beset it.

Today man stands poised on the brink of a precipice. He has attained godly physical powers but not equal moral or spiritual powers. Would he be able to form the right judgment and act accordingly? The future would have been one of unrelieved despair but for the fact that in the past man's guardian angels have rescued him at the last moment. What will happen? Who knows?

## CAPITAL COMMENTS

### PAKISTAN AFTER SEVEN PRIME MINISTERS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: To us in India as a nation, it does a lot of credit—the way Delhi gracefully tided over a week of big events and bigger sensations. The Capital's hotel lobbies were at their busiest. Yet there was little of loose talk anywhere. It is a healthy sign that we seem to have let in a new sobriety to creep into our utterances whether in conference halls or in hotel lounges. Men of finance and of figures came from all parts of the world, and it was a blessing that the Prime Minister was at his best in addressing them, having earlier given thought to his say. The inauguration of the prodigious "India—1958" exhibition was yet another occasion when the Prime Minister was on his feet, and it was a mercy that he had not allowed himself to be side-tracked by the sensation in not far-off Karachi. Indeed, to the dramatic developments in Pakistan, the press and platform in the country reacted with highly commendable restraint, while, in expressing deep sympathy for the dark shadows over the Vatican, the people of India revealed a discerning sense of human values. All this is something to be truly thankful for.

Our neighbours next door, the Pakistanis, woke up one morning to find Democracy blown into splinters and the last vestiges of constitutional government swept away by about the fiercest of over-night gales. Perhaps they had bargained for the worst; certainly they had been ill-served by a succession of unashamed careerists who are now authoritatively described as incorrigible opportunists and brazen-faced adventurers. Having reduced politics to the merest gamble, they were ruthlessly overtaken by Nemesis. Today, no dogs bark in the streets of

Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Dacca while it is doubtful if sleeping dogs are allowed to lie. For Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, it was, as they say, and can well afford to say, *darkness at noon*. Like the Nizams of the Asaf Jahi dynasty, seven Prime Ministers paraded in their day and found their occupation gone, with none to shed tears. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing fails like failure. The men who held office failed; the men who held power succeeded. In Pakistan the hour had struck; at least one man heard it; and he had struck as he alone could strike.

All other considerations apart, it is a wholesome, indeed an exhilarating, sight to see a really strong man in action—a man who understands what is in store if he is lost in hesitation and who stands no nonsense. There is no mistaking him: he is there ready for the job—to do and dare. The very advent of General Iskander Mirza as the Head of the State was a portent: it carried with it—or within it—the seeds of a larger military growth in Pakistan. So, nobody inside Pakistan or outside, need rub his eyes in wonder. And nothing made things easier for him than the fact that in General Ayub Khan he has both a relative and an ally. As the politicians in Pakistan went on plotting against each other for power, other plots were carefully hatched behind the scenes, or curtains, of whatever description. And when once they acted, Pakistan's two foremost Generals removed the velvet glove from the mailed fist. No one can say that they were in a hurry. Having taken the risk in one sense, they will take no risks, in another. The iron-bars, the whip, the guillotine—'miscreants' in their eyes have a wide choice. Men can be ruled either by love or terror—

and they get the government they deserve. For sometime to come Pakistan is a powder-keg.

General Iskander Mirza who had emerged as Pakistan's man of destiny, it will interest the readers of SWARAJYA to know, is no other than our own distinguished Sir Mirza's dynamic nephew. He is not new to politics though he has kept aloof from politicians as a class. Thirty-two years ago he had the distinction of being the first Indian to get inside the Political Service under the British flag. Defence Secretary in the days of Mr. Jinnah, he later became Minister of the Interior and ultimately succeeded Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed, having singled himself out as Ghulam Mohammed's 'hatchet-man'. It has since been widely believed that he would one day wrest Pakistan out of the oily hands of politicians and impose a kind of military dictatorship on the young State. The day has at last arrived, with the advantage that both he and General Ayub Khan have a common prejudice against politicians whom they have openly treated as "scallywags". But how far the present phase lasts is anybody's guess. For Pakistan, its East and West are poles asunder, and Dacca is politically as distant to Karachi as Trivandrum is to Delhi!

India can justly be proud that she has no sinister design for the break-up of Pakistan nor any malicious delight in the crisis there. She wants the Pakistanis to grow prosperous and live in peace. If by the breath-taking developments in Pakistan, her own stock has suddenly risen higher, India cannot help feeling flattered. It is being whispered that the Americans, after their experience in Formosa and Korea, are getting a trifle tired of pumping too much money into Pakistan. Mr. Dulles, however, may have his own ideas about these things. It is one of the saddest ironies of history that there is a singular lack of harmony between American impulses and American objectives. How happier should we all be, if

## REVIEW

### ESSENCE OF THE BHAGAVATA TEACHING

The doctrine of *bhakti* or devotion is a latecomer in the field of Hindu religious procedure. The word is not mentioned in the Upanishads and occurs but rarely in the Ramayana. It first comes to prominence in the Gita, and attains its full fruition in the Srimad Bhagavata, which deals with the incarnation of the Lord as Krishna.

The Bhagavata, however, is replete with stories of the Lord's earlier incarnations and of the Lord's continuous and unremittent care about the welfare of his devotees. The author has rendered in verse the stories of Ambarish, Mahabali, Prahlada, the exploits of Krishna at Gokula, the destruction by Him of the serpent Kaliya, His conferring of wealth on Sudaama; and at the end there are a number of parables in verse.

The author deserves to be congratulated on the patience that he has shown and the ability that he has displayed in rendering into readable English verse, the terse and didactic portions of the Bhagavata. The high and hyperbolic narratives in the original do not admit of facile reproduction, and one may say that the work has been well done in this book.

Ambarisha's understanding of his own relative position forms the crux of the story.

*"He knew himself for a cipher,  
A willing agent of the One by whom  
All is sustained as jewels by a string,  
Who had made him, a king, to savour His own play*

*The Immortals of the Bhagavat* by Dilip Kumar Roy. Published by Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Agra. Price Rs. 5.

India won't judge America by Dulles and America won't judge India by Krishna Menon. We all need light.

*Of serving all while seeming to rule all.*

*He saw himself as a droplet in the Deep*

*An infinitesimal spark of the parent fire*

*Longing for reunion with the flame".*

This is the substance of the whole philosophy of man being but God's agent in a play whose purpose we do not know but who is for ever striving to reach Him from whom we have become separate.

So also in Bali, He "initiated a play divine whose moves were inconceivable". There is some good writing here.

*"His deep purpose*

*In His new role was undecipherable*

*As the lesson of the Book of Nebulae.*

*Writ in the alphabet of lonely flames.*

*And 'twas to serve this purpose He had sought*

*Birth in a woman's womb—to appease and free*

*The pent sky-thirst of earth's blue birds of light*

*Who beat their bleeding wings against the walls*

*Of dark invulnerable dungeons built*

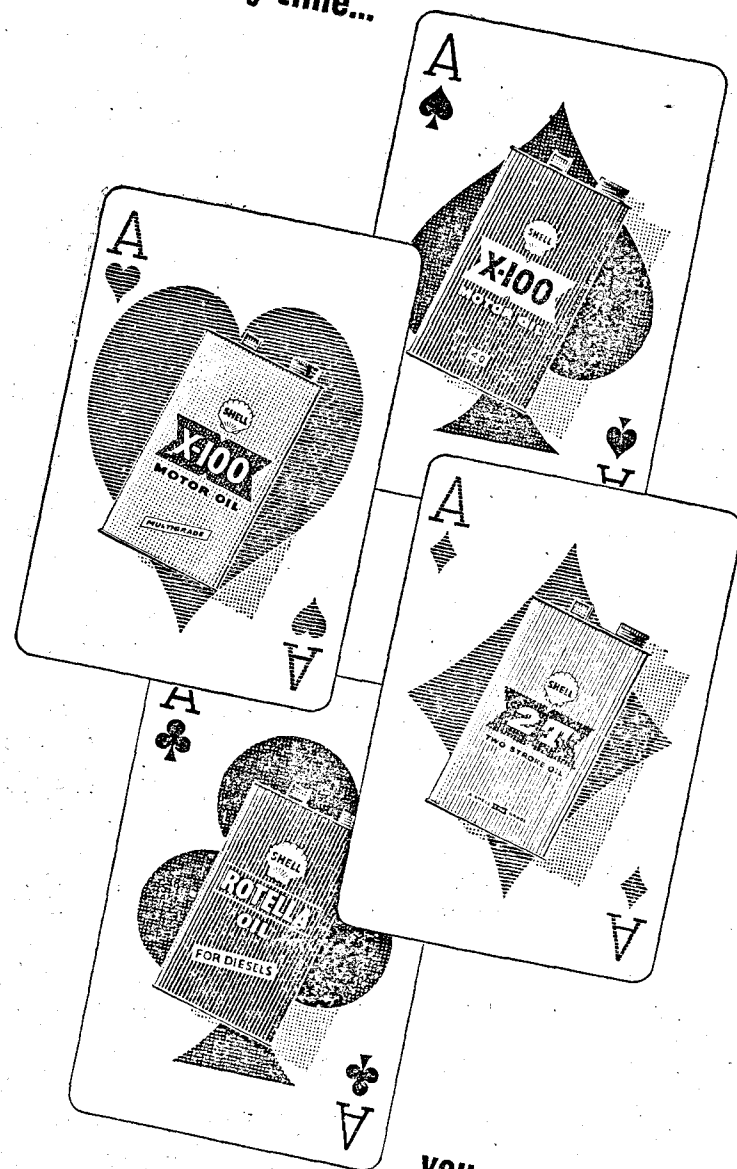
*By the phalanx'd might of the Ego's citizens:"*

The shorter parables make interesting reading. "Can discipline be real and yet, Grace not a make-believe?" one asks, and the answer is given: "Grace is the wind, but if you hoist not high, Your sails with effort, can you hope to benefit thereby?"

The essence of the Bhagavata teaching is the facility with which the Lord can be reached by means of loving devotion. There are several passages in the book that bring out this central teaching of the great epic.

S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

a winner every time...



you can be sure of SHELL

CW-1.

# CINEMA

## EFFECT OF MILITARY REGIME ON PAKISTANI FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** The one topic of discussion even among the film circles last week was the dramatic developments in Pakistan where General Iskandar Mirza has abrogated the Constitution and established a military regime. While most of the film folk thought that such a development was almost inevitable, they thought perhaps that the new military regime will succeed in improving conditions in Pakistan. That apart, the film people were anxious to know whether the new developments would change the new Pakistan rulers' attitude to import of Indian films in Pakistan as well as to the production of films in Pakistan itself.

While it is hoped that the military government will rationalize the import policy and give fair treatment to Indian pictures for which there is such a great demand in Pakistan, such a move, apart from benefitting the Indian producers will compel the Pakistani producers to compete with Indian pictures in every respect. And this healthy competition would result in the artistic advance of Pakistani pictures as well.

The chaos and corruption evident in other walks of life have also manifested themselves in the Pakistani film industry which has failed to progress inspite of Government help during the last ten years. It is true that military regimentation can hardly help the advancement of any creative art. But under the circumstances prevailing in Pakistan, regimentation may be beneficial to art—especially to the art of making motion pictures.

In direct contrast to India, Japan and China, the Pakistani film industry has not made any impression in international festivals. Not only that, the delegates at the Tashkent festival behaved shabbily as the allegations made by Pakistan's number one star

Noorjehan bear out. Indeed, if the press statements given by Noorjehan are true, serious action should be taken against the leader of the delegation by the new rulers of Pakistan.

But for Shaukat Hussain, most of the 'insolvent' producers and directors from India migrated to Pakistan and tried to make pictures there. Shaukat Hussain failed to give the lead. As luck would have it, Shaukat Hussain who was the first to migrate to Pakistan in 1947 has now come to Bombay to make a picture in India. Though he has denied the news of his settling in India, his future plans would depend upon the attitude and policy of the present military government to the film industry in Pakistan.

There has been a surfeit of crime pictures this year. But the only crime story which rises above the general mediocrity and has many interesting human ingredients is Basu Chitra Mandir's 'Savera', which had a lot of censor trouble. After seeing the film, one wonders why the censors were so agitated over this film with a healthy story.

Though in parts reminiscent of 'Papi' and 'Ratnadeep' it is absolutely a different story from both. Surprisingly no credit for the story has been given in the credit-titles, though it is said to be based on a popular Bengalee film.

The story revolves round Kundan who was a bright medical student and was implicated wrongly in an illegal fatal operation as a result of which he was rusticated from college and could not get any decent job. While selling newspapers in the streets, he got in contact with a gang of criminals and became one of them. Thanks to his inherent goodness, he saved a girl who was none else but his childhood mate

and betrothed from being molested.

When the boss of his gang died, Kundan went to a village to pay the boss's mother a sum of Rs. 5,000. On the way he met Swami Purnanand who was carrying Rs. 10,000 for his Ashram.

Kundan had a quarrel with his dead gangster's brother who was killed by his mother. Escaping from the accusation of murder, he found Purnanand lying unconscious and put on his garb. Result: Kundan became Swami Purnanand while the real Swami

## INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

For Writing Comfort

FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/158/A



who had lost his memory was accused and tried for murder.

In the Ashram, under the influence of his childhood sweetheart, he became human and did good work which earned him popularity and fame. The change-over was so complete that in the open court he revealed the truth and underwent punishment.

A familiar but nevertheless excellent story, it could have been transformed into a dynamic motion picture. But the production and treatment fail to do justice to the story, and as a result, in spite of the gripping story, the picture does not become as convincing as it should have been. Except for the acting by Ashok and Meena Kumari, the picture is just average. Over two years in making, it is a pity that Satyen Bose could not make the picture worthy of the story, which had all the ingredients of a popular and powerful motion picture. And yet, the picture is better than the average run of crime thrillers; more plausible, realistic, human and refreshing.

The latest victim of rumour-mongers is V. Shantaram. If the rumour-mongers are to be believed he has already lost sight of one eye; and he is likely to lose his vision altogether. God forbid, but fortunately the rumours are not true. It is true

(Continued on page 15)

## TWO OUTSTANDING BOOKS

*The New Outline of Modern Knowledge*: Edited by Alen Pryce-Jones. 26 outlines, 280,000 words, 621 pages .. 15.75

*What is Science?*: 12 Eminent Scientists and philosophers explain their various fields to the layman in essays specially written for this volume—edited and with an introduction by James R. Newman .. 15.75

**K. MAHADEVAN,**

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE SPEAKERS' DICTUM

Sir,—Inaugurating a series of lectures on "Success of Parliamentary Democracy in India" organised by the Indian Council of World Affairs at Kanpur, Sri Anantasayanam Iyengar sang paeans of praise of the present regime.

Among the major achievements catalogued by the Speaker is the gift of Hindi as a national language! What imperviousness to the rational agitation against the imposition of this gift!

Sri Anantasayanam seems to be blissfully unaware of a problem which is exercising some of the best brains of the world to-day, when he says that there is no place for Independents in a democratic system of government. Parliamentary democracy no doubt has come to mean in practice 'party democracy' which through the help of brute majorities, has begun to operate as party dictatorship, killing intelligent initiative and individual responsibility. Regimentation has reached a stage where individual freedom is stifled altogether. It is felt to be a crisis of democracy, so to say. Take the Congress itself. There is so much of internecine disagreement on major questions. The 'whip' is enough to drive everything underground—a whip in the hands of a few at the top. There is greater rumbling in consequence, and the vicious circle goes on. The base gets decayed, putrified, so to say. There can be no worse instance of demoralization and slave mentality. Fundamentally, the logical culmination of parliamentary democracy based on the party system, is the One Party State. Technically, even Hitler's origin can be called democratic. Sri Anantasayanam may not grasp the fact that the State itself can be owned by the top men of a party—the party in power, the New Class which holds the power of dispensation. What Dijas said about the Communist party is true of every other highly organized party in power. If

the party system is considered to be such an unmitigated blessing, why is Mr. Sriman Narayan of the Planning Commission so much worried as to say: "The infection of conflict between political parties percolates down to village life and tends to disrupt the co-operative spirit within the country. We will have to consider very seriously whether the present system of political parties under parliamentary democracy is really conducive to the social and economic development of an under-developed country like India. I strongly feel that we will have to take certain legal or even constitutional steps to rid the village panchayats, the co-operatives and other village institutions from the curse of party politics".

Kakinada

M. V. SASTRY

### Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI

Sir,—I noted with great sorrow the death of Lt. Col. C. R. Krishnaswami. In him we have lost a good friend and a free thinker. He was a very vigorous personality amongst medical men. Always frank, lovable and nice. Apparently aggressive but very soft and loving at heart. I always remember his exhortation to students to read and concentrate on studies only. When once we went for some contribution for a students' conference at Madras, he chided us saying, "What the hell do you students have to confer about except studying! Get away, go away and read. Don't waste your parents' money."

Now I realise how wise his advice was. We really could have saved some part of our parents' money if we had heeded his advice.

DR. P. THIRUMALA RAO  
Visakhapatnam.

### S. RAMANUJAN, F. R. S.

Sir,—Sometime back, I wrote short articles about the great mathematician, Ramanujan, in English and Tamil. Some readers have eagerly asked me for more

particulars. I have none to give, as the articles were based on the notes published by others in the early days. It now strikes me that there are some people in the neighbourhood of seventy and happily still with us who knew Ramanujan personally. I suggest that they put down in writing whatever they knew about him without trying much to differentiate between what they consider major and minor episodes and forward the same to the Director, Ramanujan Institute, Senate House, Madras-5. I have consulted the present Director. The collected information could be edited by a competent person and made available for future generations. As a matter of fact, this step is over-due by many years. I am unfortunate and strange that so little is known of the personal life of such a great man who died less than forty years back. Let us hope that the deficiency will be made good to some extent.

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM  
Madras.

### Cinema

(Continued from page 14)

that Shantaram is suffering from eye-trouble; but already he is under expert medical treatment. He has been advised complete rest.

Originally it was planned to call an eye-specialist from abroad. But now it is decided that Shantaram will fly to Europe within a few days to have treatment for his eyes. There has been no deterioration since he took rest; on the contrary his condition has been improving. After expert treatment and operation abroad, it is the expectation of local eye-specialists, that Shantaram will have his eyes restored to normalcy again.

Shantaram who was expected to go to Europe in connection with the release of 'Do Ankhen Barah Haath' which has now been entered in the London Film Festival will now be abroad for an altogether different reason. We wish him all luck in his visit.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that in the final selection from outstanding films, the International Catholic Bureau has

chosen 'The Old Man and the Sea' for the first prize and 'Do Ankhen' for the second prize. 'The Bridge on the River Quai' was one of the nine contenders for this award. It is a pity that at the time of crowning glory of his career Shantaram should be suffering from this physical affliction. But one sincerely prays that he will overcome it and continue to produce pictures like 'Do Ankhen' for many years to come.

Contrary to expectations Sahir did not go to Tashkent to attend the Afro-Asian conference.

Johnny Walker has been added to the cast of S. S. Vasan's new Hindi social picture starring Dilip Kumar and Vyjayantimala. Pradeep is writing lyrics, Ramanand Sagar is writing dialogue and C. Ramachandra is writing the musical score.

Charlie Chaplin's 'Limelight' produced five years ago will be at last shown in India. It has been secured by Swani Corporation for distribution in India and is expected to be released in Christmas.

### Sidelights

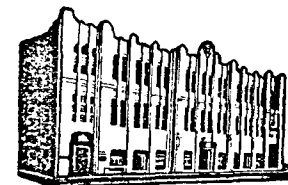
(Continued from Page 4)

weaknesses generally frowned upon by perfectionist moralists.

He had no direct interest in politics or public affairs, but experience of injustice irritated him, and in the tempo of cumulative resentment over the multiplying misgovernment of our Khadi-clad power-wielders and the wrongs of our adult-suffraged democracy, he found himself transformed in his later years into a hot-gospeller of revolt against the Congress and its rule. His independence of spirit was totally untarnished by personal interests or motives of any kind. He was completely devoid of fear of authority. He had the gift of detaching the prestige of office and position from the worth of personality, and so his judgments of men and affairs were invariably fair, honest and reliable. Decency was the stuff of his being, and I have not come across a more upright man.

SAKA

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000  |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | 99,50,360    |
| Deposits                                        | 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

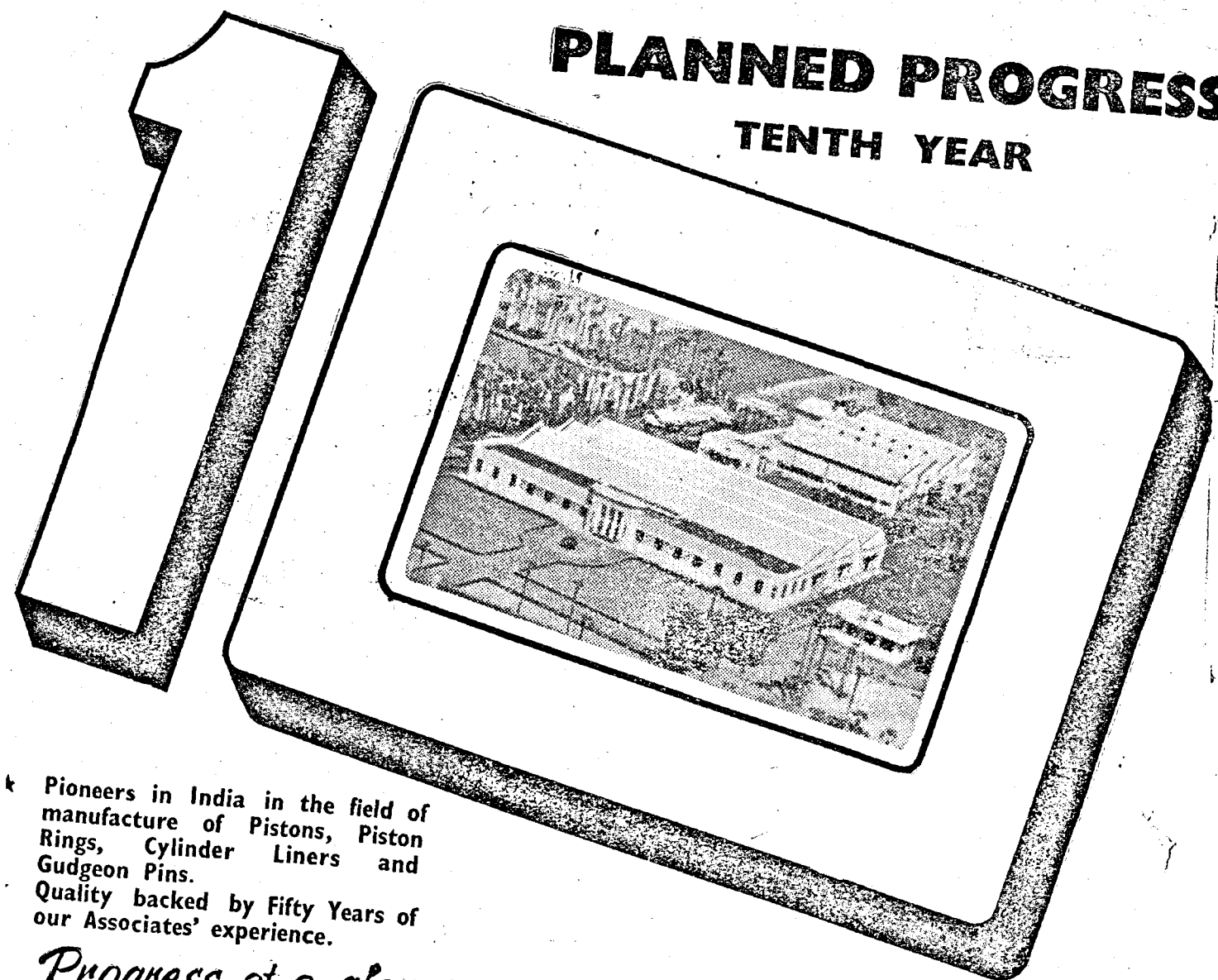
KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

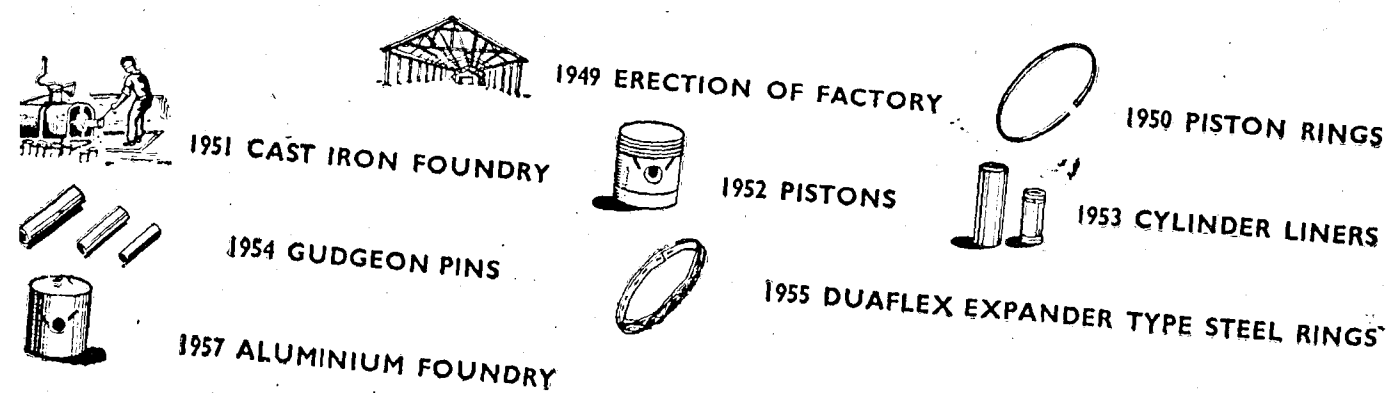
D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.



## PLANNED PROGRESS TENTH YEAR

Pioneers in India in the field of manufacture of Pistons, Piston Rings, Cylinder Liners and Gudgeon Pins.  
Quality backed by Fifty Years of our Associates' experience.

*Progress at a glance :-*



**INDIA PISTONS PRIVATE LIMITED,**  
SEMBIAM, MADRAS - II.

An Associate Company of:  
Messrs. Hepworth & Grandage Ltd., Bradford, England — Wellworthy Ltd.,  
Lymington, Hants, England — Bricovmo Ltd., Coventry, England.

# SWARAJYA

782

Editor : Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. III. No. 16

MADRAS, OCTOBER 25, 1958

25 NOV 1958

MADRAS

15 Naye Paise

## THE NARAYAN WAY

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan has returned from abroad in a mood of constructive despair. He finds, on a point of political meteorology, that India is in the trough of a depression and is clouded over by a sense of failure. He suggests two ways out. Firstly, all the political parties which profess democratic socialism should meet and draw up a common programme of national reconstruction. Secondly, the top-most leaders of parties must quit office and lead a mass movement, with a view to mobilising the peoples' energy for national development.

The suggestion of a single party democracy is difficult to understand. It reveals a basic ignorance of the mechanism of democracy. A parliamentary democracy seeks to express the opinion of the people through its representatives in Parliament and the laws passed by it should express the will of the people. But except in times of war, the aims and procedures of reform are not uniform or single-focussed. These several aims and methods are reflected in the composition of the various political parties within and without the legislatures. Each party vents its views in public and in parliament, and the result is that a law shapes itself through accommodation to numerically minor interests, and compromise in detail to clashing aims, at the same time, maintaining the core of the majority principle. It is essentially a Government by understanding. Further, it involves the existence of an opposition which is a

potential Government, so that there is always the danger to the ruling party and the safety to the people that a blind and unresponsive Government will be removed peacefully and a popular one installed in its place.

How are these processes to be worked out in an all-party democracy? It will become a kind of political ventriloquism, in which the same party pretends to ask questions and give answers. Minorities will be destroyed by the very absence of opportunity. A monolithic caucus will grow at the expense of freedom to differ. That it is imbued with a sense of the urgency of national reconstruction is no answer. That very sense will instil in its mind an impatience with opposition. And with the disappearance of parliamentary opposition, it will settle down to a permanent enjoyment of power. This may lead to a more expeditious execution of the plan-projects, and a more drastic reform in land holding, but it will give not what the people want, but what the Olympian leaders think is good for the people. It will logically lead to a hell paved with good intentions. It is upto those who consider that free institutions are more important than an abrupt accession of material prosperity to pause and reflect on the dangers of destroying true democracy at the altar of immediate welfare as prescribed and compounded by the few for the many.

Nor does the second suggestion that the top-leaders should quit

office appear sound. It is one thing for a country which is dominated by a foreign power to rouse the masses and for its leaders to go all out for mass-contact. But it is an adverse comment on their title to leadership for them to confess that in a free country they cannot remain in office and also be in touch with the people. The inference is then inevitable that those in office are not the real leaders of the people. It means that having come to power by means of a mass movement for the attainment of freedom, they and their less-entitled successors are clinging to office by such wrong and unethical means as the distribution of patronage, the exercise of concealed threats, the political use of the permanent executive, especially the police and the judiciary, and, last not least, corruption at elections. What is then required for the land is not a make-believe mass-contact by the unreal leaders, but the emergence of real leaders. And Sri Narayan's formula for a single party takes good care that none of these latter ever live beyond a chrysalis stage.

Altogether, Sri Narayan's suggestions follow the current tendency to dramatise the defects of human existence and do something drastic for the improvement of mankind. But the mills of God do not grind that way. Prosperity that is based on freedom is slow and perhaps inconceivable, but it will endure; the other kind will unleash the urge

to rule and it will have to be nourished by ever-increasing spate of promises that will drain the resources of the country in a surface-spectacle of glory; and without the least doubt, it will atrophy the springs of free comment and alternative construction.

### Love, Marriage and Prudence

(Continued from Page 10)

Though it is highly important that parents should be consulted, the consent of the young people concerned is quite indispensable. Consent and love are not the same thing. If no love is felt, then it is best to let the parents decide for you. The parents, however, would be wise to give the matter up when they find the son or daughter unwilling to enter into the proposed marriage. No coercion or threats should be used to make them consent, and no one should consent out of mere fear or politeness.

No other people in the world honour their ancient customs and scriptures as we do, and yet no religion in the world allows greater freedom than our Sastras. We have ample testimony for this in the *Mahabharata*. Take the great marriage of Draupadi. From the context it is absolutely clear that this marriage was considered quite improper, even in those days. Nevertheless, in view of the circumstances, it was judged differently and the sages unflinchingly gave their full support to what at first seemed totally opposed to the scriptures! They changed the very rites of marriage in order to suit the peculiarity of the situation—one girl to wed as many as five husbands at the same time! Other instances of heterodox unions were not rare. True love is certainly greater than any other *dharma*, and to defy and resist such a force was never considered right. Indeed, our Sastras allow us the liberty to change things in accordance with changed times and circumstances, and even to dispense with old customs altogether and introduce fresh ones. It may be observed that in many matters



## THE DANCE OF THE LORD

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

There was a cuckoo in the grove attached to the palace of King Nandivarman. It sang beautifully and the princess loved it dearly.

One Deepaavali, there was a mishap. There was a fire and the flames spread all over the palace. The assembled townspeople were busy flinging earth and water on the fire in an attempt to put it out.

The cuckoo was even then singing as usual. A palace official, angry that the bird should sing while the palace was burning, threw a stone at the bird. It hit the bird which fell down and rolled in the dust and breathed its last.

The fire was put out before it could do much damage. Every one was happy. The princess came to the grove and saw the kokila lying dead. She could not bear the grief. She complained to the King.

The official told his story. The King was angry and rebuked him, saying, "Did you not know, foolish man, that the bird could only sing and could not carry buckets of water? What could it do to put out a fire? Why kill the poor singer for singing?"

"Please forgive me, your Majesty," said the official. "I confess my error. But it was my loyalty that made me forget that the bird could only sing and could not fetch water."

"Yes, yes," said the Minister who was standing by. "Each

knows his own job—and nothing else. The cuckoo knows only to sing. The King's servant knows only how to serve the King. And I know only how to punish. Put down your livery and walk home. You have been dismissed!"

"Please, please, father," pleaded the princess, "don't let this man lose his job. It is enough that the cuckoo is dead. Why make this man's wife and children cry? That at least we can prevent."

"And you know only how to shed tears," the King said, as he hugged and kissed his daughter.

"Did you observe this?" said Lord Siva to Parvati. "Nandivarman tells his daughter that she knows only how to shed tears." And He added, laughing, "What about you, Parvati? You too specialise, don't you, in that job?"

Parvati answered, "You cause the offences, don't you? You are the great offender. And I exist—don't I?—to show pity."

"Yes, my kokila," Siva agreed.

"There are no offences in this my dance, nor defects." He continued. "There may seem to be some to those who cannot see from afar. It is not for them I dance. For you and only for you, my dear, I dance my dance!"

And Parvati was pleased.

we are exercising this liberty quite freely.

Let not young people or parents be frightened too much by poverty and financial difficulties. A loving husband and wife can face poverty, and together they can bear the sufferings which separately may be too great. Indeed, troubles disappear in no time if only loving man and wife

learn to laugh at them together. Poverty and its difficulties render love more beautiful. No need for us at all to be scared by it, if there is courage and true union of souls. I would request young men and women, parents, orthodox people as well as social reformers, to reflect on what I have said, and see whether there is something in it.



## Sotto Voce

J. P. thinks again

"Not a single bullet has been fired anywhere and no one has even been hit on the head", declares General Ayub Khan; while the other member of "the two-man regime", referring to the withdrawal of the pre-censorship order on the Pakistan Press, claims, "we have nothing to hide". This certainly does not look like a military dictatorship—unless it be that the revolution is passing through its first phony phase. It is more probable that the new Government knows the men with whom it has to deal—the noisy politicians whose stock in trade is stage thunder but whose hearts are in their boots. One of them, who rushed to the telephone to unburden himself to an international news agency on the abrogation of the Constitution was drily reminded that it was an offence under martial law and thereupon precipitately retired.

That doesn't mean, of course, that they will accept the new order without question. They may lie low for the present, hoping that the revolution might die of inanition, in other words, that it might find that abrogating the Constitution was much easier than finding a substitute for it. The common people of Pakistan are not likely to rush forth to the rescue of the Noons and the Quayum Khans. They have been happy buying furiously all sorts of commodities at a fraction of the just price. But, as happened during the bread riots described in Manson's "I Promessi Sposi" the real fun will begin when the harassed shop-keepers put up their shutters. The new Government has hastily introduced ration-cards. And the soldier caught in a tangle of red tape is a doleful figure.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan's latest bout of *sturm und drang* is

merely a reminder that he and other idealists of his stamp have as little respect for constitutions as the authors of the Pak *coup d'etat*. He has returned from a pilgrimage of ideas which took him over a good bit of Asia and Europe. And he has brought back nothing more than what he took with him. He has made the discovery that "from Cairo to Jagarta the ruling political climate is that of democratic socialism". When asked about the revolution in Pakistan he blandly answered that it merely confirmed his thesis. And I have no doubt that Thailand's act in joining Pakistan by abrogating its Constitution will be welcomed by him as one more proof of soundness.

If you are satisfied that all Asia wants democratic socialism — it seems to be a matter of latitudinal preference, for China and Russia though in Asia are written off by Mr. Narayan as a total loss to the democratic camp—then it goes without saying that the people of India too are avid for it. Mr. Narayan will not therefore waste time asking them about it whatever the Constitution might say. He wants leaders of all parties who believe in democratic socialism to take the people by the hand and exercise their limbs atrophied by long ages of foreign rule and "rehabilitate them by a long period of guidance and help". The Nehru Government is brusquely told that it is a fond illusion that makes it think that it is just doing this in its C.D. and N.E.S. programmes.

It is true enough that "long distance appeals of the leaders of the nation from their seats of power have failed to move the people". And J. P. is properly contemptuous of such tactics as the food satyagraha of the U.P. Socialists. It is when he comes to

make positive suggestions that he flounders even more desperately than those he attacks. He wants an all-party meeting to prepare "a concrete non-partisan programme of reconstruction". They need not travel far a model. "Vinobaji's programme is already there". But he doesn't explain why that admirable programme has secured only 5,000 volunteers as against the modest 600,000—one for each village—J. P. wants. If the P. M. and the Planning Commission did not make their spectacular periodical pilgrimage to the shrine of Sarvodaya the volunteers of the Vinoba Peace Brigade might have been hardly five score.

Shorn of frills J. P. wants a Congress-Praja Socialist Coalition which, while high-lighting mass action, will by no means despise Governmental power. But his offer reminds me of the sort of bargain our family saying describes. "You bring parched rice, I shall bring husk, and we shall both eat the rice after blowing off the husk". Mr. Nehru would like to have the Socialists with him—but without having to jettison the vast bulk of nondescripts who make up the impressive Congress army or frightening the bosses who pay merely lip-service to Socialism. The Prime Minister believes in quietly pushing and pulling the people into the Socialist Paradise. It is true he is rather vague about what it looks like at close quarters. One has doubts whether he himself knows. But he knows this much, that he doesn't want two kings in Brentford.

VIGHNESWARA

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.



You can see it in his eye, his bearing and the way he dresses. Such self-confidence often indicates the influence of strong family traditions of refinement and culture.

## THIS YOUNG MAN WILL GO FAR

When BINNY'S started manufacturing their quality cloth nearly eighty years ago young men discovered a new standard in textiles, for here was *variety* in colour, design and texture undreamt of before. As the years passed, BINNY'S continued to pioneer new materials including antcrease suitings and union fabrics. Soon BINNY became a household word and buying BINNY'S a family tradition.

Today, more people are able to buy more cloth, but *discerning* people look for these reassuring BINNY'S trade marks on the cloth they buy:



**BINNY'S** - a great name in textiles

The Buckingham & Carnatic Co. Ltd.  
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Co. Ltd.  
Managing Agents: BINNY & CO (MADRAS) LTD., Madras



BY 349

## THE U. N. REPORT ON TEST EXPLOSIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

LONDON, Oct. 18.—The dust from distant nuclear explosions is now a regular component of London's atmospheric radio-activity, Dr. Burgess, scientific adviser to the London County Council, says in his report for 1957. The dust contains some components which by direct inhalation and by deposition on the ground and subsequent incorporation in food can be assimilated in the body.

The present level of such contamination is, however, supposed to be well within the limits regarded as tolerable by the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

The above is a report from the special correspondent of a leading daily in India. If London atmosphere shows this poisonous deposit how much more exposed to this disease and genetic mutation causing poison are the people of Asia and her islands. It is true that the 'peaceful use' reactors of the British Isles and specially the occasional accidents occurring therein have contributed to the deposit in the London atmosphere. But the biggest contribution must be from the test explosions carried on in spite of mankind's protest for the alleged security of a few war-mongering nations. If the British Isles situated in the Atlantic Ocean has been affected, what about the islands and continents in the Pacific Ocean?

As for the tolerable limits of radio-active poisoning, the following must be more enlightening than the consolatory paragraph above.

When a village is on fire and all the houses are going to be burnt down, people do not discuss legal points and property disputes, but proceed all of them to put out the fire. So also should we attend to the radio-active danger to mankind from test explosions and not mix it up with other problems which we shall not be able to solve in a hurry. It is immoral and unwise to use mankind's fear of total poisoning as a sanction to achieve settle-

ment of international disputes as to sizes of armaments posed against one another.

The United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of atomic radiation after a three-year study submitted their conclusions in August last. *The Scientific American*, a leading journal of America devoted to science and truth, summarises the conclusions of this U. N. Committee in the following words:

"The Committee recommends the avoidance of unnecessary exposure resulting from medical, industrial and other procedures for peaceful uses, and the cessation of contamination of the environment by explosions of nuclear weapons. The control of all these sources of radiation involves national and international decisions which lie outside the scope of its work."

"The U. N. group concurred in the virtually unanimous opinion that there is no lower limit on the genetic effects. That is, any dose however small causes mutations, and the number of mutations is proportional to the amount of radiation."

Other extracts are given below which will also be found very instructive:

The contamination is serious in milk-drinking countries and very

much more serious in countries in which rice is the staple diet. If testing will continue at the rate of the past four years, the danger of contamination in milk-drinking countries and rice-eating areas is represented by the following figures: 2.8 in the former and 17 in the latter. In addition to clearly recognizable hereditary traits, the genetic changes will affect intelligence and longevity.

The U. N. Scientific Committee could go no further than giving the above conclusions. The action called for is within the jurisdiction of the political body. It is inconceivable that any government claiming to be civilized should any longer carry on test explosions and refuse immediately and unconditionally to stop them as Russia has formally and repeatedly asked America and Britain to agree to do, herself offering to do it at once if the others agreed.

It is a tragedy that Russia's unilateral move seven months ago was not followed up by action on the part of the other nuclear powers. A baneful race has been persisted in claiming to burst an equal number of poison bombs on either side. It would have been tolerable if every explosion poisoned the atmosphere for that nation only that exploded it, as in horse racing where the loss accrues to the side that persists in the gamble and does not hurt the spectators. Here however the poison race poisons the whole world and yet it is persisted in and justifications are gravely offered for the crime.

## KOWTHA STEEL PRODUCTS

RAMAVARAPPADU, S. Rly., Andhra State

OFFER

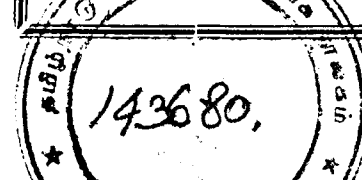
Reliable Service and Quick Deliveries

for all varieties of steel structures, tanks, stagings, grills, Acid or basic high and low carbon and alloy steel castings in Electric Furnace upto ½-ton

to aid 2nd 5-Year Plan for all Industries

Head Office :  
"Beehive Buildings", 95, Broadway,  
MADRAS-17 Phone No. 2020.  
Telegrams: "LUCKY"

Branch Office :  
"Kowtha Buildings"  
VIJAYAWADA.  
Phone No. 327





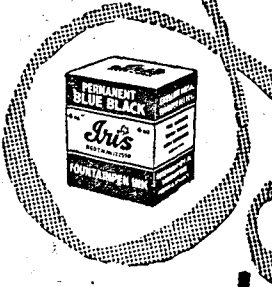
## SLOGANISED POLITICS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Years ago when Khasa Subba Rau and I were in joint-harness in the *Indian Express*, Proprietor Goenka would once in a way join us in uninhibited conversation. His opinion about Editors who write leading articles was that three-fourths of the space was devoted to "a jumble of words" and that he could figure out the meaning only in the third paragraph. Khasa and I had adhered to the orthodox structure of leading articles which consisted of three parts: the first paragraph dwelt on the Statement of the Case and the antecedents of the problem; the second paragraph dealt with the argument in the form of pros and cons; and in the third paragraph we set forth our Conclusion. Mr. Goenka thought all the preliminaries consisted of a medley of phrase-mongering. We were not surprised, because as an intensely practical man, he was interested in the conclusions reached rather than in any barren controversy.

\*\*\*\*\*

**For Writing Comfort**



**FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE**

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi.  
MRC/ISO/A

\*\*\*\*\*

Not that always Paragraph 3 was conclusive, but we flattered ourselves that we had carried on the discussion to the farthest stage possible. On the other hand, when the late M. C. Balakrishna Menon wrote leading articles, he was in distress over the third paragraph asking us what lead we were giving to the nation over the complex subject. He always held in the Rule of Guidance. I in my despair solved the problem by advising him to add at the close of the last paragraph of his leader something as follows: "It is incumbent on the High Command to take stock of the situation in an emergency meeting, and chalk out a programme so as to ease the impasse." Menon would then be satisfied that a constructive suggestion was given; and he entertained a worshipful opinion of the High Command, but I am digressing from the theme of the jumble of words that often form the body of articles in our newspapers on every subject. We have now piled heaps of words and phrases on diverse themes. For instance, in the I.M.F. Week, we had a torrent of catchwords and formulas which if discreetly used could make for any writer's reputation for expert knowledge.

The same can be said of lucubrations on foreign policy, and I give herewith a number of clichés and shibboleths which can be utilised by writers on foreign policy for the next ten years at least.

The preamble in newspaper articles all over the world would be to the effect that "we are for peace and disarmament, against war and aggression," but the following abracadabra of words should be kept on a printed card fixed against the wall in front of the leader-writer:

1. Within the framework of the Charter;
2. Against the principles of the Charter;
3. Advancement of Under-developed countries;
4. Vast Asian ferment;
5. Relieving of tensions;

6. East-West friction;
7. Dignity of Man;
8. Imbalance in economy;
9. Mutual guarantees for all nations;
10. Real security;
11. Stable peace;
12. Conventional arms;
13. Nuclear war-heads;
14. Without strings;
15. Struggling for peace;
16. Strengthening of peace;
17. Territorial integrity;
18. Ceaseless efforts for disarmament;
19. International inspection;
20. De-jure or de facto;
21. Colonialism;
22. Running dogs of Imperialism;
23. Whining dogs of Capitalism;
24. Free grants;
25. Food loans;
26. Technical aid;
27. Active, dynamic co-existence;
28. Co-alignment;
29. Bandung Principles;
30. Panch Sheela;
31. Arab Resurgence;
32. Oil politics;
33. Rival Blocs;
34. Force no remedy;
35. Basic problems;
36. Fundamental approach;
37. One-World Ideal;
38. Vacuums for Big Powers;
39. Positions of strength;
40. Brink of War;
41. Dullesian Myopia;
42. Atomic blast;
43. Sputnik explosion;
44. Mutual respect and non-interference;
45. Negotiated settlement;
46. Non-participation in Blocs;
47. Uncommitted status;
48. Constructive Neutralism;
49. African expendables;
50. Racial exploitation;
51. Cold war atmosphere;
52. Affinity of non-aligned nations against Facts;
53. Closed economic blocs;
54. Communistic perfidy;
55. Vacate aggression;
56. Food self-sufficiency;
57. Population Menace;
58. Liberation movements;
59. Acceleration of economic uplift in the Free World;
60. Infiltration tactics of Imperialistic Powers;
61. Enemies of the People;
62. Counter-revolutionaries in Socialistic Camp awaiting Legalistic Justice.

The list I have given is only illustrative, not exhaustive. But in these days of hurried production, it should be easy to pick out a few of them, say six at a time, and give a write-up on Foreign Policy. We have become such slaves of jargon that the course I suggest would be found valuable, if not particularly creative.

## CAPITAL COMMENTS

### DISGRACEFUL PUNJAB EPISODE

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Is October at the Capital, one wonders, a prolonged or unending Sunday? It seems so, from the gala crowds, the gaiety in the streets, and the mood of generous abandon that one sees so much in evidence. Now that Winter comes, the prodigious Exhibition is on, and the youth, of both sexes, full of energy, idealism and imagination are to invade the city. There also seems to be some respite from politics, the M.P.'s having their days—and nights—off the scene at the Capital. It does not mean that they are just resting and, what is worse, rusting. They are variously occupied elsewhere, from exercises in peripatetic patriotism, euphoniously described as *padayatra*, to searching inquiries into organizational affairs in different zones. Congressmen in particular, gravely perturbed by warnings from abroad and threats at home, are, at the time of writing, getting ready to join the *mela* in Hyderabad, to answer, the stresses of politics with the spirit of *Dusserah*. The elaborate arrangements in Prakasam Nagar are meant to be a foretaste of the bigger event in Nagpur next year, and it is a convincing proof of Congress realism that, in obedience to the new call of economy, a Bombay Minister has already appealed for Rs. 20 lakhs for the erection of what may be termed as 'egalitarian altars'. It is perhaps a costly business, whether in Delhi or Hyderabad or Nagpur or elsewhere, to produce mass excitement as a prelude or requisite to electoral triumphs. It is not for laymen to question the wisdom of lavish expenditure as a means to leading the common man on the right track, entirely for his own redemption. But results are not so easily achieved for, the man in the street has, by the will of God, delivered himself from the drugging effects of Congress narcotics — and become rather vocal, even critical.

Not even journalistic restraints in laying the colours too thick while news-stories break out, has appreciably prevented the common man from brooding over uncommon developments. He finds no explanation from Governmental complacency when a leading politician, while addressing a public meeting in an important town, on a Sunday, perhaps in broad daylight, happens to be manhandled—and too, not by the hired goondas of political adversaries but by the following of rival groups inside the same party-fold. The man thus bullied and attacked, for a wonder, is a full-fledged Minister who is controlling the finances of his home-State. This happens in Rewari (Punjab), not in Dacca (East Bengal)! What makes the story more colourful, and certainly more grim, is the allegation that the police behaved like observers keeping an open mind, without letting themselves be drawn into the scuffle by having to put it down and pull the Minister out. The proverbial common man rubs his eyes in wonder and perhaps asks himself if such a spectacle of police passivity can be witnessed outside Kerala, of which he has heard so much! The Prime Minister revolts against the idea of anyone undertaking a fast for achieving political or administrative ends, and in the Punjab we find a Congress Minister being obliged to embark on a three-day fast, for bringing fellow-Congressmen to their senses. And at last, we are told, that following the fast-threat or possibly under Central Pressure, the Chief Minister of the Punjab ordered—to use that much-battered phrase —'a thorough probe' into the whole affair. Who says that our State Governments and Chief Ministers are not keenly alive to the dangers inherent in abnormal developments?

One can only be sorry for the Congress that, while it is making

a case against Communist Government in Kerala, it has brought itself into disrepute in the Punjab. If the Punjab episode is disgraceful, the rift in the Congress in God's chosen State, the U.P., is extremely disturbing. It is a story of recurring crisis and unceasing struggle for power. That inside a Pradesh Congress Committee, of which the Union Home Minister and the Prime Minister of India are the Vice-Presidents, the shifts in the party or ministerial hierarchy should have so manifestly threatened the integrity of the Congress and wrecked all unity of purpose and effort, is too glaring a portent to be missed by anyone. What, at this rate, is in store for the Congress at the next elections, it is for Congressmen to realise. But meanwhile they have themselves to blame if their opponents gleefully point to the polling booths in the offing and ask them to beware of Philipppis. It is against such a doubtful, if not dismal, background, that the A-I.C.C. met in Hyderabad, to bring their united wisdom and combined judgment to bear on the problems awaiting the country. And was it not a proof of their wisdom and judgment that once again they upheld the cause of bilingual Bombay in the interests of 'national unity', without adequate appreciation of the realities of the situation in Maharashtra and Gujarat and any awareness of the repercussions of popular sentiment on the expression of democratic will at psychological hours.

From 'India-1958' commercial exhibition in Delhi to 'Congress-1958' political exhibition in Hyderabad, there is pleasant diversion for our Pundits who are in over-all charge of our affairs and destinies. But how are they going about their business? Neither long-winded homilies nor indignant outbursts will, or can, be of any avail if the issues facing the country are not squarely met, because of a congenital weakness for the ways of the Bourbons. The Congress is but nursing illusions about its future if it believes that it can hold its own without doing the obvious in re-

## LOVE, MARRIAGE AND PRUDENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

(This article was written in Tamil for 'Ananda Vikatan' twenty-five years ago. It was translated into English by Srimathi Savitri Ammal. We are reproducing it here, with the author's permission, at the request of many readers.)

The best illustration of the function of love and its relation to life is to be found perhaps in the life of the honey-bee. Among the many instructive and wonderful things that we see in the life of bees, the story of their wooing and nuptial union is the most interesting. These little creatures seem to have understood what men have not understood,—the full significance of the sex instinct. The queen-bee, as it attains adolescence, flies out from its cell followed by the male bees. After much wandering about, it chooses and accepts the love of one among them. And what a price the male bee offers for this favour! It gives up its very life as a return! The queen-bee goes back to her hive carrying away the very life of her lover in her womb, for the male dies shortly after the union. The queen returns to the hive and thereafter goes on laying eggs till the end of her life. The female bee thus knows the joy of

gard to the three outstanding issues of Prohibition, English and Bombay. So long as Congressmen fight shy of scrapping Prohibition, making English as well an official language and giving the city of Bombay to Maharashtra, the Congress will go on losing its ground, with the result that it can possibly do no harm either (except to itself) by its obduracy. It is not the Chiefs of the different Pradesh Congress Committees in Bombay State that can dispose of the Bombay issue; it is the people there that can decide it, whatever way they like. It is time that the Congress pundits realise the simple, yet significant, fact that the 'goods' to be delivered, are not mere speeches which any tub-thumper can deliver, from any angle or at a moment's notice.

union with the male only once in a life-time. As for the male bee, love is death. There is never again any second thought of sex-union for the female bee which goes on laying innumerable eggs, male or female, or workers according to the requirements of the colony. The bride at once becomes queen and mother, and all sex passion is forgotten. It is possible for us to have a glimpse into the real significance of these vast mysteries—love, birth and death—if we contemplate on this. Love is the elemental force of Nature, the life-urge that perpetuates the race. This vital force pervades all things living. Even inanimate things have this joy. Who knows yet the passion of the crystal or the atom? Death need not be mourned as a great sorrow or calamity. Death really means birth! The life of the male bee is not lost but continues in the thousands of lives into which it is transformed, and we call this death! Those who are not prepared for supreme sacrifice can never know the perfect happiness of love and matrimony.

"Let all these airy fancies rest; have you any practical things to tell? When there are ever so many complex questions of real life to be answered, what is the use of indulging in mere conceits of the mind?" Thus, doubtless, the impatient reader thinks. Yes, I wish to give practical advice. But then, every matter in life gives rise to so many questions and doubts, and we should deal with each problem in the light of its own circumstances. There is not a single patent-medicine-like solution for them all. It is useful to examine and understand fundamental principles so that we may meet every situation.

Let us take the question of proper age for marriage. Whatever

age one may suggest, there will be some people to object to it. On whom should the settlement of a match for a girl depend? Is it the father or the mother, or the relations, or society, or the girl herself that should have the final voice? This cannot be solved by one answer for all cases, since the circumstances may vary. Are inter-caste marriages good? They are; and yet they are not. The answers for all these questions will be easily found in each case, if we comprehend the fundamental principles of life and marriage. Any opinion breeds opposition. For, the tendency of the intellect is to contradict and resist every argument. It is best to leave people to solve things for themselves. Nevertheless, I shall state my views on some of the questions.

If two grown-up people entertain a strong desire to become man and wife, it will not be wise on the part of the parents to oppose it out of considerations as to property, family or custom. Do not stand in the way of true love. It will cause illness of body and mind for those who are dear to you. What indeed do parents wish? They desire the happiness of their children. All happiness is destroyed by opposing the promptings of love. The parents' duty is to point out to young people the evils and difficulties of the step they wish to take, to test the endurance and reality of their feelings, and to help and enlarge their understanding. Let those who pass all these trials and tests be left to do as they like. Parents need not imagine what in the nature of things is not possible, viz., that they are the permanent custodians of the happiness of their children.

The marriage of two persons of different castes who have known and understood one another and are genuinely drawn together by love, will be conducive to the progress of the nation. I have nothing to say against caste based on distinctions of occupation. Callings, trades and occupations which require training from early childhood tend to become castes and are not bad, but the existing caste distinctions are not all of

this kind, and it is very necessary that these false caste distinctions should be abolished. There are other classes that have arisen out of difference of creeds. But now, the differences of religious belief count for nothing and have quite disappeared, giving place to mere superficial differ-

ences such as dress, customs, and caste-marks on the forehead. Unnecessary distinctions and class prejudice and hatred alone remain. These can be done away with only by the removal of obstacles to inter-marriage. "He is a man of my community," this exclusive feeling must go. So long

as we do not get rid of this fondness for 'our caste,' there will be no salvation for our nation.

I do not say that community and custom are to be treated as if they were nothing. They are real things. We have been all moulded by the thoughts, language and outlook that are being

## Making a clean get-away, Mr. Motorist?

**Motorist:** A get-away? But I've got nothing to run away from!

**Us:** Oh? What about danger from dirt?

**Motorist:** What are you driving at?

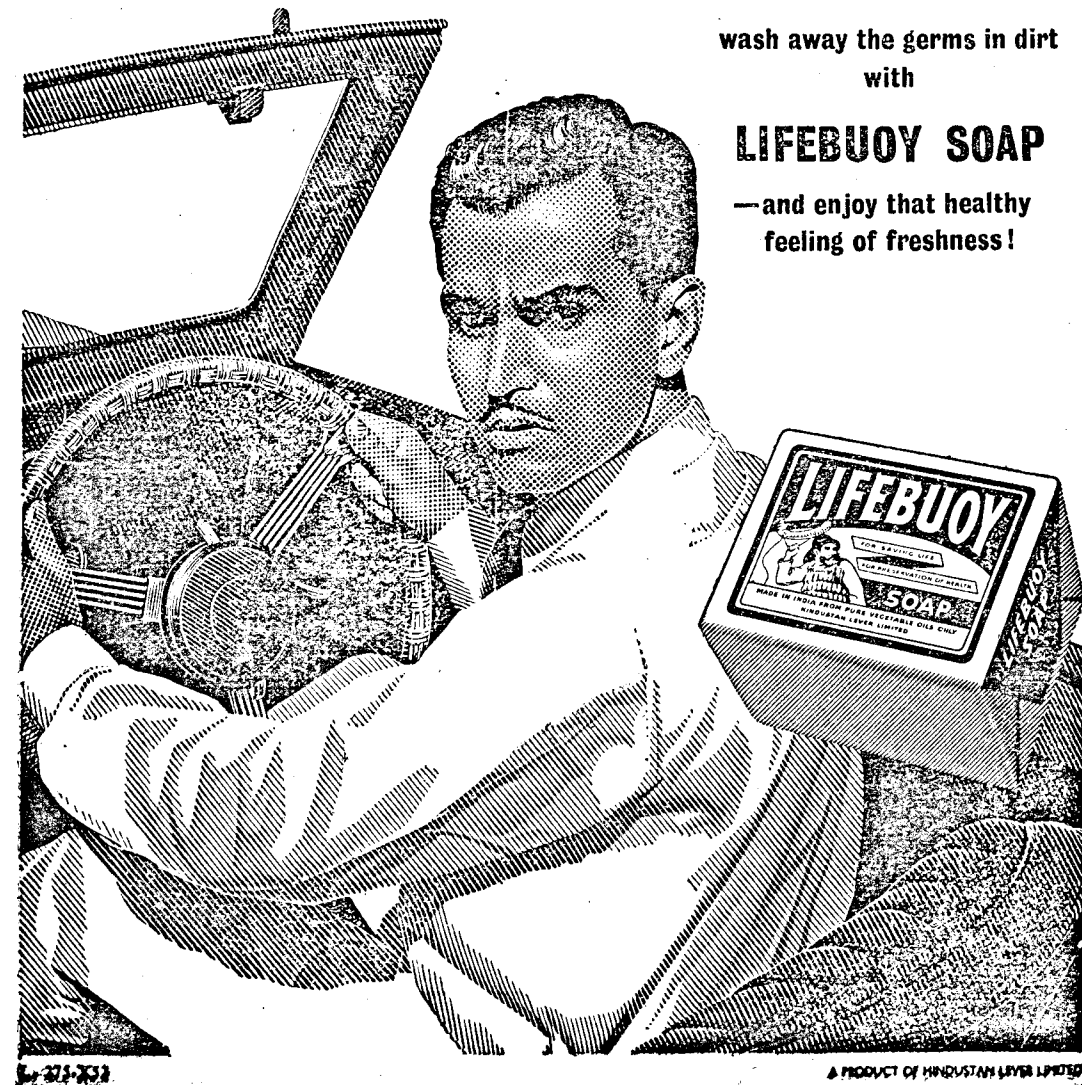
**Us:** Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know.

**Motorist:** But mine is the cleanest of cars!

**Us:** Yes, but even here there's ordinary, everyday dirt. You can't see it perhaps...but you can't get away from it anywhere!

**Motorist:** Hmm! I'd never have thought of that! What can I do about it?

**Us:** Easy! Bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...



A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LIFEBUOY LTD.

handed down from one generation to another, each of his own community. Let us not forget this in the fever occasioned by love. If we do we are apt to be disillusioned as soon as the fever subsides. After the passion stops and ceases to sustain us, we shall fall and break our heads. Does not the top roll down to the ground the moment it ceases to spin? Do not stray away too far out from family, religion, language and long-formed habits and customs. You will gain nothing

by such straying too far out, but probably go in for much unhappiness after the romance is over.

You should not be under the illusion that every momentary feeling or infatuation is true love. True love does not spring up all in a minute. The motion of the flesh is too often taken for that divine flame which is rightly glorified as Love in the story-book! Try to forget, suppress and divert your mind from it before you feel quite sure that the

motion of your mind is true love.

Love which does not meet with an equal response on the other side had best be forgotten or put aside in the locked closet of the mind. It is essential that two people entering into a marriage that is not sanctioned by custom should feel the urge of love with equal strength on both sides. Unless the two souls are fully absorbed in each other and become as one, no such unusual marriage is likely to be happy. Since it is hardly more than a fleeting fancy in 95 cases out of 100, it would be well to pause before taking the irrevocable step and listen to the counsel of our elders.

Whether it be an orthodox union or an inter-caste marriage, two people can scarcely lead a happy married life unless they know everything about one another. Otherwise, what seemed great beauty and charming intelligence at first may soon disappear, and the sensations of pleasure and joy felt intensely may all change afterwards. This has been the experience, alas, of many.

It is wrong to enter into a marriage imagining it as an act of national service or that by such a step you will reform society. Matrimony essentially concerns the parties themselves. Nothing is so vain as to believe that you will be doing a service to society by your marriage, and for that reason marry anybody.

I think for our people the proper age for marriage is for men between the age of 22 and 30, and between 18 and 25 for the girls. We need not try to imitate other countries in regard to the age for marriage. At the ages stated above, boys and girls of our country will be old enough to think for themselves, and at the same time young enough to pay heed to the wise advice of the parents. To marry a girl before she is 18 will permanently shatter her body, mind and health. We should not sacrifice our children at the altar of mere foolish custom, thinking it is the law of God.

(Continued on Page 2)



...as subtle  
and hard  
to define  
as woman herself!

A beautifully-smooth, clear complexion—with a subtle, clean and sweet sandal perfume thrown in for good measure—can be yours for the asking! But you must ask for **METTUR SANDAL SOAP**.

*METTUR SANDAL is a bewitching blend of sandal perfume and what it takes to make a truly mild, delightfully fragrant soap!*



**THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL CORPN. LTD.**  
Mettur Dam R. S. Salem Dt.  
Managing Agents: **SESHASAYEE BROS. PRIVATE LIMITED**

MC-321

## LABOUR'S CHALLENGE TO THE CONSUMER

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

The race for leftism has been most fierce in the trade union world. The labour world is known by its nature to be leftist in persuasion. But there are distinct shades of (a) the left, (b) the lefter than the left, and (c) the leftest of them all. There has been much mutual stealing of the thunder as among the groups, in this colourful competition in making promises and in out-promising the rival out of leadership. Is it any wonder that the leader who makes the most cautious of promises—despite such promises being most likely to be realised—has to roll his carpet because he has lost his following?

Trade unionism in India has attracted several persons of the highest mental calibre. That men of such intellectual stature and discernment should have chosen to mount the trade union soap box and make extravagant promises to workers in industry, which they are aware are incapable of fulfilment, used to be among the unsolved riddles of our public life. But they are no longer unsolved. We have been told all about the auctions of union manifestoes and how unions that make the most alluring promises find the largest numbers rallying round their flag. Surely we are not to expect that these persons of more than ordinary intellectual attainment and competence, that have burnt their boats and chosen a career, the primary attraction of which is power and sway over large bodies of men, to be poor students of psychology and like the Liberals in Indian politics, allow the great catastrophe to overtake them, namely that of sinking into inconsequence? The first thing therefore to realise is that this terrific leftist race is on and you cannot, like the Ancient Mariner, detain the union leaders with your sagacious counsels of realism, consumer interests and Five Year Plans. You will have to discuss labour problems without them,

even if it looks like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark; which is what I propose to do presently.

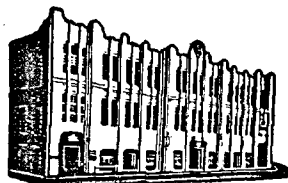
Organised industries employ less than four million people in India and it is a small fraction of even the adult, able-bodied population of our total 390 millions today. Trade unionism has quite probably improved the lot of a vast majority of these four million workers. However it is for the Government and the public now to consider to what extent trade union extremism has prevented the growth of employment in India and in particular in areas where the incredible pressure of population on land has rendered the need for employment most paramount. We have not far to go, with Kerala in our neighbourhood. A number of industries, including an oil refinery, which would, by reason of other advantages as to transport, electric power, raw material or proximate shipping facilities, have been located in Kerala, have quietly shifted their location to other States, after seeing the pressures to which industries already situate in Kerala are subject. Curiously in the last 12 years of independence, no industry of reportable size has been established in Kerala. Kerala could not have dreamt that independence meant independence of new industries and entrepreneur effort. These have not all been years of Communist rule—for 11 of these 12 years have presented a kaleidoscopic pattern of Congress, Socialist and Presidential administration. In fact the most serious effort to attract a major industry has been made by the Nambudiripad Ministry, in that they have invited one of India's leading industrialists to establish a pulp plant there. It is usual for entrepreneurs to knock at Government's door for permission and facilities to establish an industry. Now the roles have been reversed and this melancholy topsy-turvydom must be ascribed to frenzied trade union activity in

Kerala. This has driven capital and enterprise to climates more congenial—thereby depriving Kerala of opportunities for employment of manpower that has always shown a capacity for quick mastery of technical skills. Trade union leaders may ignore the larger economic consequences of their action, because of their absorption with the problems of their flock. Don't they owe a duty to expand employment opportunities? If they feel they do, they must display robust moral earnestness in creating the climate for industrial expansion, which means a sense of basic security, reasonable chance of undisturbed working and a willingness to tell the working man that his prosperity can stem only from the prosperity of the industry; that prosperity means high productivity and that purposeful man-hours put in, lead to high productivity. Otherwise we shall only have a repetition of the Punch cartoon wherein Clement Attlee after his installation as Prime Minister of Britain, confronts a Trade Union Congress leader who asks him "You promised us more wages for less work. We for our part have put in less work. What about more wages?"

We have in India a vast population of completely unemployed people and a vaster population of under-employed in our agriculture. The unemployed are a burden on the employed. The agriculturist by and large gets a meagre income, often uncertain and mostly inelastic in comparison with price levels of commodities he has to buy for bare subsistence. The rewards of agriculture have no relation in industrial wages, which are much higher in comparison. The situation of any industry in a rural area—undoubtedly a desirable thing from the point of view of decentralisation or health—places on the rural scene an island of prosperity and high wages. In due course this high wage group exercises an inflationary pressure on surrounding bazaars by its higher purchasing power, to the dismay of the surrounding agricultural population. It is amazing how few are really required to bring



## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                   |              |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                             | 1,00,00,000  |
| Paid-up Capital "                                 | 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) " | 99,50,360    |
| Deposits "                                        | 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTION.

London Agents :

WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

about a rise in prices. A high-wage population of 300 or 400 can exert an inflationary pressure on commodity prices, rents and service charges that can affect a 20,000 population in the surrounding area. In areas of industrial concentration like Ahmedabad, Coimbatore and Bangalore, the white-collar and professional classes, whose earnings have no means of being appropriately related to cost of living, bear the cross with wonted forbearance, while the agriculturists — particularly those engaged in food grain production (a most essential thing for a food-short country)—feel the pinch of inflation badly.

The remedy for this situation is greater and speedier industrialisation on the one hand and improved agriculture on the other.

The principle of the 'closed shop' in labour management agreements, which prevents employment of new persons except at the lowest rung of the ladder, in a country where there is wide disparity in numbers employed and wages paid as between industry and agriculture, is causing great hardship. Trade union technique has evolved a new type of vested interest—the vested interest of those already employed and who by sustained agitation have obtained attractive wages, bonuses and benefits and who at any cost are intent on preventing the management from employing alternative workers for securing the advantage of lower wages to bring down costs and consumer prices.

The consumer is the forgotten man of the trade union world—except to the extent to which the industrial worker has to point to his own high living costs in demanding a higher wage. The consumer in India is a person whose basic stoicism helps him to estimate better what he can do without, rather than what a particular thing costs. He has waited for the golden age of low prices—wearily and now as he sees it, in vain. The producer, often a public company, gives the costs in the published accounts and year by year we see raw materials and wages keep going up. The consumer has no doubt been made

malleable in the fiery furnace of inflation over these 15 years, but even he finds his capacity to buy exhausted.

This is today happening in the textile industry. Stocks have accumulated because prices have gone beyond the consumer's reach and nobody abroad wants to buy these varieties. Wages in the textile industry have alongside of raw material prices, been steeply rising and these have priced cloth out of even domestic markets. Thirty odd textile mills are closed all over India and Government's experiments with the running of random samples among them, have been expensive and unhappy. The trade union leaders had to deal with the managerial class heretofore. These latter created optical illusions of unlimited resources in the industries under their control, by the feudal pomp and crude ostentation of their ways of life. But trade union leadership will have to deal with the consumer in the future, who by mere abstention from buying what he can reasonably do without, can create deadlocks. The consumer was at all times the twice exploited : once by the producer and a second time by the industrial worker. The closure of some textile mills shows that a section of the producer class has thrown up its hands in helplessness and abdicated ; while labour is clamouring for the re-opening of mills which are proved to be uneconomic units. The consumer is the person who pays all the bills, not omitting excises and sales taxes, and the resources of this paymaster general—presently not too affluent—will determine the future of wage levels. The immediate duty of the far-sighted trade union leaders of India is to realise that while they may succeed by hard bargaining and threats of strike in bettering the wages and benefits of workers in individual industries for a time, the prosperity of a small number of industrial workers in the midst of a vast agricultural population dragging its legs at subsistence levels and endowed with feeble purchasing power will be very short-lived indeed. The labour leaders will have to fashion

## STRENGTHENING TIES OF SCHOOLS WITH LIFE

### KHRUSHCHEV'S PROPOSALS

The following are excerpts from a note by Khrushchev, approved by the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, containing proposals for further developing the system of public education in the country :

The chief and root defect of our secondary and higher schools is the fact that they are divorced from life. For this shortcoming the workers of public education and of the higher schools have been criticised time and again, but the situation, to all intents and purposes, practically does not change.

Our general education schools suffer from the fact that we have taken over very much from the pre-revolutionary gymnasiums whose purpose it was to give their graduates a certain amount of abstract knowledge sufficient for receiving a matriculation certificate. At that time the State and the schools were not interested in the further destinies of the graduates.

What does a secondary school pursue when it trains a person for a matriculation certificate ? It is to impart a certain amount of academic knowledge not connected with production.

We strive to have our entire youth, millions of boys and girls, go through the 10-year secondary school.

Naturally enough, they cannot all be absorbed by the colleges and secondary specialised schools. It would, therefore, be absurd to pose the task that all our lads and girls who have received a secondary education must enter college.

Our 10-year schools, however, at present are not accomplishing the task of training the youth for life, and are only training it for entering college. Among the youth who finish secondary

their notions of what an industry will bear, not by reference to the marbled reception rooms of managing agents' residences, but on the resources of the small consumer in his humble cottage.

school, as well as in the families and among the pedagogical personnel of the schools, there is a tenacious view that that is precisely the way it should be, that our secondary schools are designed to train people only in order to ensure enrolment for the colleges, in order that these people should then receive a higher education.

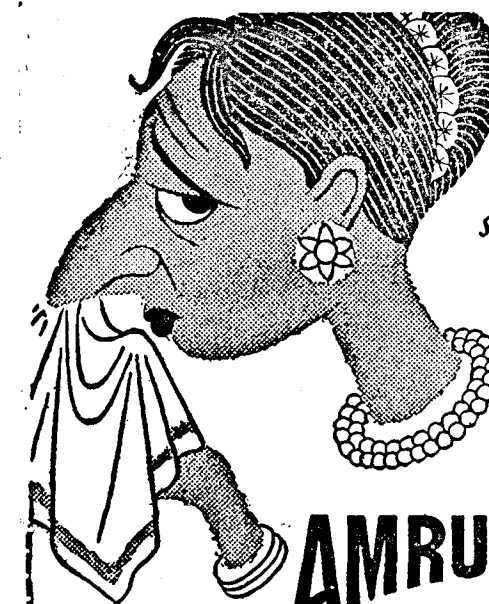
Life has long proved this conception of the task of the secondary schools to be wrong. Even formerly a considerable number of boys and girls did not enter college upon finishing secondary school. And in recent years, in view of the growing number of 10-year-school graduates, a smaller section of boys and girls enter college. The greater part of them, upon finishing secondary school and receiving a matriculation certificate, turn out

to be unprepared for life and do not know where to go.

Owing to the fact that the secondary-school curriculum is divorced from life, these boys and girls have absolutely no knowledge of production. And society does not know how best to utilise these young and vigorous people. Hence, a considerable section of the youth and parents are dissatisfied with such a state of affairs. And this process far from relaxing is intensifying with time. I think that this situation should evoke in us grave anxiety.

Obviously, in training and bringing up children in the schools, they should already from the first form be psychologically prepared for the fact that in the future they will have to take part in socially-useful activity, in labour, in creating values necessary for the development of the Socialist State. Physical labour still essentially differs from mental labour with us.

And from what we have inherited from the old regime there still remains a situation in which preference is given to a certain section of the youth that must as it were, absolutely be enrolled at higher educational establishments



First to  
fight colds  
since 1893

Three generations of  
users have proved that  
Amrutanjan brings  
quick, comforting  
relief from colds.

# AMRUTANJAN

AMRUTANJAN LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
and Calcutta-7.



## Books By

Sir John Woodroffe  
(Arthur Avalon)

|                                                                                                                                              |       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| INTRODUCTION TO TANTRA SHASTRA (A key to Tantrik literature) 3rd Edn. (1956) ..                                                              | Rs. 5 |
| THE GREAT LIBERATION (Mahavirvana Tantra) 3rd Edn. (1953) Cloth Bound ..                                                                     | 20    |
| GARLAND OF LETTERS (VARNAMALA) (Studies in Mantra Shashtra) 3rd Edn. (1955) Cloth Bound. With an Introduction by Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan .. | 15    |
| HYMNS TO THE GODDESS (From Tantras & Stotras of Sankaracharya) 2nd Edn. (1953) ..                                                            | 6     |
| TANTRARAJA TANTRA — A SHORT ANALYSIS with a Preface by Yogi Shuddhananda Bharati ..                                                          | 6     |
| THE WORLD AS POWER (Reality, Life, Mind, Matter, Causality and Continuity) 2nd Edn. (1957) Over 400 pp. Cloth Bound ..                       | 15    |
| MAHAMAYA (The World As Power: Consciousness) 2nd Edn. (1954) Cloth Bound ..                                                                  | 10    |

**GANESH & CO.**  
**(MADRAS) PRIVATE LTD.**  
**MADRAS-17**

**The Andhra Bank, Limited**  
(Established 1923)

Head Office:  
**MASULIPATAM**

|                              |                  |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Paid-up Capital and Reserves | Rs. 58,97,300    |
| Deposits exceed              | Rs. 11,00,00,000 |
| Total working funds exceed   | Rs. 13,00,00,000 |

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
ANDHRA PRADESH, MADRAS AND AT  
BELLARY

London Agents:

M/s. BARCLAYS BANK LTD.,  
Chief Foreign Branch,  
LONDON E.C.3.

**THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK**  
OF NEW YORK,  
117, Old Broad Street,  
LONDON E.C.2.

All kinds of banking business  
including foreign exchange transacted

S. N. SARMA,  
General Manager.

T. R. BHAGAVAT, B.A., B.L.,  
Joint General Manager.

and not to go to work at factories or collective farms. As for the remainder, they "have not made the grade" and "have shown no abilities". And it is they who must go to work. This is radically wrong and runs counter to our doctrine and our aspirations.

As a rule, boys and girls who have finished secondary school consider that the only acceptable path in life for them is to continue their education at a higher or, at least, secondary specialised school. A number of 10-year-school graduates reluctantly go to work at factories, mills, collective farms, State farms, and some of them even consider this to be below their dignity.

This lordly, scornful, wrong attitude toward physical labour is to be found also in some families. If a boy or a girl does not study well, the parents and the people around them frighten the child by saying that if he does not study well, fails to get a gold or silver medal, he will not be able to get into college and will have to work at a factory as a common labourer. Physical labour is represented as something to scare children with, let alone the fact that such views are insulting to the working people of Socialist society.

Such a fallacious situation, when in our society people are brought up with no respect for physical labour, divorced from life, can no longer be tolerated. It must be constantly inculcated in the youth that the chief thing for society is that by which society lives, i.e., productive labour, because only it creates material values. Work is a vital necessity for every Soviet man.

It will be noted that the practice, which prevailed until recently, of providing college-entry privileges for persons who finished school with a gold or silver medal, had aggravated the situation still further: some parents who wanted their children to get medals brought great pressure to bear upon teachers. Great influence of the parents also plays a part here.

The system of upbringing our growing generation in the schools

must be decidedly reconstructed.

Any work at a factory, a collective farm, an industrial establishment, a State farm, a machine and tractor station, a repair technical service station, or in an office—any honest useful work for society is sacred work and necessary for every person who lives and enjoys the benefits of society. Every person living in Communist society must contribute his work to the construction and further development of this society. The chief task of our schools must become that of preparing our growing generation for life, for useful work, inculcating in our youth a deep respect for the principles of Socialist society.

The schools must train all-round educated people who know the fundamentals of science and are at the same time able to do systematic physical labour; they must instil in the youth a desire to be useful to society, to take an active part in the production of values society needs.

I think all pupils, without exception, should be drawn in to socially-gainful labour at industrial establishments, collective farms, etc., after they finish 7 or 8 forms. Both in city, village and factory community all school graduates should be placed in production and no one should skip that. In the second place, this will be a wonderful school for fostering all the youth in the spirit of the heroic traditions of the working class and collective farm peasantry.

Thus, the only possible and indispensable condition for overcoming the drawbacks of our school should be to have all boys and girls prepared, while at school, for participation in manual labour at factories, plants and collective and State farms, in any labour gainful for society.

In the 8-year school, the first stage of secondary education, attention must be concentrated on instruction in the fundamentals of knowledge, on poly-technical training and the teaching of labour habits, and on the education of Communist ethics, the physical development of the children and imbuing them with a good aesthetic taste. But,

withal, we cannot have the school children over-burdened to an extent that would be harmful to their health.

Due to specific everyday conditions the woman has many other obligations which are, moreover, quite inevitable. This is to know how to nurse a child, keep house and do some amount of cooking. In the future public dining will be still wider. But, apparently, even in this field the woman's labour will be prevalent. Therefore, while at school the girls must be taught cooking, dress-making, needle-work and other female occupations. This must all be provided for in school curricula.

In the towns, industrial centres and factory communities, after 7 or 8 years of study, the children will, perhaps, have to enter schools of the factory and trade school model. They will go on with their studies, but this must be most closely linked with vocational training and help the pupils acquire production knowledge and labour knacks; that is not only an abstract knowledge of production but also the know-how.

In rural localities after 7 or 8 years at school, the pupils should either receive practical and theoretical knowledge in agronomy, zoo-technics and other branches of agriculture or be taught a trade for 2 or 3 years, as in the countryside too the youth can learn definite types of trades.

Thus, upon the completion of school the boys and girls will have both the appropriate education and the knacks of a trade and will enter upon life well-equipped.

We could also do this: to complete the first stage of the secondary schooling of the youth with the 8-year course, so that after finishing it all the boys and girls take up a job in production. If we organise the general school that way we shall be faced with the task of annually placing in employment in the immediate future from between two to three and a half million adolescents, of whom roughly 40 per cent will be in town and the rest in the country.

The adolescents will be given employment where they live.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## HYMN OF HATE

Sir,—Mr. Rachaiiah, a Harijan member of the Mysore Cabinet which is already in the doldrums has been broadcasting a hymn of hate against other classes whenever and wherever he could. In his speeches at Hospet and Kamalapur during his visit there this month he plainly urged Harijans to take the law into their own hands and create a casteless society—casteless but for their own caste obviously. When advice was sought by Harijans on their day-to-day problems he is alleged to have retorted "Why do you come to me for advice? The Lingayats didn't exist when we were

The new system of public education must provide appropriate secondary schools for particularly gifted children who clearly show at an early age an obvious bent for mathematics, music, and the arts. These schools should be an exception and in them these children should receive the kind of secondary education required for further study at the appropriate kind of higher school. We need this to enable our State properly develop and use the talents born in the midst of the people.

One may object to this that now, too, there is production practice at our colleges. Indeed, there is, but it is very poorly organised. Production practice should be pursued more deeply, not as it is done now. Today, students doing work practice spend more time loitering around the factory—one works while ten or fifteen of his comrades only look on, themselves afraid to come near the machine. And the managers of enterprises, too, little trust the practising students, because they have no qualifications, and if they be given an operating machine, there would be a waste in productive capacities and productive possibilities. The enterprises do not like such practising students.

We must re-shape the system of higher education, draw it closer to production, and link it up with production properly.

at the helm of affairs. Remember the episode of King Harischandra. Are we not his reversionaries?"

This man was representing a vast chunk of our fellow countrymen in the Parliament from Mysore constituency previously. If Mysore had the honour of sending such a person to Parliament, no wonder Swami Vivekananda prophetically wrote that rule by the ignorant of the country is as inevitable as night follows day.

The local Congress minions and the Press did not have a word of protest against the unbridled speeches of this man. At the moment they are very busy with their pediatrics (pada yatras).

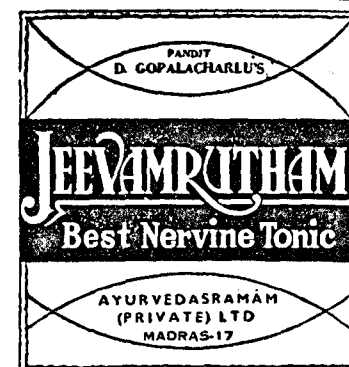
T. LAKSHMINARAYANA ACHAR  
Tungabhadra Dam.

## PLAYS

|                                                               |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                               | Rs. nP. |
| Restless Heart: A play by Jean Anouilh ..                     | 8 56    |
| Dinner with the Family: A play by Jean Anouilh ..             | 8 56    |
| I am a Camera: A play in 3 acts by John Van Druten ..         | 6 12    |
| Six Characters in Search of an Author: By Luigi Pirandello .. | 4 06    |
| The Rose Tattoo: A play by Tennessee Williams ..              | 8 56    |
| Caligula and Cross Purpose: Two plays by Albert Camus ..      | 8 56    |
| Four Short Plays by Anton Tchekoff ..                         | 2 94    |
| Lyrics and Dramas by Stephen Phillips ..                      | 3 69    |

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4



# Hercules is more than a cycle... it's a lifetime companion

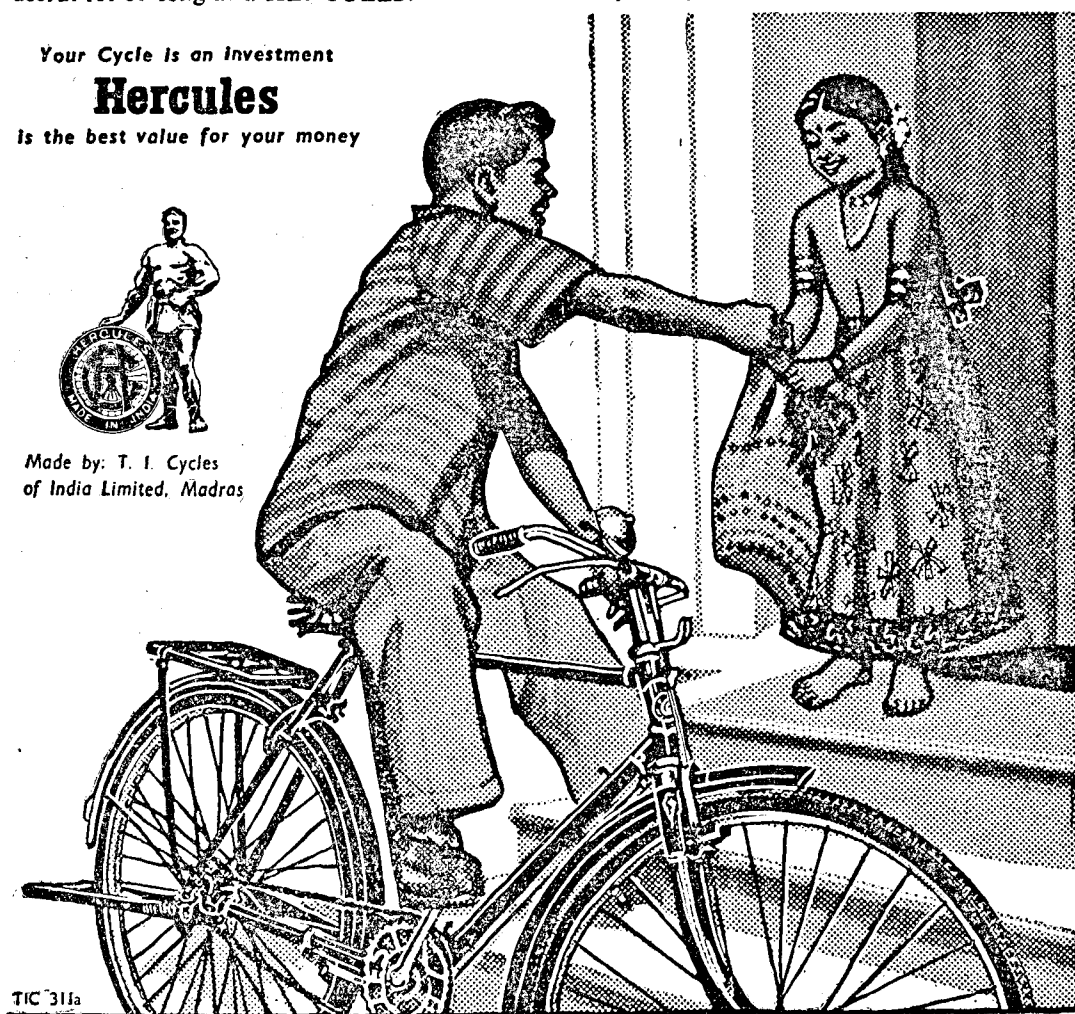
A HERCULES belongs to the family even though not everyone may ride it. "Shall I bring the medicine for granny?" "Daddy must be tired, shall I bring vegetables from the market?" There are always volunteers ready to run errands where there's a HERCULES. Few things in life are so useful for so long as a HERCULES.

Backed by the experience of people who have made top quality cycles for nearly 50 years the sturdy HERCULES is precision-built in T. I. Cycles' ultra modern factory. Its streamlined beauty, smooth effortless drive make it the finest cycle you can buy today.

Your Cycle is an Investment  
**Hercules**  
Is the best value for your money



Made by: T. I. Cycles  
of India Limited, Madras



TIC 311a

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

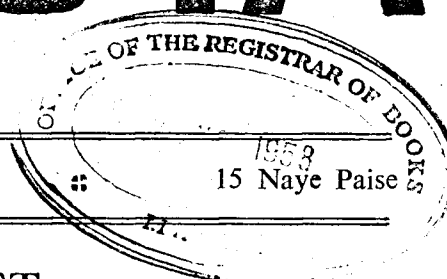
# SWARAJYA

783

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 17

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 1, 1958



## THE HYDERABAD MEET

Food and character are the roots of this nation's happiness and progress, and have to be tackled by any leader or organization that seeks to put things right. Reading the resolution that has been passed by the supreme body of the ruling party that has met at Hyderabad, one is sadly disappointed at the purely hortatory approach to the subject of food and the absence of even a recognition of the fact that national character has been grievously undermined by the onset of individualist careerism, greed and dishonesty. It may not be pleasant to the leaders of the Congress party to hear words of reproach, but the ostrich that dips its head in the sand does not thereby avoid the pursuer.

The loss of interest in farming, the general apathy in agricultural occupations, is a recent phenomenon. Urban house sites go up in price but agricultural land has gone down in value. Why? Not any cause that can be removed by exhortations from popular leaders that know little if not nothing of the occupation of looking after the cultivation of land. The psychology of the farmer-owners has been disastrously attacked by the legislative and executive policies of recent times. The relationship between the transitory interest of tenants admitted to possession and the man who has paid money and obtained the ownership of the land has been converted from peace and harmony and co-operation to

war and mutual obstruction. Anything that requires human care and attention must suffer and deteriorate if the persons who are its trustees look upon one another as enemies and fail to co-operate. The laws and policies that have produced this result must be abrogated if any improvement is sought to be achieved.

The size of holdings must be prevented from decreasing by inheritance and other causes, and if possible must be increased to reach an average economic dimension. Nothing has been done or attempted to this end but an egalitarian cry of reducing the size of the large holdings is kept up to please the electorate. This is sound without sense, and futile even if effectuated by expropriatory legislation, if the aim is not mere satisfaction of jealousy but the increase of food production. The way of envy is not the way of welfare. A constructive plan is what is called for, to provide for the enlargement of economic small holding without destroying confidence in legislative justice which is the bedrock of democracy. This is nowhere in view in all the hortatory plethora of words that issued from Hyderabad.

The A.I.C.C. has decided at Hyderabad that the output of food crops should be increased by a hundred per cent by the end of the Third Plan period, i.e., in about seven years, from now. This wishful gallop raises two issues

of importance. Firstly, it discloses an unsomber flight from reality in the councils of the mighty. Secondly, it displays a desperation which is likely to lead to the introduction of get-food-quick schemes that will ultimately do more harm than good. The country has to be saved from its disease as well as from its physicians.

Let us look at the immediate past. In 1951 the yield of food grains was 54 million tons. This was after a five-year grow more food effort. During the next five years, when the plan operated, there was a "snakes and ladders" movement, the yield varying from an actual decrease in 1952 to increases that ranged between 14% in 1954 to 7% in 1957. The Ashok Mehta committee reported at the end of 1957 that a revised target of about 20% increase which had been fixed for the Second Plan was not likely to be achieved and that most of the State Governments had told them that they expected to achieve about 60% of the targets. The 1958 yields are still more depressing. And all this on the assumption that the figures are accurate.

It is now generally agreed that the scope for bringing new lands under cultivation is limited. About 18 million acres, out of a total cultivated area of about 260 million acres, are alone under any form of irrigation. Indian yields are admittedly low, but they have been stabilised at a low level for



several centuries, as any agriculturist who has to live by the land knows.

The scope for increasing the area which is protected by water supply is limited to the Indo-Gangetic valley and the riverine deltas; elsewhere, the water available is scanty, it is also dependent on the incidence of local rainfall, which is another way of saying that the land is dependent on rain though one step removed, and what is more relevant, the deep clayey soils of the interior of India are unsuited for intensive irrigation, which only raises the toxic (sleeping dog) salts to the surface by increasing the depth of capillary action. We are thus confronted with an area which is already served by good irrigation, and another in which the scope for extension is not absent but limited. The exuberance of the engineers in trying to convert the Deccan into a Delta has done considerable harm in the past. In all such areas a long term project for moisture conservation in the soil and a semi-intensive kind of agriculture which takes into account the monsoon but which supplements the rain with an insurance kind of irrigation has to be planned. It will be wise to restrict the irrigation schemes to lands which are basically alluvial.

We have to look to a better agriculture and a greater zest in farming for our increases. The former is a matter of seed, manure, water and tillage. There is a craze for dumping as much chemical manure as possible on to the land. A weak patient has to be nourished slowly. Land which has been yielding at subsistence levels for many centuries cannot respond to an intensive commercial economy of heavy input and heavy output except by a general building up of its several constituents. This is a matter of individual examination of each land and a gradual increase of the many minute trace elements like iodine and boron in respect of which a great deal of research is being done in other countries.

Better tillage is a matter of incentive. With the threat of ex-

## BRIBING WITH RESERVATIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There seems to be a notion that if a percentage or other such provision be made to reserve places for South Indian candidates in the Central Government departments, the language issue could be solved in favour of Hindi without objection from non-Hindi people. This is as much an illusion as many another illusion about the workability of the administration through the proposed new medium. It is unworthy and fundamentally wrong to ascribe the objection to the new medium as stemming out of job-hunger. No South Indian would plead guilty by accepting such reservations as are offered as compensation for the wrong proposed to be inflicted. No South Indian official would be able to hold his post in an office which works through compulsory or optional Hindi even if he gets the job by means of such reservation. He would very soon have to resign and return home if he does not shed all sense of shame, decency and con-

science and expropriation hanging over their heads, and the encouragement to lawlessness that is being winked at by many State Governments in a purblind attempt not to alienate the worker votes, the bigger and even the middle landlords have stopped taking any interest in the land. The tenants and the small men have become accustomed to something being done for them all the time. They have become the "Gimme boys" of the economy. In any event, they are in no position to carry out an intensive kind of agriculture.

It therefore looks as if we are in for another period of angry frustration, unless the realities of the situation are well understood by the Government and the people. If there is a return to reality, then there is a chance of the country achieving a slow progress; otherwise it will pant behind the plan and get exhausted in the race for quick and impossibly grandiose goals.

scientious performance of duties.

The idea of running administration in Hindi and/or English is equally illusory. It would result in un-co-ordination and indiscipline. What else can result if I were a matter of option for clerks and officials in a single office to choose their own favourite medium and leave their superiors to deal with it as well as they can? It would lead surely on the one hand to ignorance pretending to carry on, and on the other, to baiting the non-Hindi workers and officers and on the whole to a condition of affairs that must end in the breakdown of the administration.

It is hoped that those who have so far patriotically resisted the change-over to Hindi will not be bamboozled by the bribe of a reservation of posts which is as insulting as it is unworkable and opposed to the fundamental principles of proper recruitment on the basis of the public interest.

## Pius XII

The man who died in Rome on October 7 outlived contemporaries who, for a violent season, ruled temporal kingdoms in Europe. Hitler and Mussolini lie in crumpled ruin, and waxy Stalin, grotesque in death, is rent and jabbed by once-pious accomplices.

But the frail knight of the church stayed on, almost, in this, a symbol of the survival of good over evil; he is the last to go. Praise for Pius XII now is not the purchased clatter of party hacks or office-bearers; others than those of his faith and religious household speak well of him.

He stood for light, not always a pure, speckless light, but nevertheless light, rather than darkness, and this is what men and nations of Europe, Asia and the world remember now.

JOHN E. FRAZER



## Sotto Voce

### Calculated Explosions

It was the recognised privilege of favourite queens in the old days to enter the "krodhaagaara", the chamber specially reserved in the Palace for occupation when they were in a temper. Sometimes the fit of temper was induced on purpose. In Hyderabad the Prime Minister was seen frequently darting in and out of his "angry room". He fell foul of the Press for frivolity over Pakistan. He trounced the Opposition parties for creating alarm and despondency by belittling the country and its achievements in the eyes of the world. He ridiculed people who went abroad for training in social service while India offered unlimited scope for it. And unkindly cut of all, he told the economists roundly that they had better pitch their European textbooks into the sea.

But he was studiously calm and collected when he abjured the "Siamese twins" State of Bombay to remember that what the only God recognised by our secular state, to wit, our sovereign Parliament, had joined, man may not put asunder. He had been reminded that he had been making certain statements which seem to have given comfort to the Maharashtrians (the bad boys). He pointed out that if he had said there was no finality about these things that was only a truism. But the decision for a united Bombay had been taken by Parliament at the instance of the Opposition parties. And though, of course, he himself had approved of the decision as a correct one, he had not constrained Congressmen to toe the party line.

That a series of by-elections had gone against the Congress in Bombay was not a consideration that could weigh him down—

especially as the General Election is still a far way off—when he was mounted on the Pegasus of principle. But if the Opposition parties are to be held responsible for proposing a united Bombay, the fact that they have reconsidered their views is one that should merit equal consideration; unless the Congress alone has the right to change its mind. If Parliament ever took a snap decision, the eleventh hour decision for a united Bombay was that. And if the Congress could take the initiative in persuading Parliament to go back on its decisions even in regard to the Fundamental Law of the land, why this squeamishness on the Prime Minister's part about asking it to undo a political blunder which might turn into an administrative disaster?

Let us go back to his grouse about the Opposition for allegedly belittling the country. The friends of democracy will note with interest the logic that led him to declare that criticising the Congress was the same thing as criticising the Government and that again the same as criticising the country. Whom was he really thinking of? If he had the Communists in mind, surely, their attitude should not be a matter for surprise at this time of day, in any case they have always said that they wanted more of the Plan, not less. The inference is inescapable that Mr. Nehru does not like to be reminded as he has been by many sections of independent opinion that but for the timely help given by a number of foreign Powers the country might have landed on the rocks. But is that not true?

Mr. Balwant Rai Mehta indicted the Kerala Government for "its tirades against the Prime Minister and his distinguished colleagues". Dutifully echoing Mr. Nehru he suggested that this

amounted to an unpardonable attack on "the Constitution, the Government formed under the Constitution and the security of India". The other charges brought against the Communists in Kerala—of using the police for partisan ends and strengthening their party by misusing state power—can, and have all been made with at least equal fairness against Congress administrations. If it is wrong of the Kerala Government to put people in a state of fear and uncertainty, would it become right when the Congress does the same thing in the name of the socialistic pattern which Mr. Nehru fished out for the nonce from its cupboard?

Perhaps it was an obscure resentment against the private sector that prompted his dark saying that the public and private sectors were not branches of the same tree but were based on different philosophies. The philosophy of private enterprise is, as we know, one with which he himself is not in sympathy. The sin of the private sector seems to have been aggravated by the fact that it has won against odds under the current Plan. What is worse, our creditors have made it clear that they would like to see more of it and less of our amateurish State Socialism, and our Government have found it prudent not to talk of repudiating any "aid with ideological strings". The reference to the socialistic pattern may also have been a reply to Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan. If Mr. Nehru did not accept his invitation to step down from the Badshahi and commence padayatra, he was, J.P. must know, no less faithful to Socialism in his own fashion.

VIGNESWARA

## SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14

PHONE: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50,

Half-year: Rs. 4.00.

## BORROW LIKE A HERO

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In his address to world-bankers the Prime Minister confessed himself as an amateur before specialists but this is an age where experts have become self-critical and alarmingly diffident. Einstein who discovered that matter and energy were mutually convertible and foreshadowed the Nuclear Era remarked in his declining years how he would love to be a plumber instead of a revolutionary scientist formulating that  $M \times E$  equation. Those who know little about finance are not afraid of its mystique. For a brief period Jawaharlalji functioned as Finance Minister. He acted as Defence Minister; but it is an open secret that in Cabinet reshuffles, our Defence Minister Krishna Menon was game for the Finance Portfolio and I am sure he could have filled the role with distinction, say by restoring the salt-tax and reducing military expenditure. The Inchcape Commission had laid down Rs. 50 crores as a reasonable maximum, but Krishna Menon's defence-budget is on a flight of three-hundred crores with insatiable demands for Hurricanes and Canniberras.

Lord Randolph Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer swore at the array of decimals de-

nouncing them as "damned dots". His distinguished son too in a Tory turn of political fortunes served as Chancellor of the Exchequer: for that matter, Sir Winston Churchill shone as first Lord of the Admiralty and created a scare amongst old navigators like Lord Fisher with the proposal that Persian Oil should be accepted fuel in place of Nelsonian Coal. "He can't tell a dreadnought from a doughnut at this time of life."

I was delighted when I read the following news-item from New Delhi when the financial pandits met and listened to the Prime Minister's warning about the "mental ferment" in Asia, more particularly because of the bare announcement:

*The World Bank today (October 6) reported that in the year ended June 30, 1958, it had set new standards in its lending and borrowing operations;*

*The 34 loans made during the year amounted to the equivalent of 711 million dollars and the funds raised to other investors amounted to 650 million dollars.*

Except for a shortage of 61 million dollars there is no imbalance in the equation. Next news item:

### INDIA GETS MAXIMUM AID

NEW DELHI, Oct. 6.

India tops the list of the World Bank borrowers both in terms of the total amount and the number of loans granted during the year ending June 30, 1958. She received seven loans aggregating 165.5 million dollars.

Japan with 77 million dollars and Italy with 75 million dollars take the second and the third position in the list.

This is revealed in the annual report of the World Bank which states that India received 165.5 million dollars (Rs. 82 crores) for the development of her railways (4 loans: Rs. 45 crores), ports (2 loans: Rs. 21 crores) and steel industry (1 loan: Rs. 16 crores).

During the year the bank made 14 loans for an aggregate of 711 million dollars (Rs. 355 crores) out of which more than half was lent in Asia.

For the Caption, the Story is good, but we have to maintain the position of Borrower vs. Creditor.

Old Polonius did not sufficiently sympathise with Hamlet and Ophelia, but there was fundamental wisdom in his warning to the Student-Prince he sent, Lear, to Paris with the counsel: "Neither a borrower nor a lender be."

We have gained Maximum Aid,  
For which relief  
Much thanks.

And then, Uncle,  
there you are!

## AMERICA'S CHINA POLICY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The condemnation of American policy in regard to China is fairly universal. But it is specially refreshing to read the frank criticism and censure by enlightened American public men of their own government. Their language is unambiguous and marked by the forthrightness of American style.

The criticism is not only of the Quemoy strategy but of the whole of the China policy. It was least expected but it has happened that Dulles has returned from Formosa with the conviction that Quemoy must be defended against China. It seems as if Dulles is one of the scourges of God sent to confound human arrogance and bring it to its destiny.

It should not be difficult for the most foolish among wishful thinkers to give up the hope that Chiang Kai-Shek will ever reconquer the Chinese people and hold China. Not only is he not the type that could achieve such a conquest of hearts, but there is not the least chance for such a miracle in the external conditions that govern the course of history.

Can the Chinese people be divided into two nations on the basis of two-isms or on the basis of two foreign policies? Nothing can be more illusory than such a hope. It is therefore not surprising that the censure of American policy is not confined to America's friends abroad and that men and women have risen in America itself to condemn the policy followed in respect of China and Chiang Kai-Shek. If the *New York Times* reflects American public opinion, there is a present and insistent demand that America's China policy must be drastically changed.

Lewis Mumford, the well-known social philosopher and writer has raised his voice against the current American policy in respect of China: "The government of the so-called Chinese nationalists" says he, "is not a Government at all, but a displaced army." This strikes at the root of the matter. It is not merely a Quemoy issue or a question of military expedi-

ency. It calls for a total revision of attitude and a drastic change from A to Z.

"Whatever the original merits of the American decision" proceeds Lewis Mumford, "to back Chiang Kai-Shek after his army had abjectly yielded to the Communists, our present alliance with this defunct government and our support of its supine army has ceased to have any justification."

It is not only Russia and China that level charges of aggression against America. Lewis Mumford points out how Taiwan (Formosa) serves as a base for American nuclear forces which openly keep threatening the Chinese mainland. It is on this background that we should appraise Mr. Dulles's latest pronouncement on the strategic necessity of holding Quemoy against China.

It is clear that there is a rising tide of public opinion in America itself against America's China policy and against America's nuclear policy. The sooner backing of Chiang is given up as a first step in the required change the better will the cause of world-peace be served.

It is nothing short of silly for a great Power to attempt leaning on the fiction of a Chiang Kai-Shek-China and keep the China seat in the U.N. from its lawful occupant. If the U.N. is to be an instrument for peace and not of cold-war, the *de facto* government of China must occupy that chair at once. The whole world knows China to be somewhere else and not with Chiang Kai-Shek but the farce is solemnly played and allowed to be played.

Equally foolish would it be for America to depend on an Asiatic wall of military dictatorships to contain Communism. Whether it be in Pakistan or Thailand today or in other lands tomorrow, such dictatorships cannot last and while they are propped up would incite and encourage the underground march of Communism. Military rule and the terror on which it rests invites the very enemy whom it is the intention to

keep off through such futile defences. Has not the history of India shown that military administration depends on the co-operation of the people and its days are ever numbered however terrible and awe-inspiring its beginning may be? It would be as futile as dishonourable for America to prop up these military administrations that are growing up like mushrooms in Asia around the Communist block. America would be false to her fundamental political philosophy if she did this. It is as true in politics as in other matters that the best and safest course is to follow *swa-dharma*—one's own philosophy of life—and not to adopt another's *dharma* however attractive it may be at the moment. The world is not inadvertent but is marking with dissatisfaction how America is supporting monarchic, feudal, military and other undemocratic regimes inconsistent with America's basic spirit and fundamental political convictions.

Unlike in other democratic countries high American officials are in the habit of making public statements which in other governments would be impermissible to officials and reserved only for a Prime Minister. A Vice-Admiral who will soon be Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in Southern Europe has declared that "World War III has long since started" and that we foolishly refuse to recognize the fact. "We are locked in a life and death struggle with the Communists and we are not doing too well" says this officer on behalf of the Allied powers.

A British officer would hesitate uttering at this juncture a war-mongering and provocative untruth such as this. "The only logic that makes sense to our enemy is backed by military power and the willingness to use that power" says this Admiral Brown to remove all doubt.

The rest of the world is somehow seeking to prevent war, while these American officials exult in beating the most dangerous drums of war, urging people towards that tragic futility. Homer of Greece and the

Develop a habit

use

**Neem**  
TOOTH PASTE  
twice daily

To use Neem Tooth Paste once a day is enough. But doctors advise a second brushing before bedtime. For dental hygiene, use 'Neem' twice a day and be sure of healthy gums and teeth.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.  
CALCUTTA-29

NT/80-E

Mahabharata of India have described both the fascination and the futility and tragedy of war long before mankind realised it again at the end of World War II. But atom bombs and arrogance cloud the brains of nations who imagine they are born to guide the affairs of all the nations on earth. Apollo thus describes mankind to Zeus in Homer: "Those wretched creatures who like the leaves flourish for a little while on the bounty of the earth and flaunt their brilliance, but in a moment droop and fade away". Once Zeus himself said to the horses that the gods gave to Achilles's father: "O, why did we give you to share the sorrows of unhappy men? Of all creatures that breathe and creep about on mother earth there is none so miserable as man". The gods who saw the tragic futility of war have no respect for man who has not ceased to indulge in it in spite of every bitter experience.

### The Faber Art Gallery

with coloured illustrations

|                             | Rs. nP. |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Byzantine Painting ..       | 6.94    |
| Kangra Painting ..          | 12.19   |
| The Virgin and the Child .. | 7.75    |
| Turner's Paintings ..       | 7.75    |
| Seurat's Paintings ..       | 7.75    |
| Klee's Paintings ..         | 10.19   |
| Raphael's Paintings ..      | 10.19   |
| Hogarth's Paintings ..      | 7.75    |
| Homage to Venus ..          | 7.75    |
| Watteau's Paintings ..      | 7.75    |

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.



## THE PARTITION

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

A Chettiar died, leaving four sons. The sons were all grown up and married. The brothers and their wives were living together as a joint family.

Among the sisters-in-law, quarrels and clashes were fairly frequent. Knowing that these were caused by trivial matters, the brothers at first took no notice of them. Then even if they tried, they could not succeed in reconciling the women. Every day there would be some misunderstanding or other. None of them slept soundly at night.

The loud quarrels that went on day and night in that house became a nuisance to the whole neighbourhood.

The father had left a lot of property. The cash and jewels were kept locked up in boxes in a safe room. A certain burglar had his eye on this pile for a long time. But a suitable opportunity never presented itself to him. Since some of the family were busy quarrelling every night, everybody was awake and the thief had no chance.

The eldest brother tried his best to persuade the family to stay together. But they went on arguing. "It is most convenient to live separately. The womenfolk are ever at loggerheads. This will stop if we separate."

Not knowing what to do, he kept postponing a decision.

One day his wife told him, "It is time to end this headache. Give them their portion and let them go." Reluctantly he agreed.

They divided all the properties. They raised brick walls and partitioned the ancestral house into four flats, and, cooking in separate kitchens ran separate households.

The neighbours felt relieved and happy. "We shall have some peace now," they said.

"We can hereafter sleep undisturbed at night!"

For a week they all lived in silence and satisfaction.

The burglar decided that this was the opportunity he had been waiting for. Two nights after the new moon, a Sunday (a conjunction propitious for thieves), at about 2 a.m., he broke into the house with his assistants, when every one was fast asleep. Without let or hindrance, he removed the bricks in the thin partition walls and entered one room after another. Unbarring and opening the doors from within, he lifted the boxes one by one and passed them to his friends waiting outside. All the cash and jewels were thus removed. When the job was over, the burglar went into the kitchen of the eldest brother, made a hearty meal of the cooked rice and pickles there and went away satisfied.

In the morning the four ladies got up, saw what had happened and raised an outcry.

The neighbours were rather pleased than otherwise. They were for a long time a little envious of the Chettiar's wealth.

But whatever they felt, they expressed sympathy. Slightly adapting Bharati's song on national unity, the village children chanted:

"In unity lies strength. No matter how we differ,  
In unity lies strength. If part we must,  
Then break we must. And that is bad

For all of us. For all of us, 'tis bad."

A crow sitting on the rooftop, cawed, "Now you see! Now you see!"

The four sisters-in-law sat together in one corner, crying, with their hands upon their heads.

### CAPITAL COMMENTS

## WHITHER CONGRESS DEMOCRACY?

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Almost everyone of consequence hurried to Hyderabad, leaving the Capital—one could say to oneself here—"to darkness and to me". But from Prakasam Nagar, little light was shed and less heat generated. It was all a tame affair or a stale story. For journalistic critics and commentators in particular, Hyderabad turned out to be rather hard-going, with much said but little settled. One can, however, hug the comforting illusion to one's bosom that nowhere is true spirit of democracy better revealed than in our amazing capacity to discuss freely and at large without any inhibition to reach decisions. If we have strange doubts about some of these matters, we can hardly do better than to turn to the unfailing Mr. Nehru, and we will, at once, be told that the way to go about doing things is, not by insisting on decisions or doctrinaire approaches but by only making sure of the direction in which we are to move. And, as he re-emphasized, ours is the democratic way while our ten-year old experience, according to Mr. Dhebar, has but strengthened our faith in democracy. We are, indeed, on stronger ground when we recall the ringing words of Mr. Ranga Reddy: "While Parliamentary democracy seems to be on trial, and faith in democratic way of life is put to severe test in many countries around us, it is our privilege to carry (on) the torch of democracy". Thus the last word on the subject seems to have been said by the latest of Andhra's torch-bearers! Congress friends should not, however, lose temper, much less balance, if they are asked two questions before they completely shake the dust of their feet off Hyderabad! What is the specific regard they are showing for popular sentiment, say, in Maharashtra? And how far are they justified in suggesting that a State—any State—should be rescued out of the hands

of the (majority of) elected representatives of the people?

The irony of the situation is that academic regard for the theory of democracy is one thing, and practical concern for its implications is another. Let us, for once, begin with the Congress itself and see how democratically it functions. For years now, an A.I.C.C. session has been a miniature Congress while a Congress session has been but an enlarged edition of the A.I.C.C. Is democracy ensured if only because they meet periodically for deliberations? Where are actual Congress decisions taken? From where, and by whom, are they imposed? If, as they say, even the Congress Working Committee or High Command is more often than not a mere ratifying body, surely the fountain-source of all authority lies somewhere sealed up, perhaps not too democratically. What is the position of the very Congress President himself in its democratic set-up? And for a wonder, Congressmen themselves seem to have occasional doubts (when they summon enough courage to talk about it at all) whether their President is really elected or virtually nominated! It seems that Congress democracy has been too much in jeopardy since the attainment of Indian Independence, as the links and relations between the organisational and parliamentary wings have become hopelessly tangled. Things are bound to be in a sorry mess if Pradesh Congress Chiefs are to be no more than the palanquin-bearers of the Central Ministers and State Chiefs and the President of the Congress is just the Prime Minister's rubber-stamp. But Congressmen are too busy otherwise to bother about such matters and they have learnt to leave things to chance or destiny. Perhaps the Congress President has given some thought to some of these issues. Is it the reason (as we are now told what

SWARAJYA was perhaps the first

to tell) why the untiring Mr. Dhebar is after all retiring?

The resolution on Kerala may well be hit off as Hyderabad's headline hazard. The A.I.C.C. felt concerned about the intriguing situation in the State and rightly discussed the Kerala issue. But should it have officially passed a resolution and sought to embarrass the Central Government, instead of leaving it to them to take the initiative, when, and in what way, they liked. It was Kerala's 'police policy' that came in for special mention and sharp criticism. Mr. Balwant Rai Mehta spoke of the danger that lay in the police having been asked or allowed to remain mute spectators in times of trouble. It may at once be admitted that it is a real danger to the safety of the citizen but the other danger, so well expressed by a Victorian Liberal statesman, should also be borne in mind. It was Sir William Harcourt who said this on a momentous occasion: "Once preach to the police this doctrine of unlimited power, once egg them on to unnecessary violence and harshness, and they will become the object of the aversion, instead of the confidence of the people." Statesmanship lies in balancing extreme factors and no Government of State can be too careful in making sure of the fundamental fact, whether the police force is used, to quote Sir William Harcourt again, to suppress crime or opinion!

Writing about Hyderabad, it almost becomes a duty to record one fact or express one sentiment. Amidst so much that was doubtful or depressing, there was something certain and cheery about the one man whose attitude makes a difference to our life. It was bracing to find Mr. Nehru buoyant, optimistic and resolute. The pessimistic forecasts about the Congress and owlish incarnations against the future of the country, leave him unperturbed. For the country's doubting Thomases and careless Gallios he has a new prescription: 'Go to Hell'. This spirit should last and it also deserves to manifest itself in his dealings with men and situations.



## THE CHANGING FACE OF SOCIALISM

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

Socialism, like Hinduism, is not a prescribed code, but a changing series of benign concepts. At different times, different aspects of it have received emphasis. It started with the organisation of labour in industry to combat the exploitation by private capital, at a time when the State was a policeman-witness. It also sought for and gained a measure of redistribution of profits by the strength of collective bargaining. The emergence of Socialism as a political creed dates from the first world war, during which the area of State control and State action had enlarged themselves in response to imperative military needs. The concept that then gained ground was that of re-distributive taxation and social control of essential and utility undertakings. But slowly the concept of welfare ingratiated itself into the fabric of Socialist thought, and during the inter-war years, the Socialists of the world armed their minds to fight for the Welfare State. In this process they were aided by two circumstances. Russia had accustomed the world to the principle of State planning with a target in time. Secondly, the war was familiarising the civilised nations to the practice of certain basic equalities for all persons through State action and control.

Thus the Welfare State is the consummation of a steady historical evolution. Socialism as exemplified by the Welfare State takes all the citizens into account and not merely the interests of labour. It is a functional idea, in that it seeks to promote plenty through full employment. Taxation is used not merely for making the State help the underprivileged by means of insurance and doles, but for the creation of a state of affairs in which there will not be any unemployment. Finance policy then takes into account the need for capital investment by the State and thus goes beyond the demands of current expenditure ; to

the extent that the latter becomes a small part of the total.

During the middle thirties of this century Keynes formulated his theory of money and unemployment. He distinguished individual saving from public investment and showed that the former can exist without the latter. Such as when scrips in existing industries change hands or when lands and houses are bought and sold. He pointed out that increased employment means more investment in production and that this postulates an expansion of productive capacity. This theory led logically to State control of investment, for the channelling of available saving through optimum mobilisation and use cannot possibly be left to the lop-sided caprice of individual action.

We thus end up in the planned economy in a Welfare State as the ideal of social endeavour.

But this economy involves the spreading of both benefits and sacrifices through all the sections of the community. The tragedy of Socialist thinking is that this aspect of the pattern has not been realised. The distributive morality of a state of plenty in which some have a great deal and many have very little was consistent with the growing productive capacity of the Western countries in the nineteenth century. But when Socialism is applied to a poor country with a large population and insufficient production and subsistence incomes, the theory of a re-distributive social ethics falls to the ground. All that happens in the rage for immediate goals is an excursion into various forms of expropriation, as in land, and the substitution of State management for private management of existing (and not new) industries and enterprises, like banks and insurance. The entire theory of State management was a protest against private exploitation in a Police State. With the present laws such exploi-

tation is impossible. The introduction of State management, as distinguished from State control, on top of these laws, is of no real social benefit, but it tends to increase the costs by substituting slack Government methods.

What a poor country needs is full employment, so that the cycle of investment, production, and buying power are made to advance uniformly. Industrialisation is not only not a remedy for such a state of affairs, it hurts the ideal of employment by creating pockets of prosperity in which the wages are out of all proportion to the income of the average labourer in the largest industry of the country, namely, agriculture. The result is that costs of production increase and without added purchasing power over the country as a whole, stocks accumulate and the very objects of industrialization are frustrated.

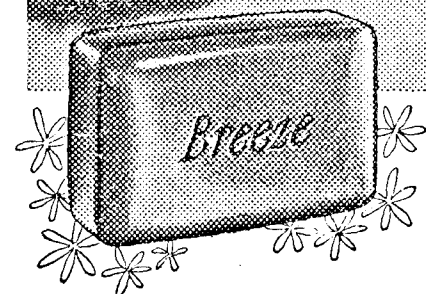
The consumer is the forgotten individual in socialist thinking in the poor countries. By creating high wage pockets and adopting certain, no doubt, high and moral standards, we are not benefiting anybody. Highly industrialized countries have either to export as part of their economy, or they have to sustain a full home market. It will be idle for a country that is emerging from a subsistence economy to build up its economy on the basis of exports. The home market is the offtake point. No home market can be built up except by means of a widespread employment and consequent purchasing power all over the country. In India this means a new agriculture and a new orientation of rural life. It may be that the principles of the minimum standard of life on which the tribunals base their wage and dearness allowance decisions cannot be applied to agriculture for a long time. Then it is useless to apply it to some industries alone. That does not solve the problem of national prosperity. There is no lasting social benefit in urban labour taking advantage of its bargaining power and pushing up costs of production. It only kills the market.

What is happening today is not the exploitation of labour by capital, but the exploitation of rural labour by urban labour.

I think that the right to strike should be abolished and the normal processes of civil law alone

be made available to labour ; and that there should be a freeze in respect of wages, profit and prices. Otherwise, the grand plans of the Government will get shattered on the rocks of labour intransigence.

Socialism has ever been a pragmatic approach towards justice and the eradication of poverty. It goes ill with a doctrinaire blindness to changing needs and with the sadism of the have-nots in power.



# Breeze

for a healthier, lovelier complexion!

The keynote of a woman's beauty is a radiant complexion! And beautiful women all over the world know that a lovely complexion means a clear skin that *glows with health*.

When you use BREEZE Toilet Soap you're not just cleansing your skin, you're *keeping it healthy*. For mild, delightfully fragrant BREEZE contains 'Actamer', which frees your skin of the germs that cause complexion faults.

Remember, BREEZE is chosen for both complexion care and personal freshness. Try it and you will be convinced.



BREEZE Toilet Soap contains 'ACTAMER' for skin health

MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED FOR ERASMIC CO. LIMITED, LONDON

'Actamer' (Bithionol) is officially approved by the American Medical Association

BZ. 8-X52

As regards the type of students who join the colleges, all those who possess the minimum qualifications required (and in most colleges and universities the requirements are not very high), get admitted to one college or the other. This is due to the fact that anywhere upto 100 per cent of the total annual expenditure of a non-government college is met from fee-receipts and enrolling as many students as possible is the only way to increase the revenue side

of the account sheet. Thus, although the total number of students taking higher education in India is not high in proportion to the population, the proportion of those who complete high school education and join a college or university is definitely high, particularly in relation to the facilities available. Actually many of those that go in for higher education are really not fit to take higher education and, finding that they are not able to do justice to

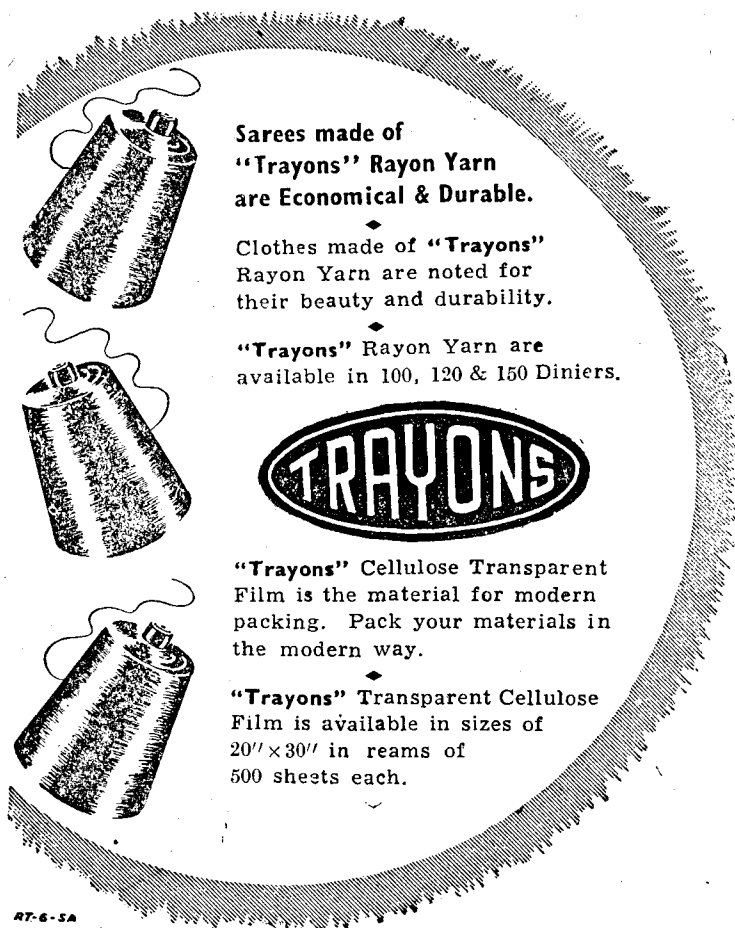
their studies, are inclined to indulge in undesirable non-academic activities.

The general economic condition of society and the poor prospects of employment after finishing college also serve to create an atmosphere of laxity. If the students have an idea that their work in the college is not very important, i.e., is not going to enable them to earn their living, they see no point in concentrating on their studies. Of course, this state of affairs cannot be improved over-night, but in any case an attempt should be made to see that unemployment among the educated youth is not allowed to grow.

The other measures are, however, more important in my opinion. Reducing the size of classes, introducing tutorials and seminars where every student is given a periodical assignment, providing adequate staff to watch the progress of every single student, driving out those that are unfit or unwilling to put in hard work, placing enough money at the disposal of colleges and high schools, so that they are not compelled to admit every student that seeks admission, raising the financial status of college teachers so as to attract better men—all these things will go towards not only the improvement of the state of discipline but also the raising of academic standards.

The steps outlined above, I recognise, will require a large amount of money and will mean, therefore, a much higher priority in our plans for secondary and higher education. The present policies of most State Governments appear to be anti-higher-education. Most of them refuse to take up the responsibility for providing the funds for maintaining proper standards in high schools and colleges, but even supposing that all the above suggestions are carried out, they will not, by themselves, be able to solve the problem of indiscipline among students. Several other changes will also be necessary.

(To be continued)



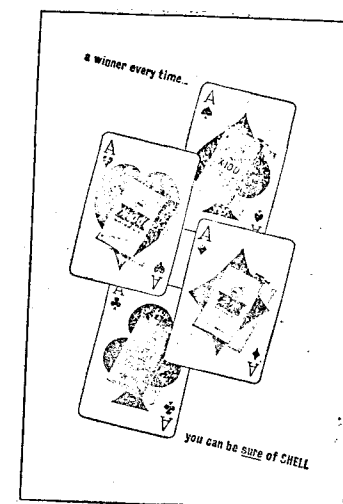
**RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED**

Grams: "CELYARN"

27, CORAL MERCHANT ST., MADRAS-1

Branches:

COIMBATORE - SALEM - MADURAI



**Shell X-100 Motor Oil** fights Acid Action, the main cause of engine wear. It's detergent, stable and protective, to give you longer engine life.

**Shell X-100 Multigrade** is a motor oil plus, because it keeps its thickness at all temperatures and under all conditions. For new engines, Shell X-100 Multigrade is a must—see your Burmah-Shell dealer today.

### How to get a winner every time

Just drive in to your nearest Burmah-Shell service station, and there you will find the widest... finest range of motor oils. For the private motorist there's Shell X-100 Motor Oil and Shell X-100 Multigrade; for the scooter owner, Shell 2T Two Stroke Oil; and for the diesel operator, Shell Rotella Oils.

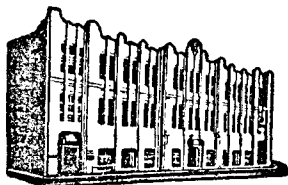
When it comes to maximum performance and minimum engine wear, Burmah-Shell hold the aces—every time!

**Shell 2T Two Stroke Oil** is still the only oil specially designed for two stroke engines. It mixes instantly with your petrol, giving you extra miles and added protection with every gallon.

**Shell Rotella Oils** are the finest specialised lubricants available for all diesel engines. Specially designed to withstand the toughest operating conditions, Shell Rotella Oils ensure smooth, even power from all diesel engines, with maximum protection.

**A winner every time...you can be sure of SHELL**

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                       |                |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Authorised Capital                                    | Rs 1,00,00,000 |
| Paid-up Capital                                       | " 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other<br>Funds (including<br>Share Premium) | " 99,50,360    |
| Deposits                                              | " 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.

R. K. VENKATACHALAM.

R. SUNDARAM IYER.

O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.

RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.

DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.

L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.

P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.

K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.

RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.

K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :

WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

## A CRYING SHAME

By M. KRISHNAN

Early last month I had occasion to visit the Orthopaedic Department of the General Hospital, Madras, as a patient seeking relief from pain. I should at once make it clear that while my pain was by no means insufferable, it was still sufficient for me to revel in the relief they provided, and that personally I have nothing but thanks to offer that department. It was not what happened to me there, but what I saw, that shocked and angered me.

Those that are so badly hurt that they cannot walk, people in intense pain with severe fractures or other injuries, are brought into the wards for treatment in wheel-chairs, along a broad, cemented passage. Those chairs are three-wheeled, with the wheels only a foot or so in diameter and rimmed with solid rubber. And the floor of that passage is so pitted and cracked all over, the cavities sharp-edged and hard-edged and many of them over three inches across, that it is impossible to steer the chair through from end to end without the wheels hitting the pits repeatedly.

I was there long enough to watch half-a-dozen patients being wheeled in or out. Some of them were whimpering as they entered the passage, but they did not cry out with sharp stabs of pain as the hard-rubbered tyres hit the edges of the cavities and jarred their broken bones—they were shocked into silence by their transport through that torture-passage, and for a minute afterwards just sat huddled up in agony.

Why does such a callous inefficiency exist in one of the biggest hospitals in Asia, and why is it tolerated so kindly? Is it beyond the means or capacity of Government to furnish these chairs with pneumatic tyres (incidentally, their squeaking axles might also be lubricated), when the illiterate cyclist and the auto-rickshaw driver is able to tend efficiently his pneumatic tyres, day after day, year after year? How much will

it cost to have that passage re-floored with some kind of deeply-laid reinforced concrete, overlaid with lead-sheeting if necessary, to provide a smooth surface easy on wheels?

There is another aspect of the matter that deserves consideration. How about the poor impression, and the feeling of distrust and diffidence, created in the minds of the patients by such manifest indifference to their feelings? Can any private orthopaedic clinic afford the disgrace of such a passage or such wheel-chairs? But why go so far, can any shop, to which no men with broken bones but only able-bodied, well-nourished customers come, afford such a passage? I must confess that outside ruined monuments and buildings with historic associations, preserved and protected by governments, I have not seen such a passage, even in governmental premises.

And it is not as if this passage has acquired its pitted floor only recently, and will be in good repair next week. I can tell you that it has been used for wheeling patients in and out for months, and that for months nothing has been done to rectify its cracks and cavities. Moreover, when I made inquiries of my medical acquaintances, I learned that in other hospitals, too, there were such passages—they just could not understand why I should single out the General Hospital for criticism, or why I made such a fuss over something so very commonplace!

That is what surprises me. What is more remarkable than the callousness of the administration in ignoring such a thing is the meekness of the public in suffering it. This passage, I repeat, has been there for months, exactly as it now is except, may be, for a negligible difference in the number of cracks and pits in its flooring, and, so far as I know, this is the first public protest against its existence—by a man who has not even had his broken bones rattled over its unevenness!

## A PROFESSOR ON STUDENT BEHAVIOUR

By D. D. KARVE

Student behaviour has become a headache to every one who has to deal with students. One reads in the papers, with depressing regularity about rowdiness and goondaism on the part of students, both high school students and college students. Complaints about indiscipline among students are being made by public men, including those in the highest positions. It is obvious therefore that every thinking person has to ponder over this problem and if possible to suggest means of remedying the situation.

Indisciplined, anti-social behaviour of students, making the smooth working of smaller or larger groups impossible is seen both inside and outside educational institutions. In high schools, because of the smaller size of classes and the lower age of the pupils, the bad behaviour inside the school is not seen very frequently. But unfortunately one cannot say that it is not seen at all. The recent report regarding the behaviour of students in a school in Hyderabad, on reading the result of the annual examination, when school furniture was damaged and the head master was threatened with physical violence, may be cited as an example. In colleges and universities—especially the teaching and unitary universities—indisciplined behaviour is not very infrequent. It takes various forms—some of them a little mild, others very objectionable. On the one hand there are petty things like noisy behaviour in classrooms, and at the time of social occasions, sports meets, etc., and on the other hand there are more serious occurrences like discourtesy to teachers and fellow-students (particularly women-students), violent group action in examination halls (refusing to answer papers because they are too stiff, making it impossible for other candidates to write their papers, attacking the supervising staff, setting fire to furniture and papers) etc., etc.

In the same context, must be mentioned the unseemly conduct, many times leading to scuffles and occasional more serious fights at the time of sports events. This is due to the undue importance attached, even sometimes by the managements of educational institutions, to the winning of contests and championships. The atmosphere in colleges and universities is often not academic at all and the sport fans become the ideals of most students. This has got to change and sports must take their proper place in the scheme of things in a high school, college or university.

But even more than such incidents inside the educational institutions, everybody appears to be worried about the indiscipline behaviour of students outside their institutions. This usually originates in some grievance real or imaginary, justified or otherwise connected with their life as students, which quickly develops into the usual pattern of hartals, morchas, picketting, refusal to obey police orders, attacks on shops, buses, cinemas and so on. Occasionally, one hears of attacks on Railway staff and damage to property because students were asked to pay their fares and not allowed to travel free or attacks on buses and bus-drivers because of some quarrel between an individual driver or conductor and one or two students. Direct action by students against increases in fee rates, withdrawal of concession rates in cinema houses, buses and other means of transport, unwanted transfers of teachers, unacceptable dates of examinations and a dozen other things are frequent news-items. Altogether, the situation appears to be highly deplorable and something must be done about it.

In the first place, one thing must be made clear. It is not as if students are the only disorderly element in the country and that everybody else is behaving in an

orderly fashion. It is only because there are frequent occasions where students gather together that their disorderly behaviour becomes more conspicuous. Other groups like workers do indulge in anti-social behaviour, but the occasions are fewer. Also, the fact that students belong to that particular age-group in which emotional excitement is more powerful, the results are more disastrous.

The discipline in an educational institution, especially a college or a university, is ultimately based on the respect that the students have for their teachers and the importance they attach to their studies. In an institution where the teachers are experts in their subjects, willing and able to guide and train the students, the state of discipline is usually satisfactory. Unfortunately, the financial condition of a large majority of colleges run by non-government agencies is not very satisfactory and they are unable to either attract good teachers, or achieve a satisfactory teacher-pupil ratio, or provide adequate equipment in their libraries and laboratories.

\*\*\*\*\*

For Winding Comfort

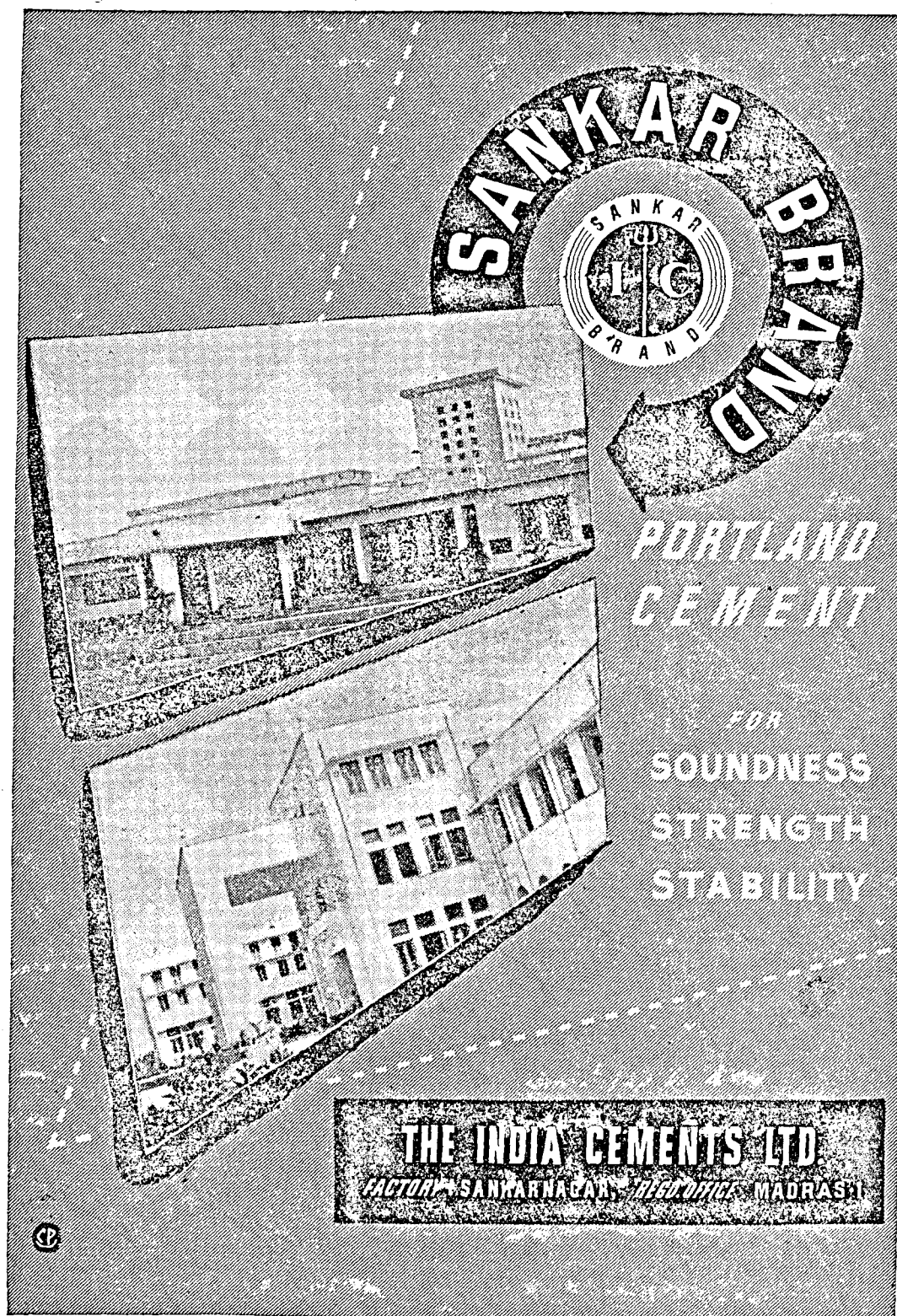
FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/158/A

\*\*\*\*\*





**SANKAR BRAND**

**PORTLAND CEMENT**

**FOR SOUNDNESS STRENGTH STABILITY**

**THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD**  
FACTORY - SANKARHAGAN - MADRAS

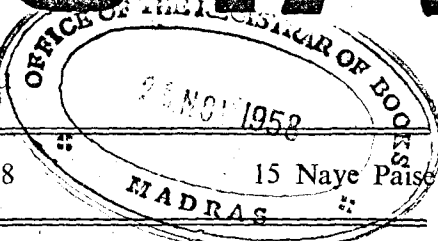
# SWARAJYA

784

Vol. III. No. 18

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 8, 1958

Editor : Khasa Subba Rao



## TAXES AND DEVELOPMENT

There has been during the last few months a noticeable swing in favour of private enterprise notwithstanding the socialist pattern to which the Government of India have committed themselves. It is a welcome change of attitude and one hopes that it will endure. It seems to be a natural corollary of the foreign aid that we have received in such large measure from the 'free' nations of the world. Perhaps also the present swing in favour of private responsibility is the result and lesson derived from the short experience the architects of national policy have had of the way that the public sector goes. The known is always safer than the unknown evils that arise from too much concentration of money and responsibility in the hands of civil servants.

The dilatory procedures of Government departments are ill-suited to the demands of a business organization and the scattering of responsibility among a host of graded officials and the reluctance of any one to assume the over-all responsibility have adversely affected our public concerns and opened the way to backstage political tactics.

At one time it was felt that the absence of the private profit motive and the introduction of the principle of "no profit, no loss" would lead to a reduction of costs, but not only has Government not adopted this principle (as in the case of cement, for instance), but, because of the new

forms of inefficiency, are hard put to it to maintain even the old level of costs. The conversion of independent business units into single, monolithic, all-India bodies, loses sight of the differences in resources, opportunities, and problems in the various parts of the country. The creation of a giant fund, as in the case of the Life Insurance Corporation, is likely to result in its being so used as to benefit particular sections of stock brokers and even to lead to bad business by a purchase policy dictated by non-business considerations and indirectly interfering in the free competition that ought to control private enterprise.

Foreign capital has been shy of entering India, due to a legitimate fear, not so much of nationalization, but of not being duly compensated, thanks to the vocal exuberance of some of our leaders. In this welter of purblind ideology, it is refreshing to note that practically all the experts who met at the recent monetary conference in Delhi have pleaded for the protection of the private sector. Nor is this a derogation, in point of fact, from the strictest standards of social control, for the present laws and administrative controls are sufficient to see that no more than legitimate profits are made.

This altered attitude towards the private sector is welcome. But the imperative need is for a re-orientation of taxation policy. The principle of canalising all

saving through taxation and loans may be theoretically consistent with a welfare-plan which has to allocate capital according to certain recognized priorities. But where the surplus available over the calls of consumption is meagre, a policy which prevents the investor from exercising his judgment is psychologically unwise. It will lead, as indeed it has, to evasion and the emergence of a third secret sector of investment and spending. The buying of gold is an example. This is estimated to have run into several thousand crores. It is difficult to imagine a more tragic loss of investment capital, but why has it taken place? Because of an omnivorous taxation policy and the consequent urge to evade. Because of the psychological reluctance to give away as tax more than a certain proportion of the income, to give away more than what is retained. Construction of buildings is another example. It is notorious that the opportunities of spending more on the construction of a building than what is officially shown in the estimates, are immense. This has become a common feature of individual economy.

The various official "drives" for savings and loans are also leading to indirect extortion and unwilling surrender of funds required for consumption expenditure, and in the case of small traders, of money needed as working capital. No real saving takes place if a merchant gives a

## CINEMA

## RAW FILM PROBLEM

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** All kinds of speculations and rumours are rife over the revision of the policy of raw film distribution and control. Generally, it is expected that after the ensuing meeting of the Central Raw Film Advisory Committee, the policy will become more liberal and the genuine producers will have no difficulty in getting their requirements. It is also rumoured that there is a possibility of the permit system being altogether abolished and all producers, old and new, would be eligible to get stock provided they can satisfy the authorities of the genuine consumption of the stock. The restrictions on footage of pictures as well as consumption of negative stock are likely to be imposed so as to ensure equitable supply. The producers are also expected to get substantial relief through export promotion scheme.

In the meanwhile, the Import Controller of Bombay has issued a good number of permits last week for production of Marathi films. A producer of Marathi film who had been waiting for permit for three months was agreeably surprised last week when he received the permit by post. Meanwhile the IMPPA elections took place on October 25th; and with resignations of such front-rank producers like Bimal Roy, B. R. Chopra, Mohan Segal, Guru Dutt and Goel from the executive, IMPPA in spite of the amendment of the constitution will continue to be dominated by studio and laboratory owners. Indeed, the hope that IMPPA would be able to help the producers in the raw film crisis has been dashed to pieces and personal jealousy and rivalry are reigning supreme in this organisation as well.

While the liberalization of raw film distribution would go a long way in solving the difficulties of genuine producers, it would also bring to an end the malpractices

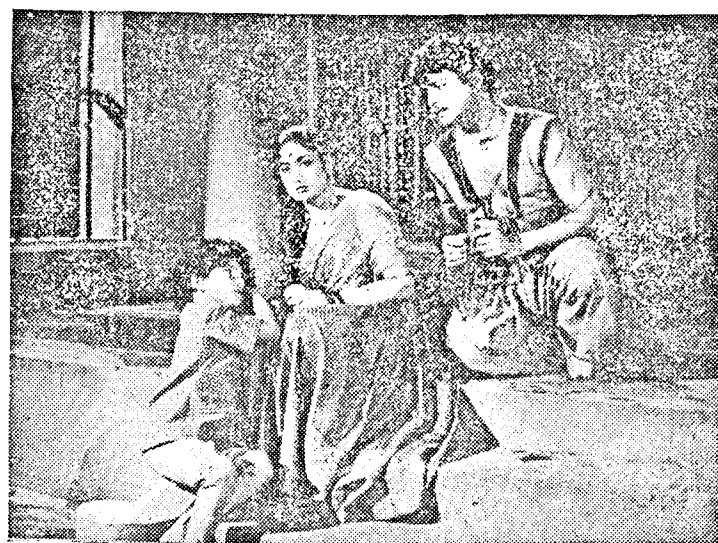
prevalent in the industry and the flourishing black-marketing in raw stock. Hence one feels that by imposing restrictions and introducing the permit system, the Government has not helped to solve raw film crisis but created fresh problems for the industry. Without any direct control, the situation would have been far more healthy. So even now, if the Government removes direct control, the situation would improve considerably.

There was a time when almost every re-make failed to click; but this year we have had three successful re-makes in 'Mother India', 'Yahudi' and 'Ghar Sansar'. Naturally, Sohrab Modi had perfect justification to make his 'Jailor' again. In making this picture, however, Sohrab Modi seems to have forgotten the thing that social conditions have changed a lot during the last two decades and that the people have become more exacting in their demands.

The ugly Jailor, as portrayed by Sohrab Modi is far from ugly; and it is rather far-fetched to imagine Kamini Kaushal leaving

Sohrab Modi and falling in love with Abhi, who is not particularly handsome. Then the manner in which the run-away wife and her lover are 'harassed' by people is also unrealistic. The sadist revenge which the jailor takes on his wife when she returns to him and her subsequent suicide are too morbid for the present day taste. No wonder, the audience prefers the second portion in which the jailor helps a blind girl to regain her sight and happiness and behave like an angel.

Apart from the unconvincing and morbid nature of the story which does not fit in with the present social trends of thinking and taste, the picture is made in the true Sohrab Modi tradition. And though he himself speaks his lines in theatrical style, the picture itself is not stagey. It is extremely well mounted with clever production and deft direction by Modi. Besides, all other artistes particularly Geeta Bali and Kamini Kaushal have given natural performances as the blind girl and faithless wife respectively. Daisey Irani is as good as ever and Abhi suffers from a poorly conceived role of a doctor who runs away with another man's wife and later becomes a devotee of God. The musical duet between Bhajan and Bhangra is the most interesting feature of the film. Songs by Rajinder Krishan have



R. GANESH and SAVITRI in Sahini's forthcoming 'ATHIAYA THIRUDAN'

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

## PARTY SYSTEM

Sir,—In modern democracy, the majority party governs the State through its executive, the Cabinet responsible to the Legislature.

In the Reforms dealing with Education and Local Administration, in Madras State, the decision of the Committee of the Legislature Party formed the basis of discussion. Speaking on the Panchayats Bill, Mr. C. Subramaniam said, "The Bill has not been brought forward on the basis of the views of one or two Ministers or even of the Ministry as such, but it was the result of the deliberations of the Legislature Committee....."

a purport and poetry and they are well tuned by Madan Mohan.

'Jailor' thus emerges as a well-made film out of an out-of-date screenplay.

J. B. H. Wadia and Homi Wadia have been much in the news this week. For, they celebrated the silver jubilee year of Wadia 'Movie-tone' on Dassera, on a grand scale at Basant Studios. Over 1,500 guests attended the celebrations in which all the pioneers associated with the concern were honoured. They included Nadia, Jal Khambata, Pheroze Dastoor, Sardar Mansoor, John Cavas, Master Chotu, B. M. Tata and above all Dwarkadas Naraindas of old Kohinoor Studios. The only person one rather missed on the occasion was Padma, the heroine of Wadia's first talkie picture 'Lale Yaman'. Padma is now in Calcutta appearing in Bengalee films.

Bimal Roy is planning an ambitious venture in colour on Ramayana which would depict the classic story from the childhood of Rama to his final triumph. He is engaging a panel of writers, music directors and art directors for the venture which will have only one top star to play the role of Seeta.

Bimal Roy launched 'Parakh' on Dassera at Mohan Studios.

Why should the Cabinet forego or abdicate its responsibility to the Legislature and to the people of the State? It is the Cabinet that must take the initiative for legislation and important decisions. It is true that the Opposition must be respected and that its co-operation should be enlisted;

it is also clever diplomacy to take the wind off the sails of the Opposition, secure its wisdom before proposals are initiated and soften the bitterness of discussions in an acrimonious debate; but the procedure adopted in Madras seems to indicate that the Cabinet as a whole does not think on legislative measures, i.e., does not govern.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.  
Thillaiathanam.

## Regal touch at a plebian price

REJOICE AT THE LOVELY DESIGNS IN SAREES AND

CHOLIES CO-OPTEX FABRICS PROVIDE, TO

CELEBRATE "DEEPAVALI" THE FESTIVAL

OF LIGHTS



Visit our nearest Depot.

THE MADRAS STATE HANDLOOM WEAVERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.,

BALASUNDARAM BUILDINGS.

34/A-1, PANTHEON ROAD, MADRAS-8.

SISTAS



## PAKISTAN BELLIGERENCY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

thousand rupees as small saving and then borrows at a higher rate of interest for his own business.

What is required therefore is a re-orientation of loan and taxation policy and the control of private enterprise rather than its substitution by public management. This may lead to a lowering of the scale of public investment, but that is not a tragedy. The real tragedy would be a failure of investment itself.

Improvident public schemes lead to expropriatory taxation. Expropriatory taxation leads to evasion. Unaccounted expenditure must push up prices in the private sector.

Private industry can be built up only on the basis of individual investment. In a large country with varying problems, the regionalisation of industry is important. Regionalisation depends partly on the mobilisation of local resources, including local capital. Thus a completely new economic outlook has to emerge if a proper adjustment of private industry, private investment, taxation and individual saving is to be brought about. What is happening at present is the killing of the goose that lays the golden eggs, because, any measure that stifles the urge to invest but helps to push up prices is an economic evil, whatever may be the theory on which it is poised.

### Good But...

The order issued by the Ministry of Finance in December, 1951 on the basis of the instructions of the Home Ministry penalising all officers and clerical staff, if appointed on or after January, 1952, for failing to pass the Hindi test has now been cancelled as a result of representations made to the present Home Minister. The officials whose increments or confirmation had been held up under the 1951 order will now be entitled to draw increments and be confirmed. This is good but it discloses what may be going on in other departments.

After throwing out Mr. Noon and his cabinet, after abrogating the Constitution and all democratic forms and assuming all power along with President Mirza, General Ayub has now thrown out Mirza also and stands in solitary enjoyment of all authority.

He threatens India with war. This is probably the usual trick to get people to think and get mad over something else and thereby keep up his own illegitimate rule. If the war-mongering gets by the compulsion of slogans to become an actuality, General Ayub will be going the way of other war-mongering usurpers. We know where Hitler landed himself when he invaded Russia hoping to liquidate the Bolshevik military machine. It is, politically speaking, an attractive offer to fanatics. Young officers in the army on whose support and enthusiasm the usurper's authority rests may be deceived by this *ignis fatuus*. Religious fervour may be roused to take the shape of war. Throughout history fanatics never failed to ruin their nations. Some nations have survived the disaster. But not all.

No army in Pakistan, or anywhere in the world can fulfil the ambitions of its officers without the readiness of the people to suffer, as the German people did under the misguidance of Hitler. This is the Achilles' heel of all military governments. General Ayub would do well therefore to consult his foreign friends as to the advisability of his anti-Indian military ambitions. Even if they, too, should encourage him for any reasons or he draws a wrong

meaning out of their equivocal advice and launch a military conflict, he will surely achieve the inglorious ruin of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan cannot go through what Germany went through and survive.

Ayub will soon find that he is not treated by the U.S.A. with even that qualified respect which Chiang Kai-shek has been receiving in that quarter. Chiang had fought the Communists though without success. Ayub has done nothing of the kind. He has only deposed Noon and Mirza which was not a herculean task as things stood!

For us in India, however, as a result of these happenings in Pakistan there seems to be no escape from the disastrous evil of increasing military expenditure. Both Pakistan and India stand in imminent danger of being financially ruined in this way and once again demonstrating the vanity of human wishes when based on external help.

If General Ayub does not make the mistake of overdoing his belligerency but contents himself with deceiving the people of Pakistan and maintaining order in Pakistan and holding the administration together, India would wish well to her neighbour State and watch with gratification any progress towards resumption of democratic government. The day may come, and nothing can be a greater joy than that Pakistan and India should both be efficiently governed and be two friendly parliamentary democracies and together be a glory to Asia and a bulwark for civilization.

### The British Way

Justice Salmon, sentencing the "Nigger Hunters" of Notting Hill said: "You are a minute and insignificant section of the population who have brought shame upon the District in which you live, and have filled the whole nation with horror, indignation

and disgust. Every one, irrespective of the colour of their skins, is entitled to walk through our streets in peace, with their heads erect, and free from fear. That is a right which these courts will unfailingly uphold."

Justice Salmon sentenced them to four years' imprisonment.



## Sotto Voce

### Writers in Exile

If anybody were to tell Indian admirers of M. Khrushchev that it is hardly consistent with his reputation for liberalising the regime that a tearing and raging campaign should be carried on against Boris Pasternak, they might retort, "Well, if Pasternak had smuggled his manuscript out of Russia when Stalin was alive, it would have been certain Siberia for him. But the present Government has not only overlooked its publication outside Russia. It has declared that it will not object if Pasternak should choose to receive the Nobel Prize or even to go and live outside Russia altogether. But why should it not say what it thinks of the novel and of the Swedish Academy which has singled it out for a prize because it libels Soviet Communism?"

If the book was so objectionable from the Soviet point of view, why did the "Soviet Union of Writers" and the Party Press lie low until the Nobel Prize put it in the limelight? No doubt there was a certain amount of criticism in Russia against the book when it was first published. The facts that the publisher too was a Communist and that Pasternak himself continued to subscribe to the ideology of Communism added to the piquancy of the situation. That the attack on the book was relatively mild was interpreted by many as a sign that Russian Communism had become more sure of itself. But the hysterical attack on the Swedish Academy hardly suggests political maturity.

Soviet scientists have also been honoured by the Academy with a Prize this year. And, far from being unwilling to accept the distinction, they have not only expressed their pleasure but signi-

fied their intention to go to Stockholm to receive the Award in person. I am glad that the resentment against the Academy has not been carried to the point of declaring it out of bounds for all Soviet citizens. But if the Academy acted judiciously in selecting Soviet scientists for honour it is difficult to accept the contention that in making the Literature award alone it was animated by a desire "to fan the cold war against the Soviet Union, the Soviet regime and the ideas of all-conquering socialism".

The lackey press and the tame poets are demanding that Pasternak should be pushed out of the Communist Eden. As the Tass Agency with freezing sarcasm puts it, he can then "experience personally all the charms of the capitalist paradise". This is apparently a command performance. The surmise is supported by Pasternak's tearful appeal to "Respectful Nita Sergeyevitch" not to take the extreme step of ordering him out of Russia. The man's obvious sincerity makes his tragic beseeching the more poignant. He says that leaving Russia would be death for him and it is clear that he is not thinking of the discomforts or personal deprivation of exile.

Russian literature has a long exile tradition. In the case of writers like Turgenev the exile was more or less voluntary and was the result of deep dissatisfaction with the dominant social and political set up. This has often led foreign observers to overlook the fact that at heart every Russian is a mouzhik. The Russian peasant's attachment to the soil and folkways is so passionate that the intellectuals of the long-urbanised western countries feel

uncomfortable in the face of this almost animal instinct. But the genius of a Tolstoy or a Dostoevsky would be inexplicable if we ignored it.

So when Pasternak says, "I cannot imagine my fate separate and outside Russia", he is honestly testifying to a fundamental truth about one kind of creative activity. The point may be illustrated by taking three writers who were all major artists in their very different ways. Though opinion is divided on the merits of Henry James' later work it is clear that it did not lose much by his voluntary expatriation. But it is difficult to imagine that any of the great Dickens novels could have been written outside England. And James Joyce, to take our third example, could not get Ireland out of his system in all his forty years in Paris. His work was one long reverie of his Dublin years.

Dickens attacked many social abuses of his time; he also perpetrated some caricatures. His reformist zeal was so effective that his ideas became part of the mental climate of his people. But today we do not remember him for his humanitarian propaganda. It is the loving delineation of the soul of a people with all its peculiarities and rich idiosyncrasies that holds the reader in thrall. It was by his service to truth that he exalted England. Imagine what the world and England might have lost if a "Nikita Khrushchev" could have shut him up or sent him to eat out his heart in some foreign land. Mr. Khrushchev should remember that.

VIGNESWARA

### SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)  
77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14  
PHONE: 86640 & 85251  
Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise  
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:  
(Including Postage)  
In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.  
Half-year: Rs. 4.00.



## RIGHT TO APOLOGIZE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodripad has tendered an apology to the Kerala High Court against the charge of contempt and risen higher in the esteem of fair-minded people. After the motion to trap him, a Congress delegation had gone to New Delhi for telling gruesome stories of that elusive term "Insecurity in Kerala." One of them, oblivious of his own past, was gleefully explaining in the lobby how, by his Khedah operations, he had seen E. M. S. irretrievably down-pit, but after the deputation's return home, they found themselves down in the mouth when E. M. S. presented himself before the Kerala High Court and expressed regret that he had, off guard, commented on a pending prosecution in the riot of political recriminations about insecurity in Kerala allegedly engineered by his Ministry.

Those who imagined that he was doomed under the Contempt proceedings so smartly initiated were aghast at the apology which really heightened his stature instead of burying him under the contemplated debris. Anything that strengthens the status of the Judiciary against the errors of the Executive must be welcome in a democracy. E. M. S. bowed before the High Court for a slip of the tongue and the matter ended without catastrophic consequences to the Ministry.

The expectation of his adversaries was that E. M. S. would kick

like an army mule and that in a frenzied fight between the Chief Executive Officer and the Chief Justice, he would have to face "purging," a disgrace E. M. S. would not be able to survive; but, then, he coolly apologized and went about his business.

The fact is that among us an apology, even when found at fault, is a humiliation, and one who is above blame does not "eat humble pie." The spirit behind the money-crazy cry about taking out a Writ or fighting up to the Supreme Court is really due to cussedness. When you have offended or are in error, it is only right to express regret. The one institution we cannot in any sense defame is the Judiciary and there is no harm in being corrected.

A bumptious lawyer once boasted to his wife on return home that he (Komatti Rau) had made the new judge squirm and beg his pardon several times. New to the tropics, his Lordship was hard of hearing on the day of his induction, and he more than once had said: "I beg your pardon, please speak a little louder."

Some people inclined to crow in contest insist that an apology should be unqualified, abject. It must be published in a prominent place in three consecutive issues of the paper. Why abject? Because of the notion that the admission of a mistake is a climb-down, whereas in reality an expression of regret is the only gentlemanly course by way of reparation.

In the fight between Moderates and Extremists during the first decades of the Century, the former party was supposed to be chronically apologetic in their outlook. Tilak had faith in court-action and would fight for even one-pie damages to vindicate his implacable consistency. Not so the Gentle Gokhale, who once publicly apologised and passed under a cloud. During the plague-crisis in Poona when troops were called for a sanitary drive (the time of the Rand Murder Case

when two European officers were killed) Gokhale happened to be in England. On the strength of information received in London, he issued a statement about "official atrocities." On return to Bombay he found that, misinformed, he had let himself in for an exaggerated version and he published his regret. There was an outcry amongst the Extremists that Gokhale had funk and betrayed the national cause. It was the age of defiance and Gokhale had a hard time living it down.

Once Khasa Subba Rau and I humbly apologised to the Madras High Court for contempt. It was in the days of Travancore agitation against the C. P. Ramaswamy regime, and an Editorial appeared in *Indian Express* containing a remote dig at the Judiciary. Sir Lionel Leach was the Chief Justice, and we were hauled up for contempt. We ran to the late S. Srinivasa Aiyangar (then in retirement) and sought his aid. He had a glance at the leading article and we received a first-rate scolding, but as a man with a heart and a patron-hero of ours, he went inside and donning his old tawny black gown drove us to the High Court, and much to the surprise of the Chief Justice, he appeared on our behalf, admitted our error and expressed regret on our behalf whilst casting a withering look at our sorry faces. Sir Lionel Leach dropped the matter and expressed his delight at seeing S. Srinivasa Aiyangar again within the precincts. I wonder if it was not his last appearance; but, for us, it is an evergreen memory.

No, no. There is nothing wrong in apologizing when one is at fault, politics or no politics. It is the gentlemanly thing to do, and it cleanses the bosom of much perilous stuff.

Disregard of moral values is growing among the political parties. They are becoming close preserves for a few leaders and their blind followers and diminishing moral strength is sought to be compensated by intrigues and manipulations. Success in elections is becoming a function of expenditure of money and exploitation of caste and communal prejudices. — SRI K. SANTHANAM, in *The Hindu*.



## LABOUR POLICY IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT

By K. SANTHANAM

There are over one hundred million adult workers in India. Of them, all except twelve millions are engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and other rural occupations. It is hardly possible to have any special policy for them except the general promotion of agricultural prosperity and maintenance of fair levels of agricultural prices. Hence, issues of policy arise only with regard to the six millions of workers engaged in private industry and commerce and an equal number employed in public offices and undertakings.

These two sections have become highly organised and unfortunately, they have become accustomed to think of their emoluments and conditions of service without any regard for either the actual work turned out by them or the national economy as a whole. Their leaders try to justify this by pointing to the high emoluments given to the managerial and officer classes.

From a moral or socialistic point of view this may be justified. But, the managerial and the officer classes do not altogether absorb more than 5% of the product of what may be called the organised sector of the Indian economy while labour gets about 75%. It is this sector which is responsible for over 50% of the total national income that has to provide the bulk of the taxes and savings required for economic development. Now labour productivity is so low and its relative cost so high that the country is threatened with stagnation if the entire outlook of labour does not change. As it is not reasonable to expect that it will accept any reduction of emoluments, the only possible way is to increase productivity and reduce wastage by giving up strikes, superfluous holidays etc. A general acceptance of piece-work wherever it is possible will

be an effective means of increasing productivity.

In public offices and in public undertakings, the position is even worse than in private establishments. Minimum work and maximum pay has become the slogan. Parkinson's law relating to the automatic increase of bureaucracy is in full force.

I am convinced that either by convention or by legislation all factors obstructing the growth of production and productivity have to be removed in the interests of organised labour itself. It is only through rapid development of industries, large, medium and small, that stagnation can be avoided. This is the test of democracy in India and if it fails, it will be ruthlessly replaced by some system which will put labour in its proper place. Those workers who imagine that a communist revolution will benefit them are living in a fool's paradise. Their grand children or great grand children may or may

not benefit by such a revolution but the present generation of workers will have to work like slaves. It is wiser to prefer the easier yoke of democracy and accept immediate sacrifices for the sake of the future. I believe it was the inability of the Kuomintang regime in China to discipline the workers and the bureaucracy that undermined its existence. It is a lesson India should not forget.

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

### TAMIL VALMIKI RAMAYANA CHURUKKAM

In easy elegant Tamil prose adapted from the Tamil prose translation of Valmiki Ramayana by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar—7 kandams—451 pages. A book for every Tamil home and school library.

REDUCED PRICE Rs. 2

K. MAHADEVAN,  
82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

Quick,  
soothing  
relief  
from pain



The gentle touch of  
AMRUTANJAN,  
Conqueror of Pain,  
quickly relieves  
throbbing aches  
and pains.

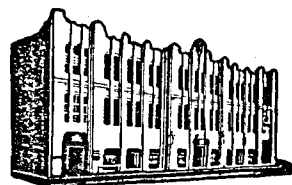
# AMRUTANJAN



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
Calcutta-7.

AL 57-3 A

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :  
"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |                |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | " 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | " 99,50,360    |
| Deposits                                        | " 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTIONED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

### CAPITAL COMMENTS

## GOVERNORS BECOME A PROBLEM

By JUNIUS

New Delhi : It seems to be idle to look for anything like a coherent pattern in the affairs and life of Pakistan. Its changing—indeed, its ever-changing—picture forces on one's mind a kind of reflectiveness about political upheavals. From the point of view of extreme uncertainty about the next day's setting, Karachi is so much reminiscent of Moscow, and not of Washington to which it otherwise turns for aid. Or is it all a part of the Middle-East drama? Gen. Mirza seems to have gone the way of General Neguib; General Ayub Khan is perhaps to Mirza what Nasser is to Neguib. Whatever individual fortunes be, one cannot but feel concerned that after eleven years of Independence, Pakistan has not settled down and known no respite from unrest. For all the restraint India has shown in reacting to Pakistan's strange vicissitudes, it is her lot to hear once again the wildest threats. Beginning with Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan who showed the 'clenched fist', successive Prime Ministers have used the language of discord and possibly thought in terms of strife. Now it is a General's word. What he is counting on, he alone should know, though what he is bargaining for, he may not. This is just the time when his Western friends who have doubtless a better understanding of the posture of affairs in the East, should put him wise in good time, in the larger interests of world peace. Delhi refuses to be rattled—and the Prime Minister to be easily provoked.

It was Governors' week at the Capital. As Heads of States, however ornamental, they command attention. Whether in times of any regional crisis or otherwise, they have a real place in the larger scheme of things as the watchdogs of the Centre. They bark little and bite less, but they have the essential canine quality of

faithfulness. They receive reports and send reports and attend a kind of annual seminar in Delhi where they both hear and are heard. These days when the general emphasis all over is on austerity, our Governors have wisely eschewed all pomp: indeed, they are not fond of any show, unless it be a flower-show! They are, on the whole, good mixers. It is wrong to think that they have an easy time or have no problems of their own: they have. In fact, they have, it seems, themselves become a problem as the Centre is supposed to be in two minds whether they should be armed with wider powers. The situation would not have perhaps arisen if the constitution-makers could foresee that the relations between the Centre and a State were not always bound to be necessarily smooth and that on occasions there might be strain and tension. For the sake of Congress Chiefs in the States, one cannot ask for Governors without real authority and at the same time one cannot desire to see Governors fully armed in States where the Congress is powerless. Chief Ministers like Mr. Kamaraj Nadar and Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy have their settled views about the gubernatorial order while a Governor like Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao has his own if he should be effective in admittedly difficult situations. It is interesting to find that while sometime ago, the cry was for even the abolition of governorship, now the demand is for Governors nearer the older type. Incidentally, the veteran Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya does not now mind if we have only honorary Governors! Other days, other considerations.

Bipin Chandra Pal whose birth-centenary was celebrated in Calcutta and several other places was at the height of his glory a power in the land and a terror to the British masters. For



## THE BUTTERFLY AND THE WORM

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

A butterfly spent her time happily in a garden, flying from tree to tree, sitting on flowers and drinking honey. Seeing a worm on a leaf, she laughed. It made fun of it, saying, "Ah worm! Why should a creature like you exist? Are you not ashamed of yourself?"

"I am all right," answered the worm. "What is wrong with me?"

"What is wrong with you, indeed?" said the butterfly. "You seem to know nothing. Why, look at me. Look at the way I fly. And now look at yourself—without wings, cling to a leaf and crawling along. And you are content with this kind of life. I have never seen such a foolish creature!"

The sparrow addressed the butterfly: "Sister, my sister, a few days ago you too were a grub. Don't you remember?"

"Shut up! Don't tell lies! What, I was a grub, was I? Never. I have always been like this."

And the butterfly lady flew off to her lover. A little later, she grew big with child. She chose a good spot and laid her eggs. Very pleased with her-

self, she was awaiting the hatching of the eggs.

One day, the eggs hatched. "Good God!" she cried, "Unfair and cruel! These are all grubs. Should not my young ones be like me? Who has laid a curse on me?"

The male butterfly offered an explanation. "You insulted a worm. Perhaps, it has laid this curse."

"No, no," said the female fly. "It was a good-natured worm. It could never have done such a thing."

A little later she said, "Somehow I have come to like these grubs. They are not so bad as I thought at first."

"Yes. Isn't it wonderful?" said the male fly. "I too feel the same."

After a few days all the grubs got wings and flew about.

The sparrow said to the butterfly, "Now, look at your children!"

"How wonderful!" said the proud mother. "The grubs have grown into butterflies."

And turning to the little gay creatures, she said, "Children! Do you remember you were grubs. But you were born my children, were you not?"

The little ones understood none of this talk. They did not care for their mother and flew away. They too began to suck honey from flowers. They had no thought of father or mother.

The old lady butterfly sadly complained, "It is a bad world, that is what it is. Children don't care for the mother that bore them!"

"Yes, my dear," said the male. "I am sleepy. Let us shut our eyes and be still."

And the two fell asleep where they were. They slept soundly.

They never woke up from that long slumber.

Like actors playing the parts of King and Queen, grubs play for a while the parts of winged insects flying in the air. Then they go off into sound sleep from which there is no waking. The innocent creatures go straight to the Lord.

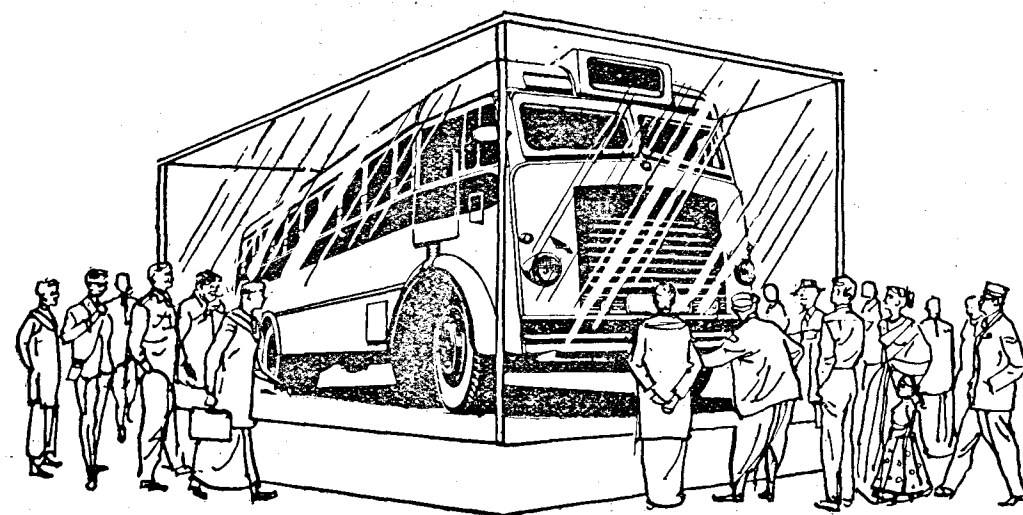
\* \* \*

Some poor people, by a stroke of luck, become rich. Of these a few forget their former state and strut about proudly. Such persons are like grubs becoming insects who forget their past. But these proud and wealthy men are not innocent and sinless like the poor insects. Nor do they—like the insects—quite forget the earlier phase. They remember and are yet proud. Poor souls! The sound sleep of the insect is not for them.

rousing mass-mind he was comparable only to Lloyd George. Never was oratory in India more decisive in moving the multitude than when he delivered his philippics on the Madras beach in 1907, in the twin causes of Swadeshi and Swaraj. A portentous figure in politics and a compelling one in journalism, his was essentially a creative mind; and he could hardly find it easy to conform to any approved pattern of current politics, no matter of whose creation. Nowhere had the quality of the flashing swordsman in political combat proved to be more dazzling than when in

the Central Legislature he was teased and heckled by his former colleagues. One day, in 1925,—interestingly enough it was the Ides of March—Bipin Babu's old Swarajist friends dared to take liberties with him and got mercilessly mauled down by his mordant wit and deadly retort. Speaking on Dyarchy, he observed: "Dyarchy is a monster, unheard of in political science and in history." "Then, why do you work it?" asked a Maharatta Swarajist. Bipin Chandra was ready with the retort: "I worked even with you!" That should have put his 'friends' wise but

there was yet another interruption. As the old gladiator waxed eloquent on what he described as the futility of a pacific revolution, a rasping voice was heard asking him: "Do you not remember 1921?" It was the valiant V. J. Patel this time. Bipin Babu had his life's opportunity to hit back mercilessly. With one piercing look at the bearded Vithal-bai, he said: "Yes, 1921, but you denied and betrayed your Master three times before the cock crew". And that was the end of all interruptions. Such was Pal the pugilist. How utterly barren is political controversy today!



## YOU CAN'T KEEP YOUR VEHICLE INSIDE A GLASS CASE...

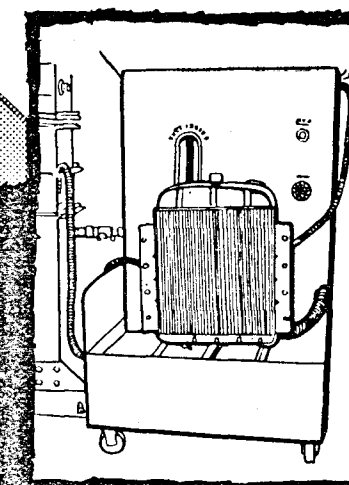
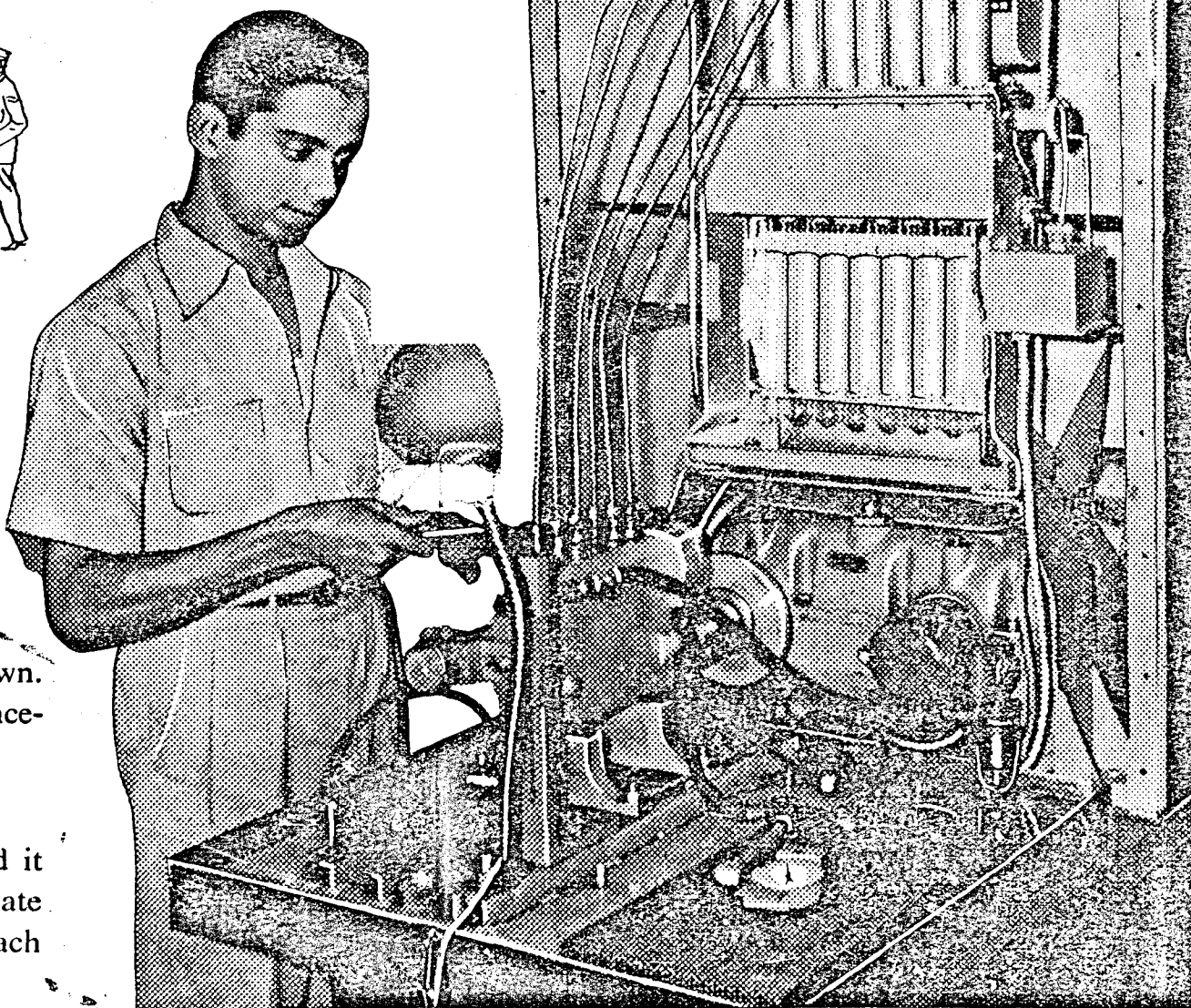
Constant use tells upon your vehicle and may lead to a breakdown. TVS servicing helps you save on maintenance, repairs and replacements—keeps your vehicle m-o-v-i-n-g.

WHETHER you own a car, a bus or a truck, you will find it worthwhile to get it serviced by TVS. TVS have up-to-date instruments for testing, repairing or rebuilding motor parts. Each instrument is handled by men specially trained to operate it.

**T. V. SUNDARAM IYENGAR & SONS PRIVATE LTD**  
Madurai — Tiruchi — Tirunelveli — Pudukkottai — Salem — Coimbatore



**SUNDARAM MOTORS PRIVATE LTD**  
Madras

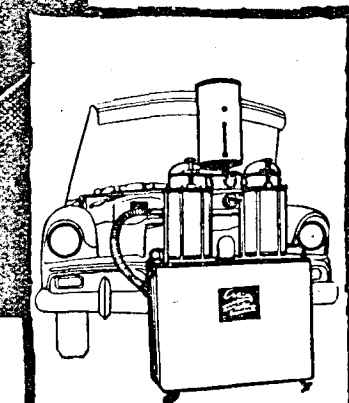


### Radiator flow tester:

Every radiator should permit a specified quantity of water flowing through the system per minute. This helps to keep the engine cool. At TVS the efficiency of the radiator of your vehicle is tested with this special instrument.

### Fuel injection pump tester:

Testing a fuel injection pump of a diesel engine and reconditioning its nozzles is a precision job. TVS have the fuel injection pump testing equipment both at Madurai and Madras, housed in special air-conditioned rooms, to ensure precision work.



### Pressure purger:

Water that is ordinarily used in radiator contains impurities which form scales, clogs circulation and affects correct cooling. Impurities thus lead to overheating. This 'Pressure Purger' cleans them by special chemicals and assures even circulation of water.



### Without Comment

#### DANGEROUS DULLES

In the middle of September, at Newport "The U.S. intends to go to the aid of the Chinese Nationalists with fighting men if Quemoy and Matsu are attacked and would not wait until the situation was in extremis, before going in.

In the second week of October that even if the mainland Chinese staged a Hungary-type revolt against communism, it would probably be primarily under local auspices and local leadership, and it would hypothetical and problematical as to whether or not it would involve the going back of Chiang as Head of the Government. If there was a cease fire in the area which seemed to be reasonably dependable, I think it would be foolish to keep these large forces on these islands. We thought it was rather foolish to put them there, and, as I say, if there were a cease-fire, it would be our judgement, military judgement even, that it would not be wise or prudent to keep them there.

Television interview on October 23rd in London that United States had more continuous serious dealings with Communist China than any other free country over the past ten years. "We are not going to attack or tolerate attacks against the Chinese communists. But when they attack, then I think we have to stand firm."

#### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman  
Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

## THE RUSSIAN CASE ABOUT TEST EXPLOSIONS

Moscow, 30-10-58

It can be said without exaggeration that this problem directly affects the vital interests of all peoples of the world. Let alone the hazards of nuclear explosions for human health, the continuing tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons whip up the race for the creation of ever more destructive means of wholesale annihilation, increase the danger of a rocket-nuclear war. When sending its representatives to the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Government proceeded from the premise that this three-power meeting of nuclear powers has every opportunity to solve positively the historic problem of terminating for ever the tests of the most destructive and lethal types of weapons ever created by mankind.

The Soviet Union demands the immediate and general termination of nuclear weapons tests once and for all. Further delay in the solution of the question related to the ending of nuclear tests creates, as experience shows, ever new difficulties to the achievement of the necessary international agreement on this score.

The USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government, desirous of laying a practical beginning for the general termination of nuclear tests, adopted on March 31, 1958 a decision to end unilaterally all atomic and hydrogen weapon tests in the USSR. The Soviet Union voluntarily gave up its nuclear weapon tests and waited for a long time for the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to follow suit. The Soviet Union has taken this step, unprecedented in the history of international relations, despite the fact that it had then set off less experimental explosions of nuclear weapons than the United States and Great Britain. The Governments of the United States and Great Britain had only to follow this noble example of the Soviet Union and the explo-

sions of hydrogen and atomic bombs would have ceased shaking the Pacific and the Arctic, while mankind would have been saved from the injurious consequences of nuclear tests. However, the United States and Great Britain did not wish to follow the Soviet Government's initiative. Moreover, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain replied with an unprecedented number of nuclear bomb explosions to the Soviet Union's suspension of tests.

After March 31, the date when the Soviet Union suspended all nuclear weapon tests, the United States alone detonated some 50 atomic and hydrogen bombs. The matter went to such lengths that nuclear explosions began to roar twice or even thrice a day on American test grounds. The British Government had also stepped up its nuclear tests.

For a long time the Governments of the United States and Great Britain had been alleging that it was altogether impossible to establish control over an international agreement on the termination of tests. The Soviet Government has always believed that the scientific and technical means possessed by the nations are absolutely sufficient to establish a reliable control over the agreement to end nuclear tests, and that the Western references to alleged difficulties or even impossibility of such a control was nothing but an attempt to mislead the people, to cover up their unwillingness to end nuclear tests.

The recent Geneva experts' meeting which was attended also by the representatives of the United States and Great Britain fully confirmed this view of the Soviet Government. The experts' meeting arrived at the conclusion that control over the general termination of nuclear tests was absolutely possible and that the establishment of a control system was practicable. As for the Soviet Government, it has as is known, agreed to all the conclu-

sions and recommendations of the Geneva experts' meeting and is ready, for its part, to promote their implementation.

Actually there has long been a situation in the world when not a single nuclear explosion remains undetected and unregis-

ed by other countries. The Soviet Union, for instance, knows just as much of the nuclear weapon tests held in the United States and Great Britain, as the United States and Great Britain know of the nuclear tests held by the Soviet Union.

Hence, the real obstacle resides by no means in control over the enforcement of a test-ending agreement but in the unwillingness of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to accept such an agreement and thereby put an end to



### He's never colour blind about vitamins!

Yes, vitamins *do* produce colours! And this expert can tell the exact strength of a vitamin by the colour reading on his photo-electric equipment.

Why all this precision? Because we know that you expect *unvarying* high quality when you buy Hindustan Lever products.

To ensure that these standards are maintained, we test at every stage. From the buying of raw materials, to the manufacturing process, to the performance of the finished product...experts, technicians, scientists are checking and double-checking. This *quality control* also helps conserve precious national resources and vital production time.

In this way, we are providing you with quality *products you can trust*, at economical prices.



### HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME

the dangerous experiments with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

After the Geneva experts' conference, which made impossible any references to the difficulties of control, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom resorted to fresh manoeuvres. They declared on August 22 that they were willing to negotiate only a "suspension" of the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons rather than the ending of these tests once and for all. More than that, in their statements President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan mentioned a suspension of tests for one year, that is, just the time needed for analysing the results of the preceding tests and preparing for another series of nuclear tests.

True, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom grant the possibility of this temporary suspension of tests being prolonged for subsequent yearly periods. But they are hedging this possibility with a whole series of conditions, including the achievement of agreement on the "basic and essential

measures" in the field of disarmament. The attempt is thus again being made to attach to the disarmament problem as a whole the simple and long overdue solution of the problem of ending the tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs, which does not, properly speaking, require anything more than the goodwill of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. The disarmament problem, however, has been the subject of talks between the powers for 13 years, without having reached not only any tangible progress in solving this all-important problem but even without so much as having brought the positions of the parties concerned noticeably closer to each other in spite of all the efforts of the Soviet Union.

Why have the United States and the United Kingdom had to lay down conditions of this kind and to predicate the stopping of nuclear tests on the solution of far more complex issues? Apparently, they have done so for the only purpose of preventing the achievement of agreement on ending nuclear tests for ever and to have a free hand for resuming such tests at any moment at their discretion. To accept the proposal of the United States and the United Kingdom would mean to share in deceiving the peoples who want the governments to put an end to the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

It is for this reason that the Soviet Government regards as utterly unacceptable the proposal of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom for a one-year suspension of nuclear tests and emphatically rejects it.

By proposing a one-year suspension of tests, after a hasty series of tests, the most intense yet held, the United States and the United Kingdom are obviously seeking unilateral military superiority over the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government cannot, naturally, overlook this.

The position of the Western powers, which do not agree to an immediate and unconditional termination of nuclear weapon tests and are staging atomic and hydro-

gen bomb explosions on an ever-increasing scale, has already compelled the Soviet Union to resume nuclear testing to ensure its security. The action of the Western powers gives the Soviet Union a full right to continue with staging test explosions in a 1:1 ratio to the number of explosions staged by the United States and the United Kingdom together, until the number of explosions set off by the Soviet Union since it resumed testing equals that of nuclear test explosions staged by these powers since March 31, 1958. This is just the line of action the Soviet Government will carry on, in its concern for the security of the Soviet people, so long as the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom persist in wrecking agreement and raising obstacles to an agreement on the immediate stopping of the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons for all times. The Governments of the above-mentioned two powers should not have any illusions that they can decide when, in these conditions, the Soviet Union should hold nuclear tests and when it should not. The position of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom leaves the Soviet Union with no alternative but to conclude an agreement on the universal stopping of nuclear tests for all times or, as stated above, to continue with these tests. Should the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom be willing to conclude the agreement in question, the Soviet Union, having signed it now, will, in common with them, stop tests forthwith, even in spite of the fact that the USSR has set off fewer test explosions than the United States and the United Kingdom.

Attempts have been made in the United States and Britain, in the last days before the opening of the Geneva talks, to misrepresent the Soviet Union's stand on the ending of nuclear tests. An assertion has gained currency that the USSR has "reversed" its position on the matter and has all but refused to end test explosions. This was the tenor of the statement made by the United

States Secretary of State Dulles on October 28. It boiled down to an attempt, by misrepresenting the Soviet position on the stopping of nuclear tests, to divert public attention from the stubborn reluctance of the United States Government to accept an agreement on a perpetual ending

of atomic and hydrogen test explosions sought by the Soviet Union.

As to the Soviet Union, it will continue to press for the immediate and universal stopping of nuclear tests for all times. This is just what will guide its representatives at the Geneva Confer-

ence. Should the United States and the United Kingdom adopt a similar approach, the problem of stopping the tests of nuclear weapons will be solved finally and completely on the very day these governments announce their consent to end nuclear tests for ever.

## A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

### SOLVING A PRESSING PROBLEM:

It was such a large pile of clothes, sheets and towels—Mummy had to ask Ruma and Uma to help with the ironing. Lots of washing, yes. But Mummy used so little soap. She washes with SUNLIGHT, of course. That wonderful extra lather washes so much! It draws out every scrap of dirt without beating!

Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!



SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

S. 263-X52

**For Writing Comfort**

**FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE**

For skin diseases  
**SANDALIN Ointment**

**RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES**

Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
mnc/158/A

## A PROFESSOR ON STUDENT BEHAVIOUR

By D. D. KARVE

(Continued from previous issue)

I have always wondered about students' agitations against fee-increases or other types of price-rises. Have these students no parents, no guardians? Are all students responsible for finding the money to maintain themselves and pay for their education? How is it that the parents and guardians do not tell the students—"look here, fee-increases or rises in transport charges are not your concern? If we think, we cannot afford the higher charges and must agitate for getting them reduced, we shall do whatever is necessary. But you must not resort to direct action." Every time students begin an agitation against such matters, they ought to be given a severe warning and told to keep off—but unfortunately, the parents and guardians, i.e., our middle-class is not doing its duty. Take the case of the recent events in Kerala. A private transport undertaking had given some special concessions to the pupils of a few institutions in a certain region. On nationalization of all transport undertakings in the State, a uniform concession was given to all students, which apparently made it necessary for these specially favoured pupils to pay a slightly higher rate. Now that was the starting point of the agitation. At that stage, it was quite clear who were the pupils affected by the change and every guardian of such a pupil had the clear duty of telling his ward in the clearest possible terms that if any agitation was necessary to have the old concession continued, *they*, the guardians, would undertake it (in constitutional manner), but the pupils had no business to take out any *morchas*, observe any hartals or resort to picketing. If even a large proportion of the guardians concerned had done this, and given instructions to those of the young wards who disobeyed their instructions, I am sure the whole fair would have been stopped at

that point. It would stand to reason that a nationalized transport organization could not possibly give a specially favoured treatment to pupils in particular regions. And the guardians as reasonable citizens could have easily appreciated that. But even if they wished to do something in the matter, the duty of each one who had a ward affected by the taking away of the special concession, was to warn the young boy or girl to undertake no agitation—or else! The same would apply to all changes in the rates of payment—college-fees, prices of books, entrance to cinema shows, etc. In the first place, these are often a part of the general increase in the cost of living and are inevitable in the kind of set-up we have at present. But even if any public move to reduce the higher charges is thought necessary, it is definitely not for the students to make it. And every single guardian who fails to give the most serious warning to his ward when a movement of this kind is in the air and when his ward is one of those who are affected (i.e., a pupil in the institution where a fee-increase has taken place or one who has to pay more for his bus, rail or tram ticket, etc.) or fails to take disciplinary action if his ward has disobeyed the instruction is doing a grave disservice to his ward and to society.

Then we have the political parties. Most of the "leaders" who are advising students to keep away from direct action, from mixing up with day-to-day politics and concentrate on studies are, I am sorry to say, not very honest. They not only do not mind, but actually want students to join them in *their* movements—even *their* direct action. It is only the movements of the *other* parties that the students should keep away from. This dishonesty, which, I am again sorry to note,

is common to all political parties in India today, is the cause of a lot of indiscipline among students. For, whenever any party is carrying on an agitation, there are always some students who are drawn into it. In some cases, it is the political parties who jump into a small-scale agitation of students to remove a petty grievance and magnify it so that they can pose as the champions of the oppressed, the down-trodden etc.—and thus improve their chances in the next election! In this of course the opposition parties have greater opportunities, as the party in power cannot usually patronize any kind of agitation against conditions which, as Government, it could change if necessary.

Very often, the political parties do not even stop to think whether a particular agitation is based on a legitimate and proper demand. Take again what happened in Lucknow a few weeks back. The original demand that students studying in an Ayurvedic College should be either admitted to the M.B.B.S. course, or given, when in Government service, the same scales of salaries was not reasonable. However, in support of this demand and in order to show their sympathy to a student who had undertaken a fast, most students in Lucknow declared a hartal. Then, on learning that the students in a particular college had not abandoned their studies, a *morcha* began to converge on this college. When the police stopped the procession and asked it to disperse, there was the usual rowdiness, stone-throwing etc. and ultimately shooting and a couple of deaths. Now, why could not the leaders, who later took political action, tell the students in the *morcha*—"Boys, go back to your colleges. This is certainly not the way to carry on agitation for any demand, reasonable or otherwise. And you must obey orders of the police when asked to disperse. We, as political workers, will take up the question if we are convinced that the demand is justified"? A member who can move an adjournment motion and demand an inquiry into the behaviour of the police can certainly also try

to get the original demand accepted. But instead of that, it is the events after the students have begun the agitation that are taken up by the politicians.

In a recent speech in Madras, just when the Lucknow incidents were taking place, President Rajendra Prasad stated that all political parties in Madras had come to an agreement to leave students severely alone and not involve them in any political or other movement. I hope this will be adhered to, but I think the agreement should go further and all politicians should warn the students that they would receive no sympathy from any political party if they ever resorted to hartals, *morchas* and the like. If they had any grievances, they could bring them to the notice of leaders, who then would take whatever measures that were necessary. If such an agreed general statement and warning could be issued to students by all political parties, we would be well on the way to better student behaviour. But the present attitude of the political parties is not very encouraging. They are ready to take up every kind of grievance, reasonable or otherwise and make political capital out of it—in fact, they appear to be waiting for something to turn up. They organize student sections of the parties and have action committees and cells in educational institutions wherever they can find a foothold.

Thus, both guardians and political parties are not only not doing their duty in the matter of improving the state of affairs, they are helping to make things as bad as they could possibly be. Under the circumstances, all those protestations deploring the state of student discipline, cannot be taken at their face value. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that if we are at all serious about eliminating indiscipline among students, three major steps are necessary—(1) the improvement of conditions in the institutions so that only those who are capable of benefitting from the education and are serious about their studies are admitted and allowed to continue; (2) the guardians

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### HOW FOREIGN AID DEMORALIZES

Sir,—Proof is now available that crass dependence on foreign economic help demoralizes the recipient nation.

Britain offered India recently a credit of forty million pounds (as part of a larger programme of aid), no doubt as a result of Mr. Morarji Desai's mission of mendicinity. The widespread reaction to this British offer of help is that India has been sulkily accusing Britain of illiberality in view of how she fattened herself on India for two centuries.

I do not of course hold a brief for imperialism, but if a country of several hundred millions was subdued and ruled over by another and much smaller one, is not at least part of the blame to be apportioned to the former for its sloth and lack of integrity? Ten years after the British left India, we may now recognise without being unpatriotic that they could get a foothold in India only because India was a hotbed of political and monarchical rivalries and animosities. Britain was greedy and efficient, that is how she could subject us to her authority. We were greedy, unprincipled and incredibly inefficient and disunited.

To demand help from Britain as a matter of right on the ground of our past subjection to her is self-debasement in retrospect. Apparently, even honour is not considered by us as too high a price for the pottage of pounds and dollars.

R. MANI

### CRAZY PAVEMENT

Sir,—The authorities concerned are paving the side-walk in the Madras marina with stones. Their intention is not clear, for this is

do their duty and never allow their wards to take part in any agitation for reducing the cost of education or of other incidental matters, and (3) the political parties not only keep students away from agitation, but actually warn them that they would receive no help if they try to take things in their own hands.

going to make walking on the flagged stones hot for the bare-footed and heavy and hard for those wearing shoes. A pedestrian pathway must have a soft surface. Why this unpleasant alteration?

A CITIZEN OF MADRAS

### CELEBRATION OF BIRTHDAYS

Sir,—Sri Rajaji has frowned upon the suggestion that his birthday be publicly celebrated. To Rajaji the occasion may mean nothing. But to us it gives us a chance to show ourselves out. Today every occasion has become the monopoly of the ministers-cum-film stars-cum-big throated everybody. The participants in all these official-sponsored functions are much favoured nobodies who can talk of admirable nothings. They begin anywhere and end in five year plans and the middle is all full of unheard of, unseen and unimaginable ravings which should disgust any one who knows and has done something. In these circumstances, Sashti-abdipurthis, Satabishekams and other functions give us the pleasure of remembering good things achieved. Hence my plea for its celebration.

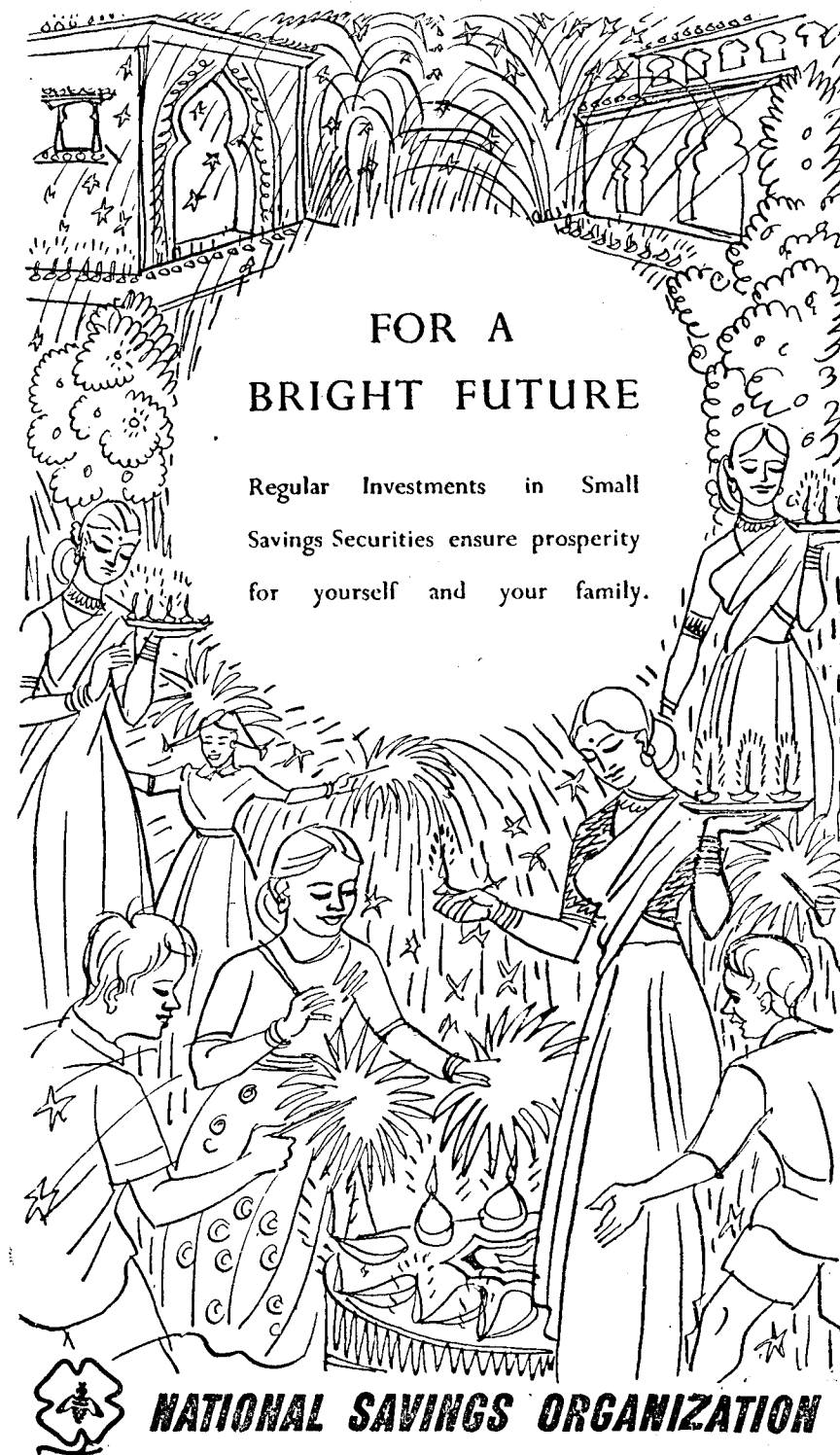
BIKSHU NIRMALANANDA

### NEHRU PARK

Sir,—Nehru Park is situated in Poonamallee High Road. I happened to pay a visit to the park last week. The park is half the size of Panagal Park at Mam-balam. A few mercury lights and some cement benches which are not in good condition, are seen in Nehru Park. It is the wish of all the people in that area that the park should be provided with a radio and a reading room. As many of the residents living in that area find it difficult to spend their time in the evening, they go to Triplicane and other parks though there is one nearby. The Corporation authorities should provide a radio and a reading room so that the people can enjoy their evening time in the park.

M. KRISHNASWAMY IYENGAR





## FOR A BRIGHT FUTURE

Regular Investments in Small  
Savings Securities ensure prosperity  
for yourself and your family.



**NATIONAL SAVINGS ORGANIZATION**

DA-58/270

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

# SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 19

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 15, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## YET WE MUST HOPE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

America has slowly begun to see the folly of maintaining in office people whose definite policy is to make danger for the world. The voters may not have yet visualised what the new policy should be but they have no doubts as to the present policy being wrong. This is not a case for maintaining the *status quo* and throwing the burden of proof on those who seek a change. Where hatred and war are being ceaselessly provoked and all negotiation degenerates into angling for advantage, which is only too obvious to the other party and becomes easy material for public exposure and ridicule, it is clear that the want of confidence of the voters must be recorded. And that has been done in the clearest manner.

Not brinkmanship, but something else is wanted. What is that something? It is leadership, leadership in a true sense not of one block or another but of the world. American policy should give a lead to the world. This is the leadership that is wanted. One must take the right step oneself without waiting for the other parties to do it. This alone is what can rightly be called leadership in the world-sense, as distinguished from the leadership of a political group or of a group of nations involved in belligerency against another group.

In spite of all the immediately available arguments based on skepticism and fear, the doctrine of unilateral action has made steady progress. More people see now that there is no other way, and that if we do not wish impotently to wait for annihilation we must accept that policy for healing the world's malady.

As George B. Caird of the McGill University in Montreal has pointed out, the great moral advances of the past have all been achieved when one man, one group, one nation has obeyed the voice of God, whatever might be the cost of obedience and has dared the rest of the world to follow. And he instanced the abolition of the slave trade. It was postponed for years because the British government was afraid that renunciation on its part while other nations continued to enjoy the commercial benefits of the trade, might mean economic disaster. But when Wilberforce won his case for unilateral abolition, he was invited to one European capital after another to give the leadership he had given to his own people.

Surely the destruction of civilization and the poisoning of the world's atmosphere, of man's creative cells for generations to come, must be a more urgent call than even the iniquities of the slave trade.

C A says to B that unless he, the latter, stops doing it, A will continue to poison C. B says that he has to poison C so long as A does not stop doing it. No one speaks for C. He must continue to be poisoned by both because A and B do not trust one another. The advantage of science has strangled the moral law. A less 'civilized' world was able to behave better. Strange paradox!

Professor George Caird had a legitimate ground to ask "Has it ever occurred to you how desperately illogical we of the western world are in our attitude to Russia? We exalt our own way of life with its liberty of conscience and freedom of enterprise and decry the Russian way in which a man cannot call his soul his own; and then having assigned all Communists to their place of inferiority, we demand that they shall be the ones to perform the act of grace that is to break the deadlock of mutual suspicion".

And this is done even when Russia says "we are ready to sign now and here along with you"! The World Federation of Scientific workers sent its message to Tokyo asking those that gathered there recently "to see to it that the dangerous nuclear arms race be put to an end".

The jurists of the world who assembled at the Tokyo Confer-

ence reached the following conclusions after full discussion:

1. The use of nuclear weapons is illegal because it is contrary to the principle of international law that prohibits indiscriminate bombing and to Article 23(a) of the Hague Convention.
2. No government has under international law any right to designate a vast danger-zone and carry out nuclear tests. The announcement of the

U.S.S.R. government of the cessation of nuclear tests conforms with the above principles of international law and we believe that the U.S.A. and Great Britain are under an obligation to the law of nations to do likewise.

The tragedy of the situation now is that after waiting for six months the U.S.S.R. has recalled its decision and resumed tests. And the comedy is that America finds fault with the U.S.S.R. for

cancelling the suspension which the latter had unilaterally undertaken, although America herself did not in the least co-operate with or follow the Russian lead and actually ridiculed it.

There is neither a sense of moral obligation which once governed the activities of nations, nor even a sense of humour.

Yet we must hope, for, without it, we face Death. We have reached a stage when hope has become a superstition and yet we have to cling to it.

## LABOUR IN KERALA

The plantation industry in Kerala is confronted with a labour crisis. Labour in Kerala, as elsewhere in India, is aligned partly to the ideology and control of the Communists, and partly to the supposedly less intransigent INTUC, which is Congress-inclined. But this internecine separation is political and not economic. The basic problem in Kerala is also political.

When the Communists came to power in Kerala, the Congress sat up and took notice. It had allowed a State to slip from its hands. So it strengthened the forces of opposition. Meanwhile, the Communists, who, for the first time in the history of the world, came to power through the procedure of democratic voting, diluted the impending revolution by welcoming private capital and by passing Amritsar resolutions in favour of parliamentary way. But it is the opposition that has introduced in Kerala politics a relentless, twenty-four-hour catch-as-catch-can combativeness, which is not in conformity with the constructive purposes embodied in the principle of a parliamentary opposition which is an alternative and potential Government. In other words, democracy in Kerala is not confined to parliament, but is being fought out between the Government and the opposition in every sphere of life, including the encouragement of students' strikes, and trial by ordeal at public meetings.

And in this game, while the opposition displays anxiety and inexperience, the Communists who have been nourished in the creation of chaos and are adepts in the fomentation of trouble, are held back by the responsibility of maintaining peace on earth though not goodwill towards all men, and are compelled into subterfuges for which they seek party precedents in vain. One is afraid that this is the game for which the plantation labourers are bleating pawns.

Let us look at the facts. Workers in the Kerala plantations declared a strike from October 25, mainly on the issue of a bonus for the year 1957. They abstained from work for a day, but held back the strike for a week to facilitate settlement. A tripartite conciliation conference was held, Government, Labour, and Management participating. It was proposed to examine the trading profits of ten representative plantations before making a proposal for bonus. Now as many views have emerged as there are parties. The INTUC spokesman is not in favour of an industry-wide settlement. He represents the Munnar labourers and they have already referred the matter to arbitration. The managements are adamant that a settlement should be for the entire industry in the State. Due to the stand taken by the INTUC, the committee set up to examine the trading profits could not go into the merits of the case.

The Government of Kerala who, in any event, are not friends of the INTUC, say that they have rejected the application for adjudication because the INTUC union does not represent the majority labour interest of the area. As soon as the application was made, the INTUC union withdrew the strike in Munnar, but the Communist AITUC union persisted in the strike.

The Chief Minister of Kerala has meanwhile made a speech at Palghat justifying the strike.

This is a good year for tea. The crop is above average. It has been estimated that five million pounds of tea, valued at a crore and thirty-two lakhs of rupees, have been lost in the Munnar area alone. In addition there has been a million pounds fall in rubber production in Central Travancore, due to sporadic strikes.

A recital of the events of the dispute makes it plain that what is going on is a jockeying for political position. Labour has always been the raw material and the fodder of Communist revolution. What is the value of planning for a Welfare State and raising expropriatory taxes from the people, if a whole segment of the plan, involving millions of pounds of foreign exchange, is wrecked by the practice of an imprudent political game?

Kerala is a symptom of a creeping disease, the blame for which has to be shared by the Communists and the Congress alike.



## Sotto Voce

### 'Traditional' Cultures

The UNESCO arranged last week for a seminar in Madras of experts on "the traditional cultures" of East Asia. The Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University explained that "the study of traditional cultures implied the study of the mode of life and the many ties that brought society together and kept it homogeneous, of the factors that went towards promoting peace and concord and the unfortunate schisms which broke society and made it a prey to foreign invasions". Leaving 'foreign invasions' aside for the moment, surely that is a definition that will apply to cultures generally. Are not all cultures traditional in that sense?

As to "foreign invasions", they have not been undertaken only against countries with "traditional cultures". But if we look at the various invasions of Asia by Europe from the time of Alexander onwards the conquering cultures were also rooted in a tradition—the tradition which is broadly described as European and which subsumes the different national cultures of the western world. Whether it was Rome under the Caesars trying to establish the *Pax Romana*, or Cortez seeking to establish empire over the new world, whether it was France under Napoleon or Britain in India, it was a case of the clash of one tradition with another. Success was the result of superiority of science, not of culture.

The aggressiveness is, of course, not in science but in the mentality that has made use of science. But it must be admitted that the prevalence of that mentality is indispensable for, at any rate, it cannot be dissociated from the progress of science. If the amazing growth of technology in the past two hundred years has on the one hand brought about a

tremendous rise in the standard of living and on the other correspondingly increased the destructive power of science, it is idle to pretend that the connection between the two phenomena is purely fortuitous. The vision of life as a perpetual struggle for transcendence on the material plane is the motive force that has logically led to the competition for the conquest of the moon.

So when we in India are told by our leaders that science cannot be halted, that we must enter the race and keep our end up and adapt ourselves to the tremendous changes, material and psychological, that are taking place all about us, it is necessary to face up to the implications. A Union Minister inaugurating the Madras seminar suggested that there was no such thing as traditional culture, strictly speaking, and that all cultures had been undergoing change more or less continuously, being influenced in greater or less degree by other cultures. The unspoken argument was that it would be futile to try to withstand a development which was in the nature of things. At the same time he sought to console the underdeveloped communities with the reflection that they could offer to the West such values as contentment, social solidarity, simplicity of life, voluntary limitation of work etc. In other words, they could invite the West to cease to be the West!

He further urged that the fact that the world had become an incredibly small place made it imperative that every people should cultivate compassion and understanding towards others. That again, is question-begging. True understanding can begin only when the proselytising instinct, the desire to mould the world in one's own image, has

been completely eliminated. shall not help the West to do so unless we show ourselves not less resolute to defend our outlook and way of life. It seems to me that by envisaging the problem of "traditional cultures" as one of adapting themselves to an environment that is not of their making, and teaching them to becoming half-western in order to escape becoming wholly westernised, the leaders of these countries will not help to save them from the chaos that western hubris challenges.

I am not suggesting that we should repudiate science. All ancient societies, including ours, had traditional sciences of their own. But they were not ends in themselves. We can use modern science to reduce want and to bring a reasonable degree of comfort into the lives of the people, without aspiring to establish the materialist's Earthly Paradise. But we shall have to forego the ambition to shine as a Big Power and to build up industries as war potential. While one need not minimise the risks, it is well to remember that no country can hope to fight against all comers in the atomic age. We shall be better engaged in following our natural vocation, as we might then conceivably influence the mind and aspiration of the West also. Let us turn to God. Religion does not "deal with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives" as Mr. Nehru imagines. These are the things that are central to life intelligently lived. VIGNESWARA

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:  
Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

## UNDUE ALARM

By POTHAN JOSEPH

so comforting at a time when the storm burst in and oil-shares slumped on a day reminiscent of the scare following President Eisenhower's intestinal trouble, some newspapers proclaimed that there was no occasion for undue alarm, though, of course, due alarm should be always conceded as inescapable. What is due should be honoured, but the measuring rod is not internationally established like the metric system or the Geophysical Year. Naturally we obeyed the behests of columnists who counselled "restrained optimism". Self-restraint is a virtue to be earnestly preached and moderately practised; but restrained optimism is about the same as pessimism under curb. The pessimist is invariably in the right because, on the whole, the world is going to the dogs since

even the incidence of dog-days has become undependable.

Anticipations about drought and rainfall are never to the farmer's satisfaction, and so he is bidden to refrain from "excesses" in the exercise of pessimism or optimism, after the doctrine of the "middle of the road", exonerating the weather-prophets in their "flexible" forecasts. All conclusions tend to be confused, hence also flexible like the essence of mixed economy. Downright pessimism is illustrated in the fear of fat gentlemen who wear belts along with braces in order to support the nether garments. Victorian governesses, given to carefully covering the legs of pianos, used to describe pants as "unmentionables" for safeguarding the modesty of girls. Thackeray referred to "unmentionables" for the sake of due demureness. In the present age of realistic pose and naked aggression, such reserve becomes freakish. We are bidden not to be overcautious in the age of planning when we keep pruning to save the core. Here capital requirements should not be underestimated. And let not the difficulties of foreign exchange be overrated through the extension of strings when India's national economy is a trifle overstretched: hence the importance of aid without strings. Plastics have produced strings that are invisible as in the manner of foreign loans.

Indo-Anglican writers who indulge in Americanisms speak of "Wayback" and "Overly" in the vogue of legless idioms when the idea could be conveyed in simple first-form prose. The plea against undue alarm is voiced by wiseacres as a sedative against what is dubbed "national hysteria" which in milder form was once dubbed McCarthyism in the United States.

For quieting the turmoil in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Prime Minister Bandarnayaka has put out the formula of "the reasonable

use of Tamil": Co-existence of Sinhalese and Tamil is predicated as highly reasonable, but when it is decreed that the use of Tamil should be reasonable, there is a whittle-down in status and content. In our minority squabbles during the Swaraj agitation the dictum of reasonable representation had to give way to the device of weightage which meant an arbitrary addition to the natural quota. Now in Indian economy, there is the theory of the Plan Frame subject to constant re-phasing when the factors fail to balance. Reasonable care in law turns on application to be due precaution, an elusive thing in terms of definition as in the contrast between undue alarm and legitimate fear. In official jargon, a popular grievance can be "under consideration" or "under active consideration", the isotopes of that kind of radio-activity being in effect intangible. When Planners furiously argue about the public sector and the private sector they are caught in the drift of metaphysics and they finally declare that the distinction is, after all, fanciful: indeed what we have is the National Sector without any Athanasian Conundrum. The chase of Hamlet's Ghost ended in the cry "It's here, it's there, it's gone". Phrases are elastic yardsticks, and it is rigidity alone that occasions undue alarm -- "more especially at the present juncture in a country like India".

### High Wages, Short Hours

Opposition to rationalisation and modernisation and the insistence on high wages and short hours combined with low productivity make it difficult, if not impossible, to sell our manufactured goods outside. To earn all the foreign exchange needed by exporting agricultural products and metallic ores is not possible. Even for the internal market, increasing cost of production is forcing up prices and there is a permanent tendency towards inflation.—K. Santhanam, in *The Hindu*.

## A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

### AN UNFORTUNATE DELAY

When the narrow little ghat-train, which looks so much more like a tram than a train, steamed into Aravankadu Station, this man was on the platform. He was standing there, opposite our compartment, surrounded by grinning children. He did not shout or rant, in fact he spoke in a quite conversational voice, but there was a something in his eye, a certain contempt for tradition in the set of his head-gear and beard, and a casualness in his manner so very unnatural in a public speaker, that compelled attention as forcefully as it would, had he been able to say with Coleridge:

And all should cry, Beware!  
Beware!  
His flashing eyes, his floating hair!  
Weave a circle round him thrice,  
And close your eyes with holy dread,  
For he on honey-dew hath fed,  
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

This bloody India Government, he remarked in a rich mixture of English and Tamil, what good is it to anyone? Of course it is true that I am only a failed matriculate, but though they fixed me in the Matriculation Examination, I know enough to know that this bloody government is no good. When are they going to stop these Five Year Plans? What good, I ask you, have all these five years done? And what is the government up to now? Damn, damn, damn, damn, damn!!!!

A lunatic obviously, my neighbour remarked to me, a harmless lunatic.

Hirakud, Bakra Nangal, Periyar, Tungabhadra, recited the man on the platform, too many bloody dams. What earthly good have all these dams done? I can tell you. The price of rice has



gone up from five annas four pies a measure to a rupee and more!

A politician, I replied to my neighbour, a sort of politician-cum-seer.

There was a college party from Madras in that train, a few teachers and a number of students returning from an excursion. The seer addressed himself pointedly to the teachers.

These bloody Madras teachers, he asked, what the hell do they teach? If a student gets up in the class and asks a question they only tell him, 'sit down, sit down—can't you see I am busy teaching?' I turned towards the teachers in my compartment, and smiled broadly, but in this I was premature.

He had seen me and my camera, as I took a series of

rapid pictures of him. Brother, he said, pointing at me, so you are taking pictures, eh? So you will go to Madras and write about me, eh? You bloody bastard!

I took no offence, however. No man who looks so much like his father as I do, down to the inherited *Alopecia areata*, need construe the word 'bastard' as anything but a term of familiar endearment. I must say I was

| NEW BOOKS                                                                                                                       |    | Rs. | nP. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----|-----|
| <i>The Sovereign Flower: On Shakespeare as Poet of Royalism together with related essays by G. Wilson-Knight</i>                | 24 | 37  |     |
| <i>Word in Our Time: A new book on words by Ivor Brown</i>                                                                      | 8  | 56  |     |
| <i>The Physicist's Conception of Nature: by W. Heisenberg.</i>                                                                  | 13 | 00  |     |
| <i>The Idea of Social Science and its relation to Philosophy: by Peter Winch.</i>                                               | 10 | 19  |     |
| <i>Modern Medical Discoveries: by J. G. Thwaites</i>                                                                            | 24 | 37  |     |
| <i>The World is Infinitely Small: Exploration through the microscope by L. J. Ludovici.</i>                                     | 12 | 19  |     |
| <i>Painting of the Deccan: 16th and 17th century with introduction and notes by Douglas Barrett—with coloured illustrations</i> | 12 | 19  |     |
| <i>Central Indian Painting: with introduction and notes by W. G. Archer—with coloured illustrations</i>                         | 12 | 19  |     |

K. MAHADEVAN,  
82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

**SWARAJYA**  
(Published every Saturday)  
77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14  
PHONE: 86640 & 85251  
Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise  
**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
(Including Postage)  
In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.  
Half-year: Rs. 4.00.





## MUTE FAITH

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

A farmer, dissatisfied with the King of the country, went away to the forest and performed *tapas*.

He prayed, "O, God! What our country needs is a good king. Give us a good king."

There was another man there doing *tapas*. He complained to the Almighty, "My friend whom I trusted has betrayed me." And he prayed, "God, give me a good friend. I want nothing else."

A servant, disgusted with his master, whom nothing would please, ran away to the same forest and he too started penance and prayer.

"My own father has turned into my foe," bewailed a son, who had left his home for the forest.

Another, fed up with his mother, prayed to God to give him a good mother.

Still another, indignant with God himself, renounced all things, went into the forest and sitting, like a mad man, performed penance for he knew not what.

A hunter came along with his hound. The dog smiled at all these people in penance and said, "My dear fellow, what is wrong with all your brains? If only you had been born dogs, you would have been quite happy."

"How is that?" asked the pious man who had fallen out with God.

And one by one asking "How is that?" all of them surrounded the dog.

"Look at my master, the hunter," said the hound. "He is my father and mother, my friend, my king, my God. What more do I need? If only each of you could be born a dog and could go and join a man, you would all be quite happy. True joy is in devotion. Trusting your intellect, you have become foolish!"

Do you know who the hunter was? He was the great God, Siva. He came there to show the despised dog to all those people doing penance and teach them a lesson.

And, children, if you observe the dogs kept in houses, you will understand what I mean. The dog is a dumb animal; he cannot speak. But observe his eyes carefully. If you do, you will see that in the dog's body is imprisoned a good child; dumb, of course, but a very good child!

The dog is a very good creature. You may trust him. If occasion arises, he will give his life for you, and do it without a second thought.

We should be kind to dogs. If a dog falls ill, the sight is hard to bear. He cries only if he cannot help it.

The Europeans treat their dogs with great affection and take good care of them. We should learn to do likewise. They have a great many stories about dogs. We too have a few. I shall tell you one of them. Dharma-raja was the eldest among the five Pandavas. In the end, he with his brothers was going uphill towards Heaven. A dog joined them. As they were climbing, his wife and his brothers fell down one by one on the way, the strength of their body exhausted. Only the dog kept following Dharma-raja. The souls of Droupadi and the brothers left their bodies and went ahead to Heaven. The dog alone accompanied Dharma-raja to the end. Indra came out in his chariot to welcome Dharma and take him to the abode of Gods.

"I shall not get into the chariot, leaving the dog behind," said Dharma-raja. Hearing this, Indra was filled with surprise and admiration.

Then Dharma-raja discovered the truth. The dog was the god of *dharma* (virtue) and had joined the party. He had always been guarding the family. But now he came as dog to accompany Dharma-raja who was his own son.

This is not a story about a dog, but one to show Dharma-raja's character. But it is worth noting that, in the Purana, *dharma* is personified as a dog.

The cow gives milk. The dog showers on us the nectar of devotion.

impressed by his quickness and certainty in guessing the vocations of the various passengers on that train.

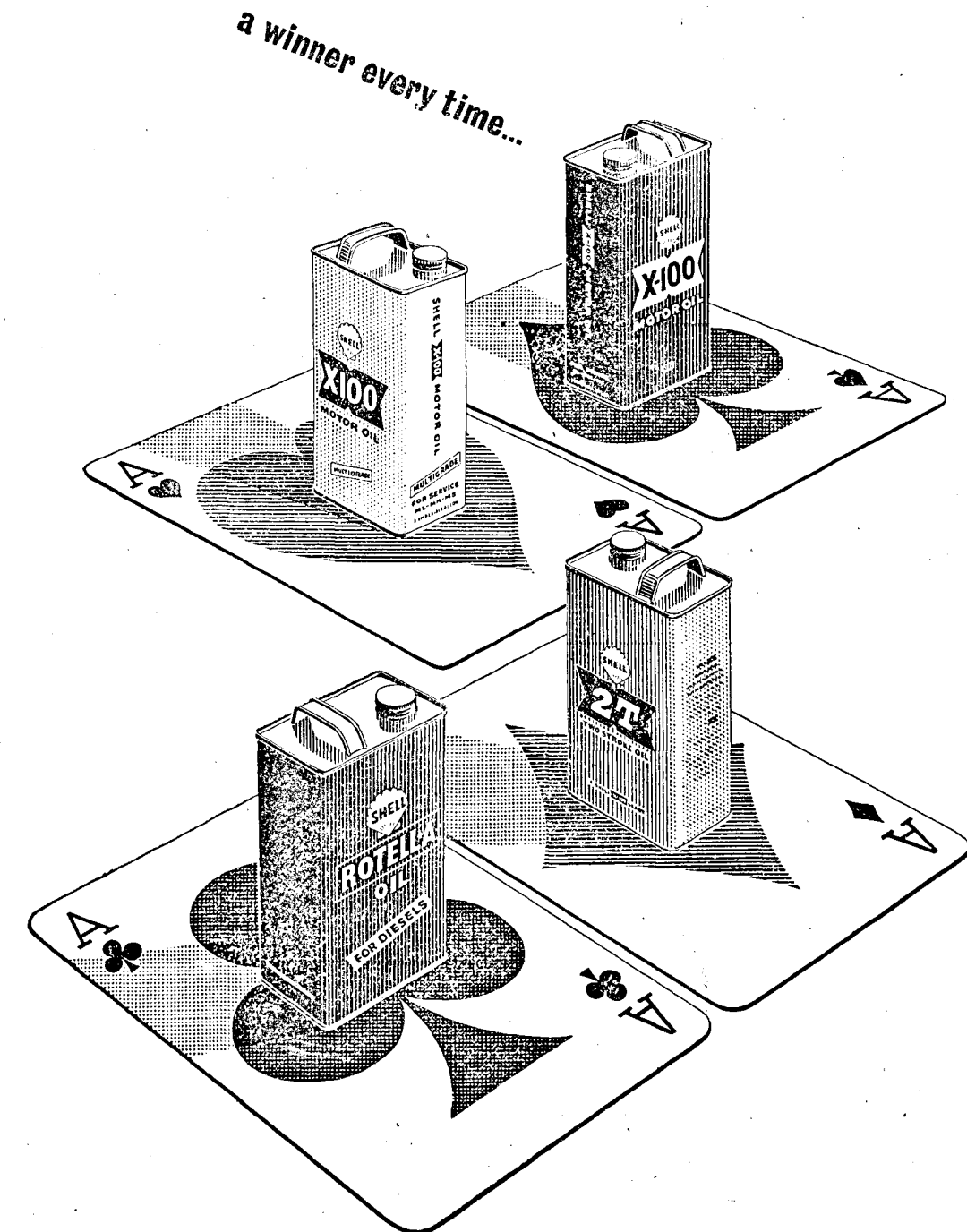
They say, he continued, that we have a democracy and freedom and all that, but then why are these bloody Brahmins still here? I had hopes, he added confidentially, of X (and here he named a well-known Madras

Minister), but what has X done, do you know? Why, he has been and gone and married a Brahmin girl!

A number of people in my compartment began asking one another, in hushed whispers, if it was true that X had married a Brahmin girl.

Thereafter he came up to our compartment, begged a meal of

one of the teachers, returned to his platform, and started to talk and sing at random. When our train pulled out from the station, he was quite incoherent and indulging in raucous gibberish. I was sorry we had not left Aravankadu a minute earlier: it is so disheartening to see a prophet degenerate, before your eyes, into a mere madman.



you can be sure of SHELL

## CAPITAL COMMENTS

## LATEST UTTAR PRADESH STORY

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Who talks of a crisis in Uttar Pradesh? Asked about it at the recent Press Conference, the Prime Minister turned round with the counter-question: 'Where's the crisis?' To a polite enquiry by a pressman earlier, on the eve of his visit to the Capital, U.P.'s Chief Minister innocently said: 'What crisis?' There is apparently nothing that either knows of. They seem to think—or make out—that the so-called crisis is but confined to the press, if it is not actually manufactured by it. Words do not really matter: the situations that warrant the use of particular words are a different proposition. Neither the Prime Minister of India nor the Chief Minister of U.P. has denied the existence of differences inside the Ministerial ranks over certain matters,—big or small, important or trivial, relevant or otherwise. All these tensions may not amount to more

than a domestic feud or diversion from dull life. Let us recall Ramsay Macdonald's dictum that even married life, without a hitch or two, is a dull affair, only enjoyed by dull people. There is no such dullness or dreariness in U.P., much less in Lucknow where life is always lively. So, the discussion about, or controversy over, the line to be somewhere drawn between individual assertion and collective submission of Chota Ministers in their relations to their Chief, was not rigidly restricted to the academic level. But it is a simple rule that, whether he is in the right or in the wrong—and more particularly when he is in the right or gets the benefit of doubt—the Chief will have his way. The rest have either to adjust to his views or whims—or quit the scene. It is idle to think that they can dictate to their boss or threaten or tease him too much while it would be fatuous on their part to imagine that by their withdrawal, the Gomti will overflow its banks and Lucknow's fortwalls will be breached. Any Minister, particularly any Chief Minister, who is sure of himself can equally be sure of enough man-power to keep him going. It is thus that there is no ministerial 'crisis' as such in U.P. There is, however, another aspect of this internal problem. The dissidents are all from one group—and each group pulls its own way, notwithstanding the Nehru explosion on the banks of the Musi. The chapter on 'the Gupta Period' in the Congress History of U.P. has not yet been closed. In the Punjab, it is interesting to find the Chief Minister demanding a 'free election' in regard to the presidentship of the Pradesh Congress Committee. Other States, other strains and stresses. Let us not, however, equate them to the level of a crisis. The Congress may find another word for the trou-

ble. But the trouble is that the Congress has not been having an easy time with its own constituents. Even Congress leaders cannot pretend that when all's not well, it will end well.

One thing, however, must be conceded. Developments inside the Congress or outside hardly matter now: at this hour, it seems that external factors alone count. For, where India's internal security is in jeopardy or at stake, India is one—from Kashmir to Kerala. There is growing concern in the country over the possibilities inherent in the situation in Pakistan where the transition from General Iskander Mirza's 'controlled democracy' to General Ayub Khan's uncontrolled military dictatorship, has been sharp and precipitous. Our Prime Minister is rather agitated though by no means panicky. His initial pronouncements were marked by restraint as befitted the hour. He is now frank as well as firm. He makes no secret of his revulsion against the 'naked dictatorship' in Pakistan and its implied danger to the cause of peace. He, however, refuses to be scared away by bellicose utterances and blatant threats. What seems to disturb him is the supineness of the West to the startling developments in Asia and the tendency in the foreign press to treat the Pakistan story as something normal while manifestly it is not so. Welcome therefore are the deviations, however few, from soft-peddalling. More is implied than expressed in the *Observer's* comment that Pakistan is the first country in the Commonwealth to have passed under military dictatorship. It is wrong to generalise the attitude of the foreign press: for instance, it is in a Tory paper that India was singled out for praise, as 'the only stable and unchallengeable democracy in Asia', or as 'the one bright light in this stampede away from democracy' or as 'the only country in the region which has operated the system (of democracy) impressively'. Comforting indeed is the inference that nothing so much adver-

tises the importance of India on the international plane as the very shape of things in Pakistan. The feeling in Delhi is that General Ayub Khan should realise the obvious: it is not the issue of Kashmir but the issue in Pakistan that he should settle, for the lasting good of the Pakistanis. To quote the same Tory

paper again: 'A country of 80 million people cannot be governed indefinitely under martial law.' And it is this very point that Mr. Nehru tried to drive home at his last Press conference. Whatever his mood was before General Ayub Khan arrived on the scene, Mr. Nehru is now determined to hold on and also hold his own.

Was it a fact that a proposal to separate the Defence Budget from the general one, mooted by the officials of the Defence Ministry, was turned down by the Cabinet? That apart, an impression is gaining ground at the Capital that the Minister for Defence is now more a Minister in defence!

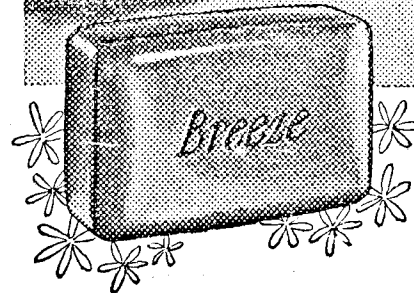


FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES

Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/158/A



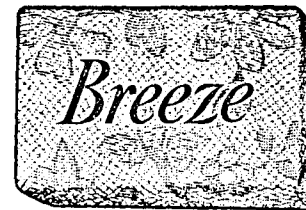
Breeze

for a healthier, lovelier complexion!

The keynote of a woman's beauty is a radiant complexion! And beautiful women all over the world know that a lovely complexion means a clear skin that glows with health.

When you use BREEZE Toilet Soap you're not just cleansing your skin, you're keeping it healthy. For mild, delightfully fragrant BREEZE contains 'Actamer', which frees your skin of the germs that cause complexion faults.

Remember, BREEZE is chosen for both complexion care and personal freshness. Try it and you will be convinced.



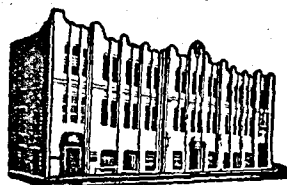
BREEZE Toilet Soap contains 'ACTAMER' for skin health

'Actamer' (lithionol) is officially approved  
by the American Medical Association

MADE IN INDIA BY HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED FOR LEASING CO. LIMITED, LONDON

BZ 8-X52

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

Head Office :  
"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
SOUTH INDIA IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA,  
NEW DELHI, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA  
SINGAPORE & 22 LOCAL OFFICES

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000  |
| Paid-up Capital ..                              | 66,15,445    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | 99,50,360    |
| Deposits ..                                     | 35.21 Crores |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM. IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

## PLACE OF ADOLESCENT IN MODERN SOCIETY

By M. R. SNODIN

"At best it is astonishing, at worst it is exceedingly wasteful that when so much care and attention has been given to the problems of physical birth .... and a knowledge of psychology has done so much for the happiness of nursery school children, the second birth of the individual—adolescence—the birth into adulthood, has as yet received so little sympathetic consideration". So Dr. Macalister Brew, who devoted her life to the welfare of young people, begins her book which appeared a few months after her death last year, and proceeds to negate this statement smoothly and steadily.

*She is on their side*

The first thing that strikes one is how well she knows young people and their habits and behaviour, their aggressiveness, their snobbishness, their short-lived enthusiasms and what they drink and where and how they drink it. But what is also immediately obvious is how well she understands them. It is clear from the very start, and throughout the whole book, that she is 'on their side'. "The only real sin in all this modern dancing and all this jazz is that it is so frequently shockingly badly done". "Leisure time is uncommonly like money. We all think that we know how to spend other people's money better than they do". Here is a mind that has kept the agility and openness of youth and equally its ability to shock. "The trouble with most of our leadership is not that it is insufficiently virtuous but that it is incredibly inconsistent, and so revoltingly dull". Her ten 'don'ts' to club-leaders will provide a salutary cold shower to anyone who has ever taken on a group of young people.

It is this freshness which makes

Youth and youth Groups, by Macalister Brew. Faber and Faber, 18s.

the book readable, but it is the wisdom and humanity underlying it which makes it worth reading. It is the result of a life-time of observation of young people by a woman who never allowed herself to get out of touch with them or the cultural and social background against which they move and into which they eventually become submerged. It is an eminently sane appraisal of the situation based on the author's unshakeable belief in the right of each individual to become, as completely as possible, his full self. Therein lies the humanity. In the Britain of to-day it is naturally against a background of the Welfare State that she writes and she accepts it as a challenge. "In a Welfare State it is no mean thinking if young people can be brought early to the realization that although material aid and succour are the State's business, no man can pay another to love his neighbour".

### Leisure-time Activities

The book falls into three parts. The first is concerned with the nature of the adolescent and his place in modern society, be it at work, at leisure, or in some educational activity. The author's attitude towards recreation is indicative of her general theme. She refuses to accept cinema-going outright as a passive activity. "But in the last resort all entertainment, spare-time occupation, call it what we will, should be judged by the extent to which it vitalizes time rather than kills it. A growing number of young people are bringing to their leisure-time activities a critical faculty and a certain discrimination which makes them no more a passive entertainment than play-going, which has always been regarded as a worthy if not highbrow pastime". This is linked up directly with her definition of the toleration of the 'second-rate' as the only sin. "True culture" she says

## LADY, YOU'RE LATE!

Who cares! She knows that the occasion demands the most careful selection—saree—choli—jewellery. And she spares no pains in making the right choice, for charm and refinement are a family tradition.

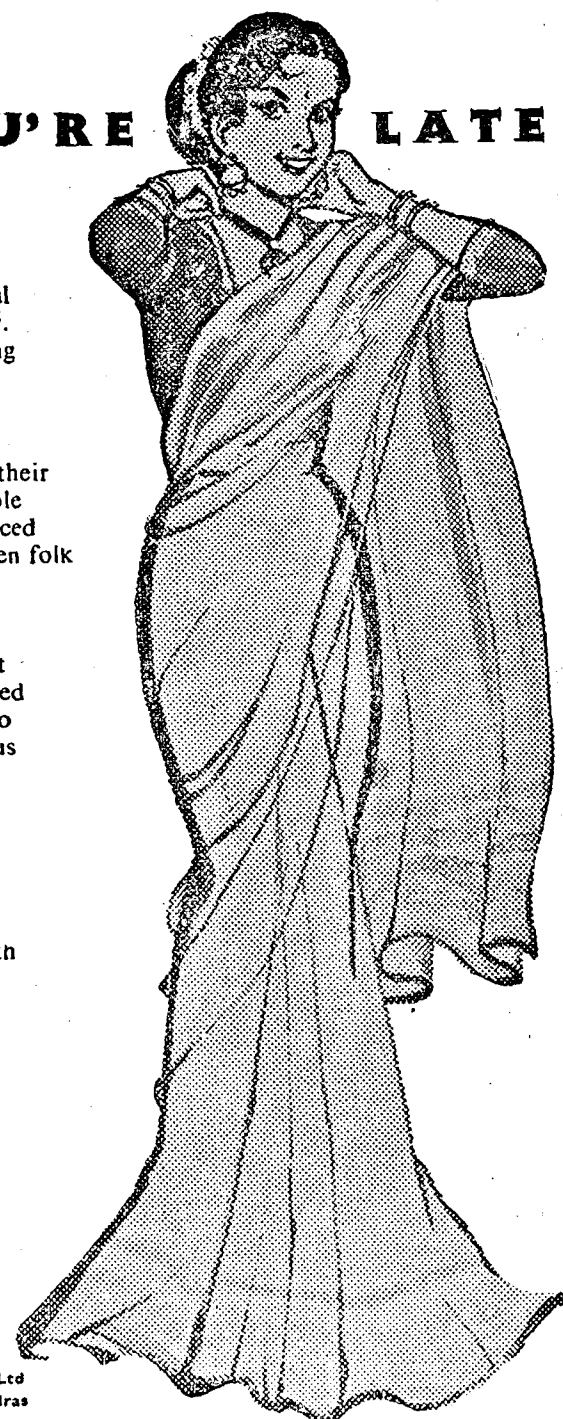
Nearly eighty years ago when BINNY'S started manufacturing their quality cloth, it was mainly suitable for men's wear. When ladies noticed how smart and handsome their men folk looked in BINNY'S cloth, they wished they too could obtain the same *variety and quality* in women's wear, and they were not disappointed. BINNY'S introduced silks and union fabrics designed to suit the taste of the most fastidious women. Soon BINNY became a household word and buying BINNY'S a family tradition.

Today, more people are able to buy more cloth, but *discerning* people look for these reassuring BINNY'S trade marks on the cloth they buy.



**BINNY'S** -  
a great name in textiles

The Buckingham & Carnatic Co. Ltd  
The Bangalore Woollen, Cotton & Silk Mills Co. Ltd  
Managing Agents: Binny & Co. (Madras) Ltd., Madras





## V. O. C: A MAN OF ACTION

By S. T. KASIRAJAN

At least, for the time being Nasser would like to leave Jordan alone, though not too severely alone. He would like to keep his radio attacks on Hussein without building up the heat to flashpoint. Hussein's presence in Jordan is good grist to Nasser's propaganda mills. His presence is enough to enable Nasser to keep his people in a state of permanent mobilisation; for otherwise it is likely that the restive Arabs may soon realise that the revolution is over and begin to ask for the benefits of it. And benefits, true to tell, are as distant as a desert mirage.

So, until Nasser consolidates the economy of the UAR he cannot afford to risk the take-over of Jordan. And if he has to take over Jordan in the near future he would like the onus of provoking an incident leading to such a take-over to rest on Israel. Nasser's most urgent need right now is a little breathing space to settle up things in the UAR. And the presence of Hussein in Jordan also would be of some help to divert the attention of the Arab people from grim economic realities.

Not until he is absolutely ready to take over Jordan will Nasser risk scenes. And when he does, at some future date, not many eyebrows will go up either. For Jordan which has no business to exist as an independent unit is there by "courtesy" of her other Arab neighbours and everybody can see it clearly.

### U. N. Assembly

Our readers may have this picture in mind when reading U. N. news:

The 81-nation assembly is divided into four distinct blocks:

1. Western bloc of 23 nations
2. Soviet bloc of 10 members
3. Afro-Asian bloc of 28 nations
4. Latin-American bloc of 20 nations.

1st and 2nd blocs rigid on all issues.

3rd and 4th blocs fluid and depending on the issue under consideration.

To be a pioneer, especially in a field which will bring with vengeance the heavy hand of the powers-that-be on one's head, calls for a heroic mould. And V. O. Chidambaram Pillai was that.

The edge of suffering for a cause loses much of its sting for a stray individual when the country itself is in a mood to undergo willingly the fire of tribulation and trial. But V.O.C. suffered alone, when suffering for the sake of the country had not become infectious. He almost blazed a trail in Tamilnad and it became a crucible of ferment.

He was a firebrand and when he spoke, people hung on his lips. His speeches always inflamed them to a white heat of passion and egged them on to great patriotic endeavour. But he was no demagogue. His speeches had permanent effect on the audience, not the momentary one which wears off when one leaves the meeting, because they were couched in a language of sweet reasonableness mixed with sarcasm and pungency. "Even a corpse would leap to life if it heard the speeches of V.O.C. and the songs of Bharati; an enslaved country would snatch away the sceptre of independence in five minutes and revolution would spring and thrive luxuriantly," said the man who convicted V.O.C.

A flaming patriot, his name was a synonym for courage and sacrifice in Tamilnad. His one act of floating a company and launching ships against the British India Steam Navigation Company in those far-off days is itself enough to stamp him as a heroic soul. But his associates and partners proved unworthy of him and wound up the company, when he was languishing in the Central Jail in Coimbatore. The worst of it was they sold his "child"—in

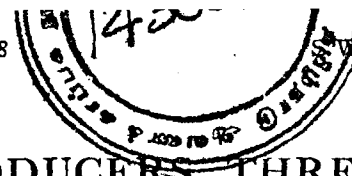
fact, he considered the ship "Kalia" as more than his child—to his opponents themselves. The pecuniary pinch that was his lot after his release from prison, did not succeed in lacerating his heart.

His heart was one of pure gold. He was generous even to a fault. He sobbed when on his death-bed he pathetically asked Mr. Masilamani Pillai of Tuticorin when the gnashing of teeth by the poor would draw to a close.

And his services were not solely claimed by politics. He was an ardent devotee of the Tamil Classics and initiated not a few into them. Swami Sahajananda was one of these. He has translated into Tamil some of the works of James Allen, and into English the *Arathuppal* of Kural. He has also done some original writings in Tamil which, according to Mr. M. P. Sivagnanamgramanar, rank with the great didactic works of ancient Tamilnad.

His courage and confidence, his capacity for self-sacrifice and his anxious care to give succour to the indigent, made him an outstanding man of action. He is of a class to belong to which only a few in Tamilnad can lay claim. It is a pity that there is no consolidated volume of his speeches and writings and this may be considered by the active Tamil Writers' Association.

It has been observed by a profound thinker that there are two faculties in man, the one self-serving—the desire to acquire, possess and enjoy—and the other self-giving—desire to sympathise with and help others, to love others without a sense of possession and desire of fame, to sacrifice oneself.—S. Doraiswamy in the *Madras Seva Sadan Thirtieth Anniversary Souvenir*.



CINEMA

## PRODUCERS THREATEN 'STRUGGLE'!

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** The cryptic press reports about the import policy for the period from October to March, 1959, make no reference to the import of raw cinematograph film, though they mention liberalization of imports of exposed cinematograph film to a limited footage from the countries having special rupee payment arrangements with India.

Meanwhile, the new elections of IMPPA have been held and Shri Roongta, the chief of Famous Cine Laboratory and Studios which are 'hired' to different producers, but which do not produce any pictures on their own has been re-elected as the President of IMPPA.

The rival organisation formed by Deep Khosla is gaining strength with ninety members. The cause of all rivalry and dissensions amongst the producers is, of course, the raw film. Each producer wants his case to be treated as a special case; and no regional committee can ever satisfy all the producers. Incidentally, Deep Khosla has threatened that the producers will launch a 'struggle' if their demands are not accepted by the Government. One would like to know what kind of struggle these producers, who are at the mercy of music directors, stars and financiers, can dare to launch against the Government; and as most of them are unknown to the general public they cannot hope to get public support. Isolated from the workers of the industry as well as the public, the producers are in a plight and in spite of the tremendous rise in overall box-office returns, they are unable to entrench themselves.

Mahesh Kaul's deliberate efforts to woo box-offices finds further expression in 'Aakhri Dao', produced by Shekhar and L. S.

Aggerwal for movie stars. Based on an idea by C. J. Pawri, the story, which had the makings of a good crime drama, has been presented as a comedy in the lighter vein by director Mahesh Kaul who has put life and verve into the scenes.

The story of 'Aakhri Dao' revolves round a mechanic, Rajkumar Saksena and his friend Popat. Raju, going to a party in borrowed clothes and car, meets Sheela, a beautiful girl, who mistakes him for a millionaire. Raju falls in love at first sight, and the pretext continues while he loses his job and loses the taxi that his friend secures for him and ultimately even his clothes. Popat, the friend, is keen to get him married to rich Muttuswami's fat daughter in the hope that such a marriage would solve all the monetary problems. But, unable to speak the truth, Raju gets involved in further complications when he has to raise Rs. 5,000 to pay off Sheela's father's debts. For this money he gambles and steals — picks Sheela's father's pocket — and ultimately sells himself to Muttuswami by agreeing to marry his daughter for a consideration of Rs. 5,000.

But, meanwhile, he gets involved in a murder and is forced to hide from police, though he has a perfect alibi. In the end, he is convicted of pick-pocketing and absolved of the charge of murder. And, thanks to Popat's correct prophecy, Raju and Popat become rich and pay off Muttuswami.

The dialogue by Dev Krishan is sparkling, though his screenplay is rather loose, and even illogical. But in a pure 'cock-eyed' comedy, it would be silly to expect logic and purpose. Production values are good, music by Madan Mohan is pleasing and lyrics by Majrooh follow the usual pattern. In per-

formances, Mahesh Kaul has been able to get good work from all the artistes, especially Shekhar, Johnny Walker, Shubha Khote, Shammi, Kamal Kapoor, Minoo Mumtaz. Nutan looks pretty but she has little to do by way of acting. Jeevan also is wasted. The idea of provoking laughter at the fatness and ugliness of Tuntun is rather unhealthy and is not in keeping with the standard of comedy one expects from Mahesh Kaul.

There is no doubt that 'Aakhri Dao' would entrench Shekhar's position both as an artiste and as a producer.

In the film world, lyricists often do dialogue writing but seldom do dialogue writers turn lyricists. D. N. Madhok who has more popular lyrics to his credit than perhaps any other film poet is now asked only to write dialogues. Sardar Jafri, Kaifi Azmi, Rajender Krishan, Qamar Jalalabadi, Dr. Safdar Aah, Vishwamitra Adil are some of the other poets writing dialogues. Of course, some of them still continue to write lyrics as well. The latest to join their ranks is Shankar Shailendra, the sensitive poet of the working class.

Meena Kumari and Balraj Sahni will be co-starred in Tasviristan's next picture scheduled to go on sets by the end of November. It will be directed by Lekhraj Bhakri.

Nargis has admitted that after her retirement from screen, she might consider the idea of turning politician. In Delhi, she attended the proceedings of Delhi Municipal Corporation as the guest of the Mayor, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali.

A. R. Kardar is planning to make 'Omar Khayyam' in colour with Dilip Kumar and Vyjayantimala. Naushad will provide the music, Sardar Jafri is writing the script.

Nadira and Pran have been added to the cast of Raj Kapoor's 'Jis Desh me Ganga Bahti Hai' progressing fast at R. K. Studios.

"is the appreciation of everything, from a plate of fish and chips to a Van Gogh, at its true level". To eliminate the 'emotional and spiritual poverty' in the Welfare State is the real target for group-work with young people.

The second part is an historical account of the Youth Service in Great Britain, which, although it contains one or two minor errors of fact, is interesting as one national example of how the problem has been tackled; a movement which has 'grown up around persons rather than ideologies'.

#### Sound and Refreshing

The third and last part is probably the most satisfactory, at

least to those who have direct dealings with adolescents, from parents to youth club-leaders. Here, drawing on her vast experience and keen observation, Dr. Brew takes the youth group and shows how it can assist the adolescent to do himself justice and come to a maturity which will influence his society and not vice versa. She insists on the necessity for an immense variety of kinds of groups. "On balance it is believed by most people that uniformity has greater dangers than variety has disadvantages". She has many sound and refreshing things to say about leadership and training for it, and then goes on to a highly practical treatment of group management, the educational use of games, dan-

cing, music, drama, crafts, radio and reading. In all this the fundamental aims are never far to seek. The approach must be oblique and informal, one must lead, which means starting from the positions in which young people find themselves; 'nevertheless it is probably in the field of promoting healthy personal relationships that the youth group has most to offer to the well-being of the community'.

It is only in the last chapter of the book that the relationship between religion and the youth group is dealt with, and very briefly at that. But it is here that we have an inkling of the innermost belief that was the driving force of Dr. Brew herself, and for that we must be grateful.

In her Preface, Dr. Brew says that this book was written almost by accident. Indeed, her original intention was to revise an earlier book, *In the Service of Youth*, written in 1943. But she found this impossible, so much had changed and it was re-thinking, not revision, that was required. But what a fortunate accident!

#### Without Comment

#### NEHRU'S DEMOCRACY

At Hyderabad recently Mr. Nehru said that nowadays he saw the strange spectacle (ajib tamasha) of opposition parties painting a dark picture of the situation in the country. "Of course, it was their right to criticise and it was their profession too. I have no objection if they criticise the Congress. But, by criticising the Congress, which has a major share in the administration, they criticise the Government. Ultimately, it is the country they are criticising. To say always that the country is falling and is being destroyed is an attack on Bharat. Such critics will simply disappear in a communist country, if at all anybody has the courage to say so. There is no scope for such things there."

## BEHIND KING HUSSEIN'S ESCAPADE

By N. S. MUTHANA

The crisis-prone King Hussein of Jordan did his best to play it safe for a while. In doing so he ran into a fresh crisis.

On November 10, he took off in a de Havilland Dove, a sedate transport aircraft, for Rome, en route to Switzerland, where he had planned to have a three-week vacation. The Dove seemed to be out of tune with the crack pilot's character. And the fact that he was leaving in the wake of the withdrawal of British Paratroopers from Jordan seemed to give this young adventurer a veneer of timidity.

Hussein had already packed off his family to Switzerland where he was to celebrate his 24th birthday. Even as the Dove made her take-off run in an Amman airfield one could not help feeling that the King was probably saying farewell to his crisis-torn land and his crisis-riddled past. Already political pundits had suggested both openly and subliminally that he had better extend his three-week vacation indefinitely.

First to suggest that he stay away from his kingdom for keeps were Hussein's British friends who held that it would be easier for two Scotland Yard men to take care of the King's health anywhere in Europe than it would be for 2,000 British Paratroopers in Amman.

Hussein appeared to have taken the tip; or so it appeared when he announced that he would go off for a three-week vacation following the withdrawal of the British troops from Jordan.

Even the Voice of the Arabs from Cairo gleefully blared, "Once more we will fight, once more we will win."

It takes no authentic, gypsy crystal-ball gazer to tell that the curse on the Biblical land of Sodom still hangs. But it was beyond all oracles to predict that the young King's holiday plans would come to an abrupt end and he would be back where he was in double-quick time.

The King's aircraft, heading west, flew over Syria. The Damascus airport control tower asked the plane to land. Hussein preferred to thumb his nose at the control tower and swung his aircraft towards Amman. Disobeying of orders by Hussein's "unauthorised" Dove provoked a pack of UAR air force MIGs to give chase.

Hussein, however, landed safely in Amman. He cancelled his holiday plans and told the world that the UAR MIGs made six murderous passes at his Dove and carried the chase right into Jordan territory, violating Jordanian airspace. An agency message even had it that the MIGs fired a few bursts at the Royal Dove.

Hussein who probably planned gracefully to vacation his way into a quiet exile in Switzerland is now back on the uncomfortable throne of Amman. At the moment of writing this, it cannot be told with precision whether Hussein's flight over Syria was "unauthorised". There is no indication of his having sought previous permission (as did the British during their withdrawal of troops from Jordan) of the UAR to fly over her territory. But on approaching Damascus Hussein is reported to have revealed his identity.

And according to Radio Cairo, the MIGs did not make passes at the Dove; they merely "escorted" the plane out of Syrian airspace which it had violated.

Out of this welter of contradictory claims a question that, however, arises is, Why didn't the UAR authorities let Hussein go on his way to Rome? After all, Hussein's departure was just what the majority of his subjects—Palestinian refugees—were waiting for. And the Palestinians were all primed up for a pro-Nasser revolution in Jordan which would have brought the little desert kingdom hurtling into Cairo's orbit. Then why did the UAR air force stage a scene?

Surely, the UAR would not have held Hussein prisoner and risked a serious global crisis. Perhaps they would have gone through the formality of checking the aircraft after it landed and would have allowed Hussein to proceed to Rome feeling a little humiliated. Or maybe the UAR authorities would have forced him back to Jordan.

Hussein's departure was not in the immediate interest of the United Arab Republic. UAR's radio blasts notwithstanding, Nasser is not quite keen on annexing the Jordanian territory.

Hussein's departure and his indefinite vacation would have triggered off a revolution in Jordan. Then that would have forced Nasser to march his troops into Jordan, either to "prevent" an Israeli invasion or to stave off one which Ben Gurion had occasionally thought loudly about.

(Ben Gurion's move would have been based on the same logic as Nasser's, in that he would have wanted to keep Nasser's troops out of Jordan.)

Indications are that Nasser doesn't want a crisis in Jordan just now. It would be a good excuse for the United States to intervene all over again with her Eisenhower Doctrine in West Asian affairs; for the US has already formally warned both Nasser and Ben Gurion to leave Jordan severely alone.

Further, it must be noted that Nasser is shrewd enough not to want to carry the Jordanian millstone around his neck. Jordan is an extremely poor country with hardly 4½ per cent of its land under the plough. There is not a drop of oil anywhere in that elbow-shaped Hashemite kingdom and not a single industry.

The only thing Jordan has is a large number of unsettled Arab refugees from Palestine. Also, Nasser is not exactly in a position to pay Jordan's bills (which Britain used to, until April 1956, at the rate of £ 8,000,000 per year) for the luxury of taking over a useless piece of real estate inhabited by an unruly mass of people.

Buy

## POPULAR HANDWOVEN "CO-OP. FABRICS"

Produced by

EXPERT WEAVERS OF ANDHRA

IN

- \* CHARMING COLOURS
- \* DELIGHTFUL DESIGNS
- \* FINE FINISH
- \* ECONOMICAL IN COST

SOLD IN

All our depots throughout Andhra Pradesh, and also at Madras, Bangalore, Berhampur and Cuttack.

★

Special rebate at 0.12 nP. per rupee till 15-11-1958.

★

**The Andhra Handloom Weavers'**  
**Co-operative Society, Ltd.,**  
**GOVERNORPET, VIJAYAWADA-2.**

**AMALGAMATIONS PRIVATE LTD.**

**SIMPSON & CO. LTD.**

HINGUNBOOTHINS PRIVATE LTD.  
George Oakes Private Ltd. (ASSOCIATED ENGINEERS)

ASSOCIATED PUBLISHERS (MADRAS)  
(INDO-BRITISH)

SRI RAMANULU SERVICE  
PRIVATE LTD.

SIMPSON & GENERAL FINANCE CO.  
PRIVATE LTD.

WILLACE CARTWRIGHT & CO. LTD.  
LONDON AGENTS

THE WHEEL & RIM CO. OF INDIA PRIVATE LTD.

INDIA PISTONS PRIVATE LTD.

ADDISON'S PAINTS & CHEMICALS PRIVATE LTD.

AMCU BATTERIES PRIVATE LTD.

ADDISON & CO. PRIVATE LTD.

SPEED-A-WAY PRIVATE LTD.

**AMALGAMATIONS  
PRIVATE LTD.,  
&  
ASSOCIATE  
COMPANIES**

*Making Headlines in the South*

**AUTOMOTIVE AND ENGINEERING**

From a modest beginning in 1840, over the years we have been continually expanding, effecting improvements and affording service facilities to keep pace with the growing needs of the country. It's a pleasure to us to carefully scrutinize the needs of the day and the future and constantly search for better ways to satisfy our customers. This practice has helped our customers a great deal in their needs of automobile, and other equipments. Our Service, Engineering technique and Manufacturing skill are the outgrowth of decades of experience obtained through intrinsic knowledge of the country's requirements.

The privilege of Democracy calls for greater responsibility from Private Enterprises. Today more than ever before, it is a dual responsibility—to help raise the standards of living on the one hand and provide for the future on the other.

Our experience and know-how are directed towards the all-important aim—Service to the country and building up National economy

Our group is considered to be the biggest in the South, employing over 7,000 people whose salaries and benefits alone in a year exceed Rs. 100,00,000.

**AMALGAMATIONS PRIVATE LTD.**  
107, 109, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.



confidence and enterprise, as well as manly trust and friendliness. All this can be achieved and achieved only by ousting strategic legislation from the field of mutual service in agriculture and restoring contract to its legitimate place and authority.

## STATE TRADING IN FOOD GRAINS

The Government of Madras have introduced legislation for licensing dealers in food grains. The object is two-fold; firstly, to check any untoward rise in prices artificially created by stock hoarding, and secondly, as a first step towards monopolistic State trading. The National Development Council has recommended the change and the Prime Minister has said that State monopoly has become inescapable because of the tendency of the merchants to exploit situations arising out of even marginal reductions in the harvest.

The primary object of the suggested change is thus to prevent hoarding by the trade leading in turn to a rise in prices. As long as there is an Act to prevent hoarding, prevention of hoarding is a matter of inspection and punishment, and will raise the same problems of efficiency in execution under a system of licensing as in a free market. Rise in the price of a commodity is a matter of supply and demand. The ultimate solution of the problem is by means of providing an adequate supply. But in the meanwhile, it has to be examined whether the problem cannot be solved in the context of the *status quo* in the trade. It has also to be examined whether the problem is marginal or serious, temporary or longstanding.

We may agree that the licensing of the traders by itself is not a serious step. It is an exhibition of intention rather than an inroad into the private sector. But taking over the wholesale trade is a serious matter. The public have bitter experience of the incidental and inherent troubles that they underwent during the days of rationing. Food rationing was the father of the black market. Being an inelastic commodity,

On account of all that has happened in the brief interval of chaotic interference, the recall of legislation from its trespass may be attended with some difficulties, which however can only be transitory. The friction of a change-over may be reduced to the minimum, and this voluntary abdica-

tion of legislative agriculture can take place more quickly than may be anticipated. The result will be an abundant interest in the industry of agriculture, the only industry that can save India from its danger of famine and foreign debt and from the malady of chronic anxiety.

the demand was always there and only the price varied. Actually, rationing looked like a success because of the existence of a facile black market, the prices in which were not materially different from those in the ration shops. Hence the well known post-war comedy of marriage guests being asked to bring their rations with them. But rationing was also the progenitor of the collective corruption to which we have become anaesthetized today. Mahatma Gandhi's objection to rationing was mainly on the moral front. In the early fifties Rajaji abolished the vestiges of the food department because he was appalled at the rampant immorality of the machinery. There were many prophets of doom at the time, but he was proved right. Why? Because, let us repeat, food demand does not change, only the price changes, depending on the supply. A proper economic approach to the problem should be limited to the provision of machinery for preventing price-spiralling. It is definitely not worthwhile interfering with the normal channels of trade, with all their ramifications of credit, market preferences, consumer likes and other details that time has crystallized into a working pattern.

Price can be controlled by the existence of an alternative venue of sale where the price is fixed properly. For this purpose, all that Government have to do is to open representative grain shops, not to take over the trade, but as token establishments of fair price. This should be combined with an option to cultivators in the surplus areas to pay land revenue in kind. The psychology behind the token fair price shop is that it is a source of potential but not actual competition.

It is also worthwhile remembering that our experience of State Trading in other spheres has not been happy. In no instance has price been brought down in any marked manner. The authorities alone have changed. What is the value of such a change to the people?

Further, the rise in the price of agricultural produce is less than the rise in respect of the essential articles required by the agriculturist, like steel, wood, cloth, manures and the like. In the State of Madras, for instance, groundnut cake has gone up in price because of free export. It is not realised that the agriculturist is not merely the major producer, but also the major consumer, and that the prosperity of all other industries depends on his purchasing power. But the point of view of the administration is clouded by the industrial cost of living index, in which food plays the major role. This is a purblind approach. The problem of prices has to be tackled as a whole. It is the general price level that has to be brought down. To allow other prices free play and to stifle the prices of agricultural produce is merely the fostering of industries without offtake. This has already happened in textiles and will soon happen elsewhere.

The scope for hoarding old rice or wheat is inconsiderable. The quantities thus hoardable are also not such that it will pay any one to keep back the capital in stock for long. Price can be controlled by alternative token shops. Why should the grain trade be swallowed by the State for the sake of a marginal problem with marginal rises in price during marginal years?

It is to be hoped that zeal will give place to reflection in so vital a matter.



## Sotto Voce

### A Poet-pilgrim

This is a month of many much-celebrated anniversaries. It is also a month with specially sacred associations for Tiruvannamalai. Kavyakantha Ganapathy Sastri, who was born eighty years ago this week lived for many years in the famous temple-town. He sang his *Uma-sahasram* in the presence of Sri Ramana Maharshi. Incidentally, it was his happy inspiration that gave the world that now universally known and honoured cognomen. And to the last, the Hill of the Beacon was his spiritual home. Here was one whose lips were touched with divine fire, if any mortal's was. A modest altar-flower is his due today.

Ganapathy Sastri came of a family of Smartha (Vadama) Brahmins which had migrated from Valangiman in the Tanjore District to Andhra more than two hundred years ago. It settled down in a village near Visakhapatnam called Kalavarayi. The poet's ancestors were adepts in Mantra Sastra and deeply learned in Jyautisha and Ayurveda. To these qualifications were added in Ganapathy Sastri a formidable Vedic scholarship and a copious eloquence. In his delightful biography of the poet in Sanskrit entitled *Vaasista-Vaibhavam*, his worthy disciple Kapali Sastri, well-known as the exegetist of the Rig Veda in the light of the Aurobindo Darsana, gives a vivid account of the boy Ganapathy's precocity, his versatility and the unceasing thirst for self-realisation that drove him.

No wonder that he fascinated all who came into contact with him. The great Pandita Parishad of Nawadip in Bengal was swept off its feet by the flood tide of his *pratibha* and conferred on this unknown lad of nineteen the proud title of Kavyakantha. Bhatta Sri Narayana Sastri, perhaps the most lively mind of this century that gave itself up to the delights of Samskrit composition,

found in him a bard-improvisator worthy of his regard. His intellectual powers impressed V. Krishnaswami Iyer and his lambent spirituality won for him the deep and loving friendship of brilliant men like Mr. S. Doraiswami Iyer. Though he had no English, his catholicity of outlook, ardour for freedom and the independence of thought drove him for a while, almost against himself, into the struggle for political emancipation.

But he soon got out of it. Though to him Bharata-bhumi was mother and Divinity in one and though he implored the Mother of the Universe (the Uma-Haimavati of the Kena Upanishad whose glory he was never tired of singing) to show him how best he could serve his country, he felt he must not deviate from his true vocation. In one of his last letters he said, "While I yearn for the political freedom of the country, the emancipation of the Harijans and the establishment of the true Vaidika Dharma, I am convinced as ever that *tapas* alone is the key to success and that without the Grace of God mere human effort can be of no avail." He would not have understood our present-day secularism. But young ardent minds, like my good friend K. S. Venkataraman (later of the Aurobindo Ashram) were attracted by the power of his example to a like, life-long dedication and followed him like a shadow.

He found in Sri Ramana, the Guru whom he had long sought. And he worked out for himself a synthesis in which the intuitions (as he understood them) of the seers of the Vedic Samhitas and the Atma-darsana of the Maharshi were reconciled with the message of the Upanishads and the esoteric teachings of the Tantras. But it is not of these things (on which as on his social reform ideas opinions may legitimately differ) that I speak here.

It is his work as a poet and scholar that will richly repay attention.

Unfortunately many of his *stotras* are still in manuscript. So also are a number of prose-works on a large variety of subjects ranging from philosophy and Yoga to Ayurveda and including an unfinished novel. The prose works should be of special interest to the student of Samskrit as Ganapathy Sastri was a pioneer in evolving a simple, elegant and nervous prose style. But the *Uma-sahasram*, as well as the better known *Ramana Geeta*, give one an adequate idea of the rich quality of his mind. The former poem, of a thousand verses is composed in a large variety of lilting metres matching an impassioned lyricism.

The *Uma-sahasram* is not, however, so much a poem in the conventional sense as a *samhita* celebrating Divine Grace and the human yearning that prompts it. The poet has indeed embodied in it, as he claims, all that he has read, heard, contemplated and experienced. You encounter every *rasa* including humour (the poet wonders whether there are silkworms in Heaven!). But they all converge in the enjoyment of the *Eka Rasa*. The poem, for all its amorphousness, is memorable, because it is a glowing record of a dedication which is as heroic as it is rare.

VIGNNESWARA

### 'Ambar' with Power

BHOPAL, Nov. 15

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, said here today that the Government of India was examining the possibility of running Ambar Charkha with the aid of electricity.

A needlessly round about way to reach the spinning mill which is already there!

The Ambar is a miniature spinning mill suited for hand power and now must we use the Ambar just as a starting point to get back to the original? The next step would be to make the electrified Ambar bigger, and then we have the real full size spinning mill and its managing agents.

## STRIKES IN A PLANNED ECONOMY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

*The best-laid schemes o'mice  
and men gang aft agley, no  
tellin' when.*

—BURNS.

'Mice' stands for the 'private sector' and 'men' of course for the 'public sector'. In a 'planned economy' how can we have labour strikes at the bidding of union leaders? And how can we at all allow 'sympathetic' strikes where nothing justifies the dislocation except the motive to show 'sympathy'? In an unplanned economy all this could be legitimate even if unwise. But in a planned economy, it is altogether out of place, treason.

I am not a socialist or economist or any other 'ist'. I do not say this in mock humility and as a claim to greater attention on that score. I simply can't understand planned economy along with the 'right to strike' and I confess it. In a state which has made up its mind really to run on socialist lines, the government must, it seems to me, control the greatest single element among all that go to make production viz., manpower. The state must lay down the law and have no qualms. If it gives a free hand only to labour, but clamps down laws and rigid regulations on every other element that goes into the task of production or service, it is just union-o-crazy and not socialism or democracy.

Has government cared to direct its expert mind to the facts and figures of unemployment in India, not only the unemployment of expectant workers that have congregated in slums in cities, but of the vast uncountable unemployment of 'unskilled' men in the rural areas although in the Census they are marked 'agriculture'? Is it socialism or welfare to allow the few employed industrial workers to close the avenues of

employment against the poor and terribly distressed people that are prepared to do honest work for some wage, even if it may be below the trade union level?

It is not welfare, it appears to me, to legislate and govern so as to keep up a standard of payment, when ten living souls have to get nothing, as against one that gets the benefit of that standard. Wage standard is an idea whereas the men and women are live souls. What is the sense in saving a standard when men and women starve in the countryside?

The right to work according to a contract accepted on either side is a right stated to be guaranteed by the Constitution in Art. 19. But this right is daily infringed at the altar of the so-called right to strike which is sought to include also a right to prevent any others from working when a strike is declared by a trade union.

Apart from the conflict of rights, the freedom of labour to strike is inconsistent with the logic of a planned economy, in the private sector as well as in the nationalised industries. The success of Russia in emerging from poverty into wealth notwithstanding its large population and the ignorance of its people, the phenomenal industry of Japan in the pre-war period as well as its latest resounding success in rising from the ashes of war destruction must teach us valuable lessons as to the importance of utilising the man-power of the state to its fullest capacity without letting trade-unionism to receive all the tenderness of the government to the point of national resources being wasted.

I have dealt only with a single issue as it is of great importance in the context of the national effort, although there is a great

deal to be discussed in respect of other matters and priorities. The right to strike and the freedom with which this right is exercised can make the 'best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley, no telling when'.

('Gang agley' is Scotch for 'go wrong').

It is not as if when and if the right to strike is taken away from trade union leaders and the workmen under their discipline, the latter's just claims and wrongs done to them will go unattended to and unrectified. A state that has taken over charge of the welfare of the people as a whole and all the powers corollary to it has scope and authority enough to see that justice is rendered and wrongs remedied without having to make the community suffer the ill-effects of industrial dislocation. There are enough sanctions and procedures to meet every case as well as any strike can do it.

Strikes had to be resorted to in the days when they were conceived first, because there were no other ways and means to settle disputes. Governments then kept rigorously away from entering on the scene, whereas now the opposite is the case. The need for calling in the weapon of strikes has wholly disappeared, yet by a sort of tradition and for the purpose of over-ruling the decisions of statutory tribunals, this unsocial weapon is resorted to. The plea made here for ending the anachronism is not intended to curtail the right of workers to obtain justice. It is a plea that justice should be made available without dislocating industry. The general effect of this anachronistic 'right' in the private sector is to frighten enterprise and investment. As for the public sector, the exercise of this right leads slowly but steadily and surely to the weakening of the authority of government, the strengthening of subversive elements and generally to a slant towards chaos. The right to strike is out of place in a welfare state, out of date in a socialist state and serves no social purpose.

## COURT FRIGHT

By POTHAN JOSEPH

"I will expose you in the papers; I will sue you; I will take out a writ; I will drag you to the Supreme Court. You will be finished. How will you face the world? Better apologize and sign on the dotted line." Such shouts are becoming increasingly hollow.

The greater the truth the greater the libel, and since Editors are cautious the dream of establishing duplicity through the columns of the Press gives scant satisfaction: selling of space for defamation is a precarious venture. Empty tripe to the effect that letters to the Editor should not be taken as the opinion of the paper ("not necessarily"), or that the signatory alone is responsible for any vilificatory lambastings would afford no protection to the publisher or the sleeping partners in the proprietary of a printing concern. There can be no washing of the hands in law even when damaging remarks are "expunged" in the next edition. It is as the arrow that left the bow or the maid who bestows her heart at first sight—irretrievably gone regardless of consequences. Examination in the witness-box is not any more frightening than threats to publish scandals. "Publish and be damned" said the Duke of Wellington to a blackmailing caller.

With the shortage of newsprint and the prosperity-bulge of advertisements which outgrow the limits of reasonable space in the judgment of readers who constitute the ultimate jury a blow through the medium of the press is a fantasy. It is the space

age in more senses than one as even nuclear penetrationists must testify at any of the summits of Geneva.

I beg to aver that there is nothing to dread in a court of law except consent or collusion for adjournments among the fraternity who indulge in the jest of calling one another "My learned friend." They are mighty learned, the fee-pocketers, just as the occupants of the Bench are brothers. Was it not Robert Burns who sang, "A judge is a brither for a' that"? Editors never exchange any such compliments in a controversy. "Viper" was a description that shocked Mr. Pickwick on hearing of the newspaper situation at the Eatansville dictions.

When the Tribunal arrives in a small room under the Industrial Disputes Act or a Judicial Inquiry into the latest firing (Kerala of course), there is no ceremonial, no mace-bearer, no cry of "Silence." Many mistake the occasion when it is a "One Man Tribunal." When I see a Commission notified in an Ordinance or a Gazette Extraordinary, I figure out the marshalled tread of at least three. The number 3 is honoured not because of any faith in the Triad or the Trinity which ought to form some metaphysical accord between East and West now in cold war discord, but just to ensure justice through majority-vote as illustrated in the Planning Commission's insistence of 51 per cent for India in the capital-documentation of foreign projects. We are, it is believed, sure-fire safe because of that odd one per cent as full security.

Disclosure of frenzied finance and vulgar frauds occurs everyday in courts of law even when the Commission turns out to be the appointment of One Guy, appropriating the dignity of a Simon Commission that toured with a composition of Seven,

Attlee included. The lawyer has no fear in the making of accusations, because on a pull from the presiding officer, he could say: "As Your Honour or M'lord wishes, I am prepared to submit to any ruling, but such are my client's instructions." Thrusting his refresher in the pocket in support of his original retainer, counsel agrees on an adjournment whilst the weight of error is loaded into the fault of "My client's instructions," dignifiedly uttered.

Even on the supposition that the witness in the box has sneezed or groaned, an intervening petition is permissible only for a re-play of the entire piece in order to establish, on transfer of the file, the demeanour of the original staggers who might have on fatigue and after casual lapse of memory pledged themselves in the oath "to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but Satya." Procedural decorum often retards justice, but let us never forsake the motto "Satyameva Jayate." Truth is a precious thing, said Mark Twain, let us economise it.

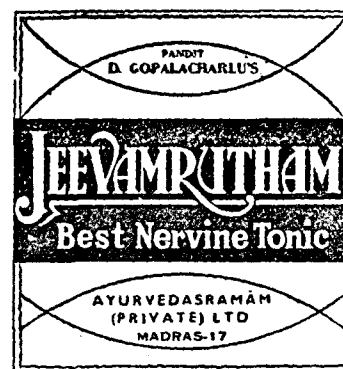
For Waiting Comfort



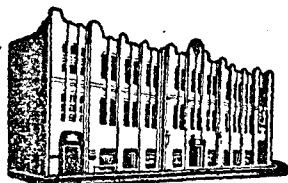
FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN' Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/150/A



## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

### 23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole  
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, NEW DELHI, CALCUTTA,  
COLOMBO, PENANG, KUALA LUMPUR,  
MALACCA AND SINGAPORE.

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000  |
| Issued and Subscribed Capital                   | 72,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | 66,19,625    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | 91,61,883    |
| Deposits as on 30-6-'58                         | 38,00,96,415 |
| Total Working Funds                             | 46,05,11,811 |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :

WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

### CAPITAL COMMENTS

## CONGRESSMEN MARK TIME

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It has been a quiet, if not dull, November at the Capital, and it is not likely that the re-assembling of Parliament will make a marked difference to the month's trends. Neither House has an exciting agenda, except for the adjournment motion in Lok Sabha, against the Chief Minister of Kerala which may provide some pyrotechnics. There is nothing particularly lively that any party can bring up, in the absence of major controversial issues. Congressmen are marking time, and will continue doing so, till the big rally at Nagpur will give a new direction to their concerted enthusiasm, which does not necessarily mean that Nagpur will open the flood-gates to political fervour and Socialist drive. Congress circles seem to have only one big question: what will 'Dhebarbhai' do (with himself)? Or what they should do with him? He cannot be kept idle—or left alone, having driven—or decorated—the Congress chariot since Avadi. No Governorship which suits defeated candidates and deposed chiefs, will attract a man of his temperament. Nor is he essentially cut out for a place in the Planning Commission. Nevertheless, he must be provided for, somewhere at the top, both as a reward for past work and as an incentive for further service. Knowledgeable men are inclined to believe, that if new places cannot be created, vacancies can be, in the higher hierarchy. Intelligent men may hazard conjectures since all that is being heard, or overheard, cannot be freely bandied about.

Traditional home of different faiths, India is fast rising to new eminence as the meeting-ground of wider cultures, savouring of both the East and the West. In recognition of her proud position and growing opportunities as a free country eager for the friend-

liest understanding with the rest of the world, Delhi is projecting an International Centre on the lines of the one at Tokyo, but designed to suit Indian conditions. The Centre will endeavour or strive to promote understanding and amity amongst human communities by facilitating exchange of ideas and knowledge and mutual appreciation of each other's culture, while its emphasis will be, neither on the study of any single culture nor on the promotion of any particular ideology, but on the exposition of the world's different cultural patterns. That the lead for the establishment at the Capital of such a Centre came from the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan and a 'preparatory Committee' which included men of such eminence as Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru and Prof. Humayun Kabir worked out the details of the project, was of happy augury. More than anything else what should appeal to the public is the desire, if not the determination, of the sponsors to preserve its autonomy by not seeking or accepting any governmental aid as such. In the advent and activities of India's International Centre, it is expected of our Universities to play a very vital role, both as seats of learning and nurseries of the rising talent in the country.

The Fourteenth of November has by now acquired a significance of its own in the Indian calendar as the day on which children all over the country claim and acclaim our beloved and honoured Prime Minister as their Chacha and celebrate his birthday anniversary with their elders but in a manner that is perfectly in tune with their tender spirit and spontaneous enthusiasm. Perhaps there is none in our political annals who has, by his human qualities, so much en-



## THE SWAMI VANQUISHED

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

"Ye tigers and cheetahs, why do you live such sinful lives? Don't you know how heinous it is to kill and eat cows and deer? Give up these wicked ways. Learn to live like me!" said the Swami.

"This Swami is becoming intolerable," said the fox. "My counsel is: Make a meal of him and finish him off."

The tiger demurred, saying, "If I swallow him, beard and matted locks and all, there is no knowing what will happen to my poor inside. Your advice is no use. Let us talk things over with him and come to a settlement."

"Swamiji," asked the cheetah, "Your people too eat sheep and fowl, don't they? Why do you find fault with us alone?"

"That's right. Keep it up," said the tiger.

"Your questions are fair, my children," said the Swami. "But then, they cook the sheep and fowl before eating. They don't eat flesh raw like

you. What do you do is disgusting, uncivilised."

"There is no point in this argument," said the tiger.

"Why not?" enquired the Swami.

The tiger asked the Fox to carry on the argument, saying, "You had better explain, Minister Fox. You know how to talk!"

"Swamiji," said the Fox, "Don't you understand this little thing? I am really surprised. You are a learned man. My acquaintance with the Sastras is nil. The creator has conferred on the tiger and the cheetah the capacity to eat the sheep and cows raw and digest them. Man has no such capacity. Do you agree?"

"What you say is right," said the Swami. "That is why they cook and then eat the flesh."

"The Lord never intended man and did not enable him to eat the flesh of beasts. What is a sinful violation of the Divine

command is man's adapting it for his stomach by cooking and then consuming it. There is no sin in the tiger and the cheetah eating the food which they can digest. To use fire and water—against nature—to soften flesh and make it edible, that is real sin."

"You talk cleverly, you eater of carrion!" said the Swami. "Your way of living is contemptible."

"I bow low before you, learned one," said the fox. "It is true I eat carrion. Your people cut and cruelly kill the living goat and eat it. But I wait for its natural death and I eat its decaying flesh. Am I the sinner?"

The Swami scratched his head and mused.

"Is it not time for you to go, Swamiji?" warned the tiger. "It is risky to stay longer. The cheetah is getting hungry."

The tiger had noted the cheetah's mouth watering.

The Swami hastened away.

deared himself to age or youth of either sex or any class or community. What indefinably passes for the Nehru touch has indubitably touched our national life to a richer hue and a nobler purpose. On November 14 India waved to him in joy as he found himself on the threshold of his seventieth year, while, as usual, friends and admirers, at all levels and from distant climes, offered their salutations to him. It was a happy coincidence that on the very day, the enterprising Asia Publishing Co. (Bombay) brought out *A Bunch of Letters* from the Prime Minister's prodigious post-bag.

The same day he was the recipient of the first copy of *Modern Indian Poetry* (an anthology in

English of select poems done by living poets in the respective Indian languages)—the first book of its kind — edited by the younger Abburi, Sri Varada Rajeswara Rau, with an arresting preface by him and a characteristic foreword by the Minister for Cultural Relations, Prof. Humayun Kabir. Indeed, this admirable book which projects Indian poets on so wide a canvas through the rendering into, or the medium of, English, was dedicated to Mr. Nehru. For, as the Editor put it, if Mr. Nehru has himself written no poetry, there is none in our ranks who is so much of a poet at heart. On one thing, the world is agreed: there is nothing prosaic about our Prime Minister.

It was such an interesting 'coincidence' that the latest *Observer* copy received in India carries a penetrating study of Mr. Nehru, in its brilliant series entitled 'Portraits of Power'. It helps us all to know that it is now taken for granted that "the influence of India cannot be left out of any international reckoning," while Mr. Nehru himself is "a man of power, not only within his own borders, but in the world at large". Ours now should be the joy as well as the pride that Mr. Nehru, and, because of his personality and sway, India, are so fixed in the international perspective when he has entered on his seventieth year. Can we ask for more?



## THE SOCIALIST PATTERN

By B. R. KUMAR

Since "Socialism" is the fashion in India today, it is worthwhile to bring to the notice of the intellectuals two books on this subject. The first book is "The Servile State" by Hilaire Belloc, published in 1912. The second book is "The New Class" by Milovan Djilas published in 1957. The first book may be defined to be in the nature of a prophecy, based on an intelligent understanding of the nature of things. The second book may be said to be in the nature of the fulfilment of that prophecy. The two books are complementary, the prologue and the epilogue of contemporary Socialism. A wise man learns from the experience of others, and it may be that the fate of European Socialism may have some warnings for us.

Mr. Belloc's quarrel is not at all with the theory of Socialism but with the means adopted, which he contends will lead to a "society in which the capitalist class shall be even more powerful and far more secure than it is at

present; a society in which the proletarian mass shall not suffer from particular regulations, oppressive or beneficent, but shall change their status, lose their present legal freedom, and be subject to compulsory labour"; a society which he calls "The servile State", because the mass of men will have lost the very basis of freedom, for example personal freedom to choose their own means of livelihood. Djilas shows that the only result of the Russian revolution has been to create a "new class, the bureaucracy, or more accurately the political bureaucracy .... made up of those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they hold". "In contrast to earlier revolutions, the Communist Revolution, conducted in the name of doing away with classes, has resulted in the most complete authority of any single new class. Everything else is sham and an illusion." "It is the bureaucracy which formally uses,

administers and controls both nationalised and socialised property as well as the entire life of society. The role of the bureaucracy in society, i.e. monopolistic administration and control of national income and national goods, consigns it to a special privileged position. Social relations resemble State capitalism. The more so because the carrying out of industrialisation is effected not with the help of capitalists but with the help of the State machine. In fact this privileged class performs that function, using the State machine as a cover and as an instrument". "The Communists, believing that they were building a new and ideal society, built it for themselves".

The main thesis of Belloc's book is the fundamental question of means and ends: whatever may be the moral and other arguments in favour of Socialism, the means adopted by the Socialists will lead not to the establishment of collectivism, which according to Belloc is the fundamental meaning of Socialism, but to a state of society in which the present capitalist State will guarantee to the vast multitude of the proletariat a minimum living wage in the present industrial system along with "compulsory labour". According to Belloc, Socialism (i.e. collectivism) is not possible except by a process of wholesale confiscation of the means of production and distribution, which he says is not possible in modern society. "The path of confiscation, the only way by which Socialists can reach their goal, gets more and more remote with every new and positive economic reform, undertaken, remember, with the aid and under the advice of Socialists themselves". "A bold policy of confiscation, taking the means of production from the hands of those who now own them and placing them in the hands of politicians to be held in trust for the community .... nothing like it or approaching it has ever been done or is now being done". Djilas however shows that this very thing was done in Russia, and yet "everything happened

differently in the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries from what the leaders—even such prominent ones as Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, and Bukharin — anticipated. They stated that the State would rapidly wither away, that democracy would be strengthened. The reverse happened. They expected a rapid im-

provement in the standard of living; there has been scarcely any change in this respect and, in the subjugated East European countries, the standard has even declined. In every instance, the standard of living has failed to rise in proportion to the rate of industrialisation, which was much more rapid. It was believed that the differences between cities and villages, between intellectual and physical labour, would slowly disappear; instead these differences have increased .... The greatest illusion was that industrialisation and collectivization in the U.S.S.R. and destruction of capitalist ownership, would result in a classless society. In 1936, when

## A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

**SOLVING A PRESSING PROBLEM:**  
It was such a large pile of clothes, sheets and towels—Mummy had to ask Ruma and Uma to help with the ironing. Lots of washing, yes. But Mummy used so little soap. She washes with SUNLIGHT, of course. That wonderful extra lather washes so much! It draws out every scrap of dirt without beating!

Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!



SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

S. 263-X52

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

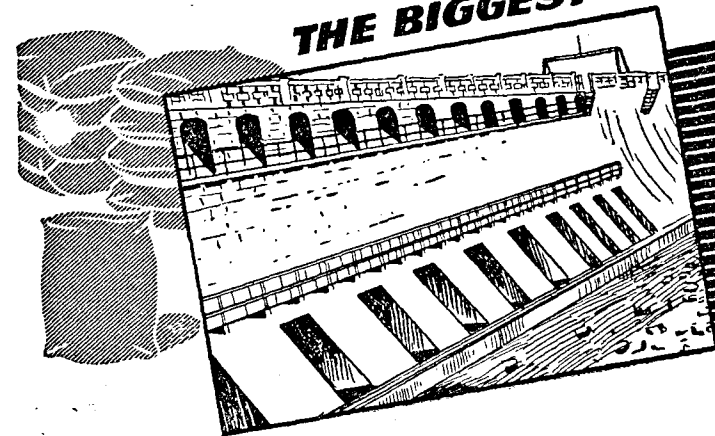
**First to fight colds since 1893**

Three generations of users have proved that Amrutanjani brings quick, comforting relief from colds.

**AMRUTANJANI**

AMRUTANJANI LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
and Calcutta-7.

## SOLID STRENGTH AND STABILITY *Behind* THE BIGGEST DAMS



**DURGA BRAND**  
PORTLAND CEMENT

Manufactured by  
**THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.**  
Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST. MADRAS-1  
Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents :  
**THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY**  
(Private) LTD.  
RAJAHMUNDRY.

the new Constitution was promulgated, Stalin announced that the exploiting class had ceased to exist. The capitalist and other classes of ancient origin had in fact been destroyed, but a new class, previously unknown to history, had been formed."

Thus neither the Fabian tactics of Socialism attacked by Belloc, nor the violent tactics of confiscation advocated by him and adopted in Russia, have achieved Socialism. The Fabian tactics according to Belloc would only lead to a servile State perpetuating the capitalist system; the violent tactics of Russia have only created, according to Djilas, a new class of exploiters more powerful and ruthless than any in the past! What is the lesson for India?

According to Belloc, the foundation of freedom is property and if we destroy property, freedom goes along with it. "If we do not restore the institution of property we cannot escape restoring the institution of slavery; there is no third course". In Russia the institution of property was destroyed, and the whole country according to Djilas is in the grip "of the depredations and privileges of a new class". In England similarly as the result of the Industrial Revolution a vast army of the proletariat without landed property was created, and it is only too glad according to Belloc to hand over freedom in return for security of wages. In other words, Socialism and Freedom are incompatible. We can choose one or the other; we cannot have both. Russia and China, to the extent that they are Socialist, have lost freedom at the hands of the very class which broke their earlier chains: they have only exchanged one set of masters for another. Can it be different in India in its pursuit of the Socialist pattern of society? Is not mechanisation in its very essence bound to result in a servile State? Was not Gandhiji fundamentally right in his opposition to machinery, and insistence on simplicity? Was the charka merely a political weapon against the British or a symbol of the most fundamental essential of freedom?

## MUDALIAR AND MURRAY REPORTS

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

Reports on Universities are invariably exciting and dealing as they do with the younger generation who will be the leaders of tomorrow they are looked forward to eagerly from the time that the public is informed that a Committee has been appointed.

For the price of 56 naya paise the Report of the Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee headed by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar is available to the public.

Some indication of the Augean stable they had to wade through can be had by turning to Appendix 3, List of members of the staff who are stated to be inter-related. Twenty names are given. One stands aghast after reading this list. Son of Number One, son-in-law, nephew, and so on goes the list. Well, well, is this Sarvodaya?

Turning to Appendix 2 we get an idea of the amount of money that has been spent on the BHU from 1942 to 1957. For the year 1956-1957 the Government of India and the University Grants Committee gave Rs. 51,55,908 and Rs. 1,45,357 respectively while the U.P. Government gave Rs. 2,18,250. A total of Rs. 55,19,515 under recurring expenditure: while under Non-recurring expenditure the Government of India gave Rs. 13,17,085 and the U.P. Government Rs. 1,72,498 during the period 1956-57 making another total of Rs. 14,89,583.

"Besides the above grants, the following interest-free loans were given by the Government of India for construction of Hostels and electric supply connections": The Amounts are tabled from 1946 up to 1954 and total Rs. 7,46,000.

How has this particular amount of money been spent? Pages 11-12 of the Report tell us: "The hostels are overcrowded and unfortunately students, who are not hostel-mates, are also accommodated there either openly or in other ways. . . . A large number of students are forced to live outside the campus of the Univer-

sity in surroundings that are appalling. . . . although the campus is so big and there are large pieces of ground for various games to be played, the playgrounds presented a deserted appearance . . . facilities for library study are remote. . . ."

"The state of sanitation is deplorable. No attempt has been made to provide the necessary sanitary conveniences of modern nature even in the hostels, whether it be for men students or women students: and, in the Colleges themselves, the arrangements are, to say the least, very primitive indeed."

Absence of competitive forms of physical activities and games, and competitions in the literary field, the organisation of resident students into Houses, has also been commented upon by the Committee.

### Pressure Groups

All these glaring deficiencies can be traced to the existence of Pressure-groups consisting of "Teacher-politicians" and the "Eastern U. P. Group." These groups and "local citizens have joined together to wrest power and the reins of the University ever since the time of the founder Vice-Chancellor Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in ousting Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Amarnath Jha in quick succession and again it is they who fought against Pandit Govind Malaviya, Acharya Narendra Deva, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and now against the present Vice-Chancellor. . . . This brings us to the question of discipline among the staff and employees which is of much greater importance than discipline among students . . . students are floating population but staff is permanent." According to a memorandum submitted to the Committee by the Commissioner of the Banaras Division "whenever it is felt by this group of teachers that there is a certain amount of unrest amongst the students, they act as agent-provocateurs."

### Examinations and Examinerships

Reading the Report under this heading one gathers that there are strong-arm methods reminiscent of Longshoremen's Unions in certain parts of the world. There is a "mutual benefit process". "One of the Professors has made a serious charge that his daughter was not allowed to work under him for a research degree." Examining the records "of several of the teachers, we find that somehow or other, they are generally those who have risen from the lowest positions in the University. . . ."

### Student Indiscipline

We come across some strange revelations which make BHU affairs savour more and more of a Gulliverian fantasy. "Firstly, there are a number of students in the University who have been students for many, many years. In fact, the student-leader who went on a hunger-strike in July last year has been a student for over 15 years, and at present is

### Biographies and Memoirs

|                                                                      | Rs. | nP. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: <i>Explorer and Mystic</i> : by George Seaver  | 20  | 31  |
| ROGER CASEMENT: <i>A new judgment</i> : by Rene MacColl              | 17  | 06  |
| THE WHISPERING GALLERY: <i>An autobiography</i> : by John Lehmann    | 17  | 06  |
| JOWETT: <i>A portrait with a background</i> : by Geoffrey Faber      | 24  | 37  |
| THOMAS HARDY: <i>A critical biography</i> : by Evelyn Hardy          | 20  | 31  |
| HARRY S. TRUMAN'S MEMOIRS—2 vols.                                    | 48  | 75  |
| SIR JOHN MOORE: <i>A biography</i> : by Carola Oman                  | 34  | 12  |
| BERNARD SHAW: <i>His life, work and friends</i> : by St. John Ervine | 40  | 62  |

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

stated to be a student of the LL.M. class. These mature students who are of the mature age of 35 and over dominate the whole atmosphere and get a group of indisciplined students to coerce other young students or subjugate them to their wishes...."

The BHU was conceived as a residential university: but today the students number about 10,000. As a result the pressure on the available accommodation in Hostels can be imagined. The rest make do with accommodation in the City under conditions that are not only appalling but most undesirable.

What has been quoted here from the Report is meagre. The Press did give full publicity to the Report but those who are parents and teachers must keep a copy of the Report itself and ponder over the whole question of University education in India. Because we have been told of the shocking state of affairs at BHU we must not lull ourselves into the feeling that University education at other places in India is not wholly imperfect and that, to change the metaphor, we need not cross bridges until we come to them. It is time that the Prime Minister appointed a Committee to report on all the Universities in India. The second Five Year Plan which lumped under the Heading *The Professions and Other Liberal Arts* "dhobies, barbers, scavengers, teachers and medical practitioners" and expected greater employment among barbers, dhobies and scavengers, must regard it as incumbent upon itself to take the question of University Education seriously.

#### *The Murray Report*

Australia is a small country: but the threats to the Open Society way of life as practised by the Australians are perhaps greater than they seem to be in India. Australians take their Universities seriously and expect the universities not only to supply the needed number of technologists but even to supply qualified Australians for work in Papua, New Guinea and other countries of Free Asia.

Last year, Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, appointed a Committee of five to examine the problems of Australian universities and to "ensure that their long-term pattern of developments is in the best interests of the nation." The Chairman of the Committee was Sir Keith Murray of the British Universities Grants Committee. The Committee finished its Report in the quick time of three months and it was published this year.

Australia has nine universities and two university colleges, with an annual income of £ 12,000,000 to quote the figure for 1956. Nearly half of this is provided by the States and a quarter by the Commonwealth. The governing body of a university is the senate or council with a minority of government representatives.

The Committee in reporting to the Prime Minister preface their report thus: "We had hoped to find that they were at present adequately staffed and equipped to discharge their heavy responsibilities to the student and to the nation. This is, unfortunately, far from the case."

The Committee envisages an increase of over one hundred per cent of students in the next ten years bringing the maximum to about 80,000. In 1953 the number of students was 28,792: in 1957 it was 36,465. The rate of increase is a matter for alarm in the view of the Murray Committee because they are concerned with the standard of the product, namely the student, turned out by the universities. They consider that "a staff increase of about sixty per cent to bring them up to the standard in Great Britain" would be necessary. "Bearing in mind the circumstances and traditions of Australia, we conclude that the demand for graduates is so great that...the universities should be put in a position to accept all those qualified and who wish to enter."

The question of residential colleges also receives attention from the Murray Committee particularly as it affects Asian students now in Australian colleges. At present only fifteen per cent of students are in residential colleges. "The representatives of Australian stu-

dents .... have expressed to us their deep concern over the conditions under which many overseas students are living and over the failure of this country to make the most of their goodwill and desire to understand our way of life."

Australia is beginning to take seriously her responsibility with regard to Asian students, large numbers of whom are now flocking to Australian colleges.

The Report stresses the fact that the demand for graduates comes in this order: agriculture, secondary industry, and the rest. The universities cannot cope with the demand for scientists and technologists. Under the peculiar circumstances of Australia it is understandable that the "humanities" do not receive the same attention as in Great Britain: The Committee is concerned at this aspect and bemoans the fact that the technologist is too much of a technician.

For Australia the small university is considered a luxury. The Murray Report discusses the question of the size of a university and suggest 12,000 as the maximum each for the Sydney and Melbourne Universities. The number of students at the former in 1957 was 8,318 and at the latter 7,908. These are the two largest universities. The Committee recommends the establishing of a second university in Melbourne. The Committee recommends an expenditure of £ 12,000,000 in the next three years for buildings with the Commonwealth assisting the States on a pound for pound basis. It also recommends the setting up of an Australian University Grants Committee with a full-time chairman, and seven other members, two lay, five academic. The Prime Minister accepted this recommendation but the title would be the Australian Universities Committee—"to plan University development generally" in the words of Mr. Menzies. The Murray Committee believes that a "policy" committee such as the AUC will stimulate the respective universities to frame their own policies.

The trend of the Murray Report,

which is of value to us in India too, is discernible in the first chapter of the Report:

"In most parts of the free world they (the universities) are accorded a high degree of autonomy and self-determination on the ground that particular services which they render, both to their own country and to man-

kind in general, cannot be rendered without such freedom....

"But in the circumstances of today government and people have had to take a more positive attitude. High intellectual ability is in short supply and no country can afford to waste it: every boy or girl with the necessary brain power must in the national

interest" be suitably educated.

What a difference in the two Reports. True, one was an emergency report dealing with a single university—but how depressing the revelations: the other deals with the nine universities of a young nation—but how inspiring and with what a long-term view.

*Of course mine is a safe job!*

**We:** It's secure, yes. Nobody is going to sack you!

**The Boss:** And I sit behind a desk all day—no danger in that.

**We:** What about danger from dirt? Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know!

**The Boss:** Interesting! But since mine is a spotless office...

**We:** Yes, but even here there's ordinary, everyday dirt. You may not notice it—but you can't escape it anywhere.

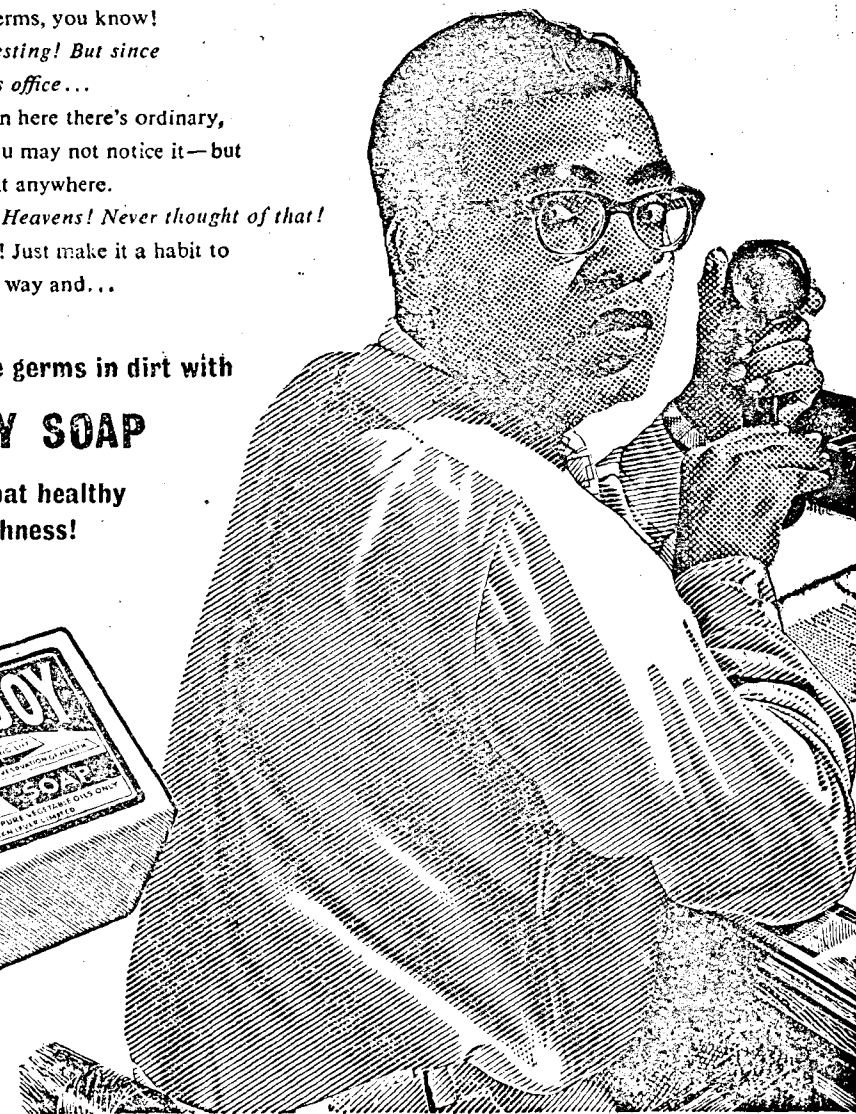
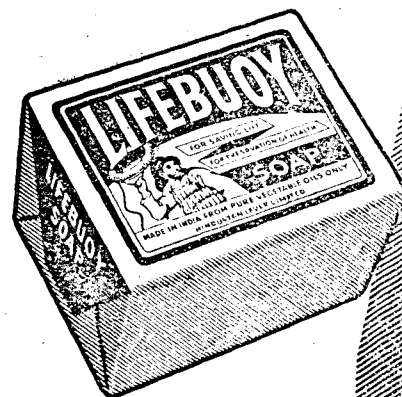
**The Boss:** Good Heavens! Never thought of that!

**We:** Don't panic! Just make it a habit to bathe the healthy way and...

wash away the germs in dirt with

**LIFEBUOY SOAP**

—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!



▲ PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

L 274-X39



## IN BOMBAY DISTRIBUTORS 'FEED' THEATRES

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** The statement issued by the Joint Chief Controller of Imports warned the producers, distributors and exhibitors to make sure from the Controller's office about the availability of raw stock before making any commitments about the release of films. As it is, the raw stock permit is issued only after the Censor certificate is granted. Formerly, the permit was issued for all the copies so that the picture could be released simultaneously all over India. Since the last few weeks, permits are being issued for a limited quantity as a result of which the producer is able to release his picture only in one circuit and that too not in all the theatres.

This shortage of raw stock is likely to continue and the producers and distributors would be well advised not to book any theatres unless and until the pictures are censored and the requisite stock is obtained. If only the producers' and distributors' associations could make it binding on all their members not to make definite bookings without obtaining prints, the entire situation of release and theatre-hire may undergo a revolutionary change. Today, in Bombay, the distributors are forced to pay deficits to theatres for their inability to release the pictures on scheduled dates. During October, at last five theatres in Bombay were fed by distributors; even now one theatre is being fed by a distributor because the picture is not ready. If only the producers and distributors give up the practice of booking in advance, the distributors will incur no deficit and on the contrary get better terms from exhibitors.

Indeed, with caution and clever manipulation, the producers and distributors can get some advantage out of the difficulties created by the non-availability of raw stock and at least improve their position in dealing with exhibi-

tors, who apart from stars, are taking away the major share of the revenue. But instead of taking this 'business' advantage, the producers are using this shortage to give a raw deal to workers. For, the raw film shortage has resulted in retrenchment of staff in many studios.

The rate of production has definitely gone down. While on Dussera, only one muhurat was performed, in Diwali, only two pictures went on floors—one of which has yet to get 'permit' for raw stock. But, as Shri Chandulal Shah had said, this factor also can benefit the producers if they plan their productions on a rational basis and do not run after stars.

Indeed, the post-Diwali situation of the industry is thus anything but bright. The absence of Dilip Kumar and the illness of Ashok Kumar have also contributed to the producers' worries causing the delay of some of the important pictures nearing completion. Thus, though about nine new pictures have been released in November, the releases in subsequent months would reveal the true picture of the crisis through which the industry is passing today.

Lavish, long, spectacular, song-and-dance studded, Anjali Pictures' (Madras) maiden offering in Hindi, 'Suvarna Sundari' is

designed as a mass entertainer with music as its principal attraction for the 'classes'.

Produced by Adinarayan Rau, who is also the music director of the picture, 'Suvarna Sundari' affords a feast of classical and folk tunes. And with lilting lyrics by Bharat Vyas, superbly rendered by Lata, Rafi, Manna Dey and others, the music is a treat by itself. Especially noteworthy are the song-numbers 'Mujhe Na Bula' and 'Kuhoo Kahoo Bole Re Koyaliya'. These songs with classical flavour reveal that their melody is even more appealing than the rock-n-roll rhythm. Even the background music is pleasing with sitar and flute dominating the score.

While the music and dances which are lavishly staged and expertly directed by V. Raghavaiah in the true South Indian style, are artistic and purely Indian, the story is a mixture of mythology, folklore, Arabian Nights and what not.

The story concerns the romance of a divine fairy and prince in exile. The fairy marries the prince in the first meeting and is cursed by Lord Indra, that her husband will not recognise her and if she ever touches him, he will become stone. So the curse separates her from her husband and later she loses her child and moves in male disguise. Her husband is also cursed to be a woman by day and man by night. After a lot of fantastic situations, they meet and recognise each other. But the husband is gradually being turned into stone; the son blessed by Lord Shiva and Parvati comes to their rescue and the trio is re-united.

The story, with its fantasy, magic, miracles and other things, never becomes gripping, human or poignant. The sets, decor, and costumes are as fantastic as the story. That is the main handicap of an otherwise competently made picture. Anjali Devi as divine fairy gives a good account of herself both as a dancer and an actress. Nageshwar Rao makes a presentable hero.

Classic flavour of music and dances form the main features of this mass entertainer.

### Personality of the week :

While the Bombay film circles mourned the death of Shri Chhotubhai Desai, the elder brother of Jayant Desai and a veteran producer, distributor and exhibitor, in Diwali, the sad news came of the demise of one of the world's most popular matinee idols, Tyrone Power.

He died on November 15, at Madrid. His death came suddenly of heart failure. Tyrone Power, who was just forty-five, was in Spain for the shooting of 'Soloman and Sheba' in which he was co-starred with the Italian star Gina Lollobrigida. He collapsed during the shooting of a fighting scene and was rushed from the film studio to a nursing home. He died just as he reached the nursing home in his filmic attire.

Born on May, 5, 1911 this dashing dark haired handsome star came into limelight in 1937 when he appeared in 'Lloyds of London'. Since then he has been the popular hero of many pictures, some of which like 'Blood and Sand' proved phenomenal hits. Though in the beginning he was known more for his 'looks' than acting talent, gradually, he became a polished artiste. In India, he will be particularly remembered for portraying the sympathetic role of the Indian doctor in both the versions of Louis Broomfield's novel about India 'The Rains Came' (The Rain of Ranchipur). His other role of special significance to India was that of Larry in Somerset Maugham's 'The Razor's Edge', for Larry was a protagonist of Indian philosophy and way of life.

### News of the week :

Kumkum has been added to the cast of Abbas's 'Char Dil Char Rahen'.

'Talaq' has been granted exemption of entertainment tax by the Government of Rajasthan in Rajasthan State.

Raj Kapoor returned from Tehran for Diwali and resumed the shooting of his picture 'Jis Desh Me Ganga Bahti Hai'.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### AMERICA AND WORLD PEACE

Sir, — Rajaji's article in SWARAJYA on the tension in the Far East gives a clear picture of the issues at stake. He has rightly charged America with interference in an issue which solely concerns China. Verily, America's policy of the last few years—more especially, Dulles' policy of brinkmanship—has been calculated to repel world public opinion, to defeat the purposes it claims to itself and to precipitate a crisis of which it shows so little awareness. It was not without reason that the well-known American political columnist Walter Lippmann felt compelled to write: "With nobody at the top in Washington who can and will take new decisions, our diplomacy is almost everywhere fighting rear-guard actions". Dulles has been leading America from one crisis to another. If irritational impulse had taken him farther than he meant to go in the Quemoy issue, Dulles was not the man to draw back of his own conviction. But events and world opinion have compelled him to rethink and it is hoped that the latest crisis will soon blow over. The withdrawal of U.S. guarantee in respect of the Chinese offshore islands will only mean a defeat to Dulles' policy of aggressive brinkmanship, but it will be a great moral victory for America. America will emerge out of the crisis as a genuine saviour of world peace.

P. N. SAMPATH

### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Sir,—The AIR station, Vijayawada deserves our thanks and gratitude for broadcasting a variety of devotional songs daily at 6-40 a.m. in the 'Bhakthi Ranjani' programme. It is doing a yeoman service, especially now, when people are caring more about money than religion and God.

It may not be out of place to observe that it is the urgent duty of our leaders to see that this disease of moral deterioration,

which is the result of the materialist tendencies, prevalent in the society, does not infect the children, who are the future citizens of the country, by providing religious education in schools. Eminent educationists and jurists may sit together and evolve a programme for introducing religious instruction in the school curriculum, subject, of course, to the provisions of the Constitution.

S. DASARATHARAM REDDI

### PROPERTY TAX LEVY

Sir,—I wish to bring the following few lines to the kind consideration of the Government through your columns regarding levy of property tax by Madurai Municipality.

The present system of property tax levy is based on the capital value of the building or on the rental value of the building. Rental value means only the rent that is realised by the owner from his tenant and not the realisation of rent by the tenant and taxing the owner of the building for the tenant's realisation of rent. For instance a tenant B, pays a sum of Rs. 300/- to A as rent to occupy the premises belonging to A. B by running a lodging house gets an income of Rs. 800/-. For this the Municipality is assessing the building on the rental value of Rs. 800/- to the owner viz. A and not to B. Then the tax amount to A arrives at Rs. 900/- etc. but he gets only a rent of Rs. 300/-. It goes without saying that the owner pays the tax for his tenant. When the municipal authorities are asked about this, the reply is that they will calculate only the rental value irrespective of the payment whether by the owner or by the tenant.

The Government, I hope, will surely look into this and issue necessary orders to tax the tenant for the rent he is realising and not the owner, by enhancing the tenant's Profession Tax.

P. K. MURTHI

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary

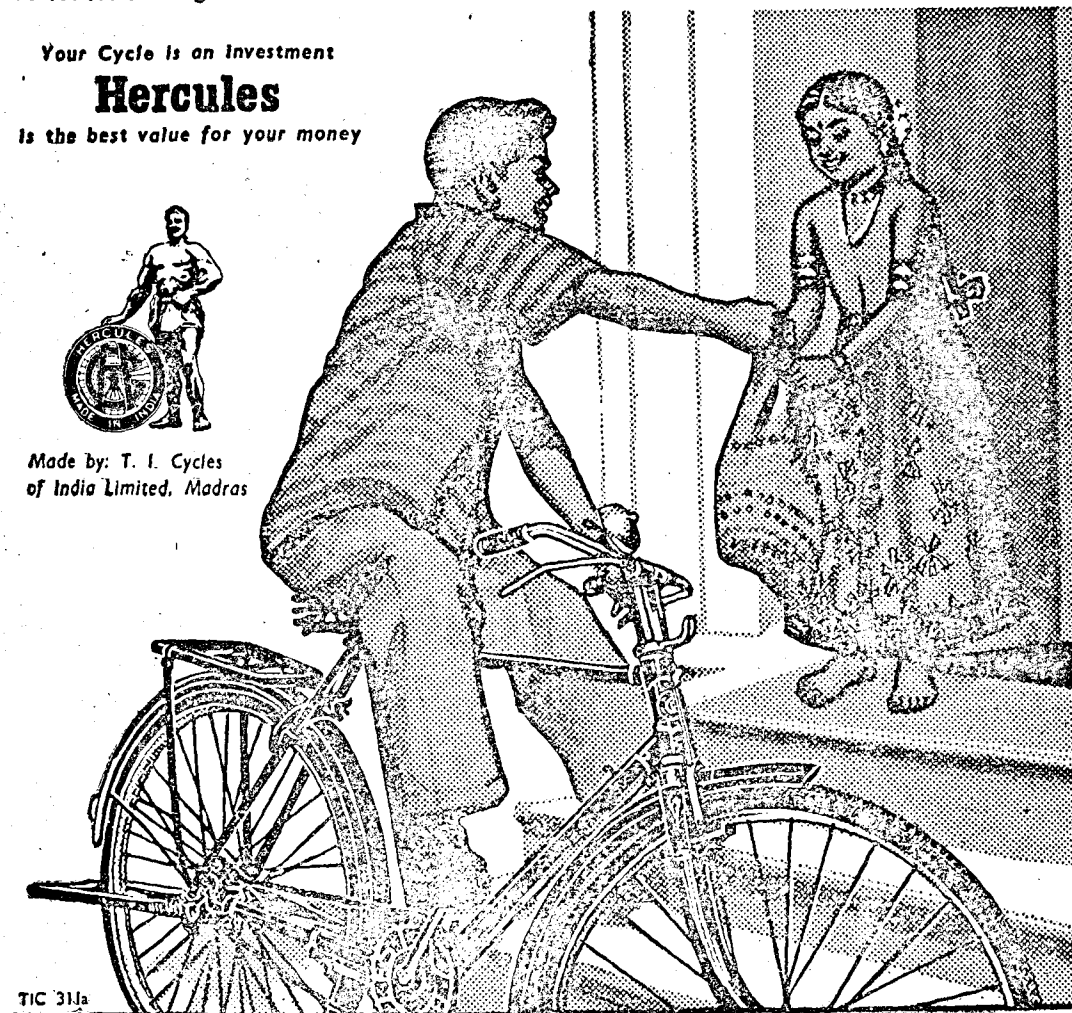
## Hercules is more than a cycle... it's a lifetime companion

A HERCULES belongs to the family even though not everyone may ride it. "Shall I bring the medicine for granny?" "Daddy must be tired, shall I bring vegetables from the market?" There are always volunteers ready to run errands where there's a HERCULES. Few things in life are so useful for so long as a HERCULES.

Your Cycle is an Investment  
**Hercules**  
Is the best value for your money



Made by: T. I. Cycles  
of India Limited, Madras



TIC 311a

Backed by the experience of people who have made top quality cycles for nearly 50 years the sturdy HERCULES is precision-built in T. I. Cycles' ultra modern factory. Its streamlined beauty, smooth effortless drive make it the finest cycle you can buy today.

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 21

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 29, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## ARMY COUPS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

One country after another in the emancipated East is witnessing, and quietly accepting military coups. Things looked perfectly safe for the politicians but overnight they find themselves brutally replaced!

"We are not against democracy" explains each Commander-in-chief who has blown off parliamentary rule; "we are against corruption and against corrupt political parties." The people admit the charges of corruption and inefficiency levelled against political parties and leaders and accept the new masters, without protest. Alas, they do not know about the corruptions that prevailed and will continue to prevail in the spending of money by military officials. They are deceived by the uniforms and the blunt manners and the parade-bred drill-tidiness of the officers and their men. They mistake these for efficiency and honesty. Parade is very different from civil administration. The contractors that serve the defence departments know the truth but they won't speak out. Indeed they hope to thrive in yet greater measure under the new regime.

Be this as it may, the events have proved that easy come, easy goes. The people became free from foreign control, and from kings and feudal masters. But the talent for government through democratic institutions has not grown and shaped itself and proved equal to the task.

The breakdown of all moral values as a result of the continuous world-wide attack on Religion and traditional values has

alliances and affiliations. It is only the de-facto government of China that stuck in the throat and failed to be recognised, and a Formosa problem was created by America for the benefit of Asia. Sudan and Pakistan appear to make no difficulty for American ideology.

Indeed a new theory is being developed. We are told that colonial emancipation must be followed up with generous and speedy economic assistance and it is even hinted by a prominent British Labour leader that a lack of this speedy assistance brought about these military coups. It almost looks therefore as if the money-lending West welcomes these military simplifications of administrations in the debtor-countries, because the 'aid' is more greedily accepted and absorbed.

The particular paradox of the British Commonwealth is as intriguing, as it is distressing. There is no concern shown in the West generally or in London as to the effect on the democracy of India with whom Pakistan is in constant conflict. There is no heart-searching as to the place of such governments in the logic of the Commonwealth.

It is perhaps unwise besides being ungrateful to analyse the American Aid programme at this hot juncture. We are inescapably being driven to accept foreign arbitrations and advice on all matters as a result of economic entanglements. And this, in spite of the war-clouds in the horizon contradicting the performance of contracts for supply from abroad to suit our ambitions in regard to speed and size of 'progress'.

## THE PLEA OF THE SOUTH

"What has happened to Rajaji?" asks Narayandas Pillania. "He has become a bundle of contradictions of late. Why does he shout against Hindi? Does he believe in democracy or not? How can he ignore the rights of 12 million Hindi people and oppose its being made the official language of the Republic? This is one country and the majority rules. Let him know this".

Narayandas Pillania is not a real person. But I hear his voice of indignation and I answer: "This is one country, friend, and the majority must rule since we have no one to be a wise and competent king. I admit the principle of unity and the principle of majority rule. But I ask on what do you make out majorities and minorities? Does democracy justify a rule of majorities made up of population figures of tribes and communities? If that be the case, then we would be in for oppression. Majorities should be on the basis of opinions, and that is what makes parliamentary government. This again is based on the principle of flexibility and convertibility of opinion. That gives every opinion a chance to make headway and get to the top of the poll. Now do you not see that languages do not change and cannot change like that? It is a rigid minor incident of birth".

I would like to ask all Northerners to make an honest effort to understand the South and not treat it as a mere place of pilgrimage attached to the real India which speaks Hindi.

The South does not want an iron curtain to be raised between it and the Government of India. It cannot learn Hindi under orders from the people of the North. It cannot undo and give up the achievements of two very long and busy centuries to please the vanities of other people. It cannot afford to give the North a definite unearned and undeserved advantage. I have talked plain. It is better to talk plain than to deceive and be deceived.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

## SPRINGS OF EMPLOYMENT

The Parliament is agitated over the problem of mounting unemployment. The Government have applied the palliative of a Committee "to go into the whole question".

Statistical evaluations of the problem are difficult. The Second Five-Year Plan deplores the "lack of adequate data on the extent and nature of unemployment and the manner in which employment responds to different kinds of investment stimuli". The plan divides the problem into (a) the existing unemployed, (b) the natural increase in the labour force, which is about 2 million persons per year, and (c) the under-employed in agricultural and household occupations. It was originally estimated that the employment potential of the second plan would be in the region of ten millions. It is not clear how far this estimate has so far been fulfilled. This will, naturally, form the major study in diagnosis, by the proposed committee. But the real employment potential should be related to the demographic rate, i.e., an investment rate which is sufficient to absorb the natural growth in the labour force. On a population growth of 1.25 to 2 per cent per year, it is estimated that between 5 and 7 per cent of the national income should be utilised in new employment-intensive directions. It is significant that 7 per cent is the estimated total saving of the national income!

The problem takes one back to the cycle of income, saving, investment and employment. A democratic country cannot cut down on consumption and induce an economy of artificial and forced saving to be made available for public investment. It has to moderate austerity with the minimum demands of decent living; nor is this an economic disaster, because consumption goods have the double effect of "feeding the currency" and thus preventing inflation, and also creating a continuing sector of employment. The primary problem is one of saving and the creation of conditions in which savings will accrue. One

may well ask if the conditions requisite for saving, either economic or psychological, are present today.

The individual investor needs a variety of investment-choice. The stifling of private enterprise by State action narrows that choice. Low yielding gilt-edged will not attract the small investor to whom the actual income on a slender outlay is of importance.

National loans which are bought and undersold at a discount, create a first facade of saving, but in reality, work back to the transfer of an already saved quantum into a new channel. A policy of pampering of industrial labour, leading to increase in the cost of goods, reduces the savings in the hands of the consumer.

The agriculturist is the largest consumer and while the goods he buys like cloth and steel are going up in price, a rise in the prices of agricultural produce is watched with hawk-eyed concern.

The root of the problem is thus to bring about a wage-profit-price freeze and provide the opportunity for saving; and then allow freedom of investment in a variety of ways.

The budget of investment is a combined one—public and private. An overzealous concern for public investment leads to the continuous creation of work for the sake of giving employment. It may be condoned as a "depression-remedy" but is a dangerous lop-sidedness in nation building. Nor should the doctrine of State concern for employment and the stifling taxation policy engendered thereby be allowed to cloud the issue. State policy should bring into being the conditions of full employment rather than give employment.

The root causes of high prices and the inhibition to saving should be first attacked, followed by the opening up of investment fields. A plan which calculates the number of persons employed in each of its schemes makes only a symptom-approach. It does not nourish the springs of employment.



## Sotto Voce

### Who Are the Middlemen?

Mr. Nehru has the enviable gift of being estranged by his own discoveries, though these might have long been commonplaces with less imaginative folk. Thus he found that some of the new irrigation schemes have resulted in water-logging. But instead of asking the Planning Commission for an explanation he pitches into the poor engineers who do their allotted tasks. He is sarcastic about the cult of gigantism. To him it is now plain as a pikestaff that a dozen small irrigation schemes would be far more beneficial than one huge and costly project. One thinks of other belated discoveries of his in the past—such as that the problem of agricultural self-sufficiency had not, after all, been solved once for all by the first Five-Year Plan; that it was waste of money to spend on school buildings what might be more profitably spent on teachers; and so on.

But the cult of gigantism as he calls it, attained respectability, because he almost made a state religion of Bhakra-Nangal and the Damodar Valley Project. Did he not say that a visit to these marvels was the only pilgrimage he would recognise? But there is Dr. Thacker already warning that the silting up of reservoirs is the major problem that threatens our river valley projects. And as for Bhakra-Nangal, one can only hope that the damage done to the dam by the first impetuous onset of the released water merely served to ward off the evil eye as the grandmothers of an earlier age would have said. But one cannot forget the forebodings of those engineers who thought that the particular type of dam adopted was hardly the best suited for the site.

And Mr. Nehru himself is unable to cast off the spell of gigan-

tism, so far as steel is concerned. Asked what he thought of the workers' opposition to the introduction of labour-saving machinery in some industries, the Prime Minister replied that all these were merely interim problems. When our steel mills went into full production and we began manufacturing the machines that would make the labour-saving machines, those whom the latter put out of employment would be absorbed in the industries that made the former. But the promise of jam tomorrow does not satisfy the hunger that gnaws at the vitals. And every new brain-wave that Mr. Nehru gets seems calculated to deprive somebody or other of his present means of livelihood.

Thus he would cut out the contractors to save on projects and to give labour a fairer deal—a rather glaringly contrary couple of aims. Almost at the same time Mr. Abid Ali was saying elsewhere that retrenchment in the public sector was inescapable as the Government could not possibly keep labour surplus to requirements. Another of Mr. Nehru's inspirations, which was promptly acted upon by the National Development Council, was that the wholesale trade in foodgrains should be nationalised. The intention is to control prices which these middlemen are supposed to be boosting in order to make a tidy profit out of the hunger of the poor. The first step towards their extinction is the licensing of the wholesalers. And Mr. Nehru with characteristic *naivete* invites them to co-operate in this aim, saying that without their co-operation it will not succeed.

When, their task done, they decorously perform *hara-kiri* it is Mr. Nehru's dream that "co-ops"

will fill the gap. The co-ops, along with the village panchayats, will be invited to perform quite a number of other miracles as well. Thus ceilings on land and the conferment of ownership on the tenant being indispensable for enthusing the tiller of the soil, the damage resulting from the combined effects of these doctrinaire nostrums is to be offset—nay, Mr. Nehru is certain that they will be more than offset—by the magic-spell of co-operation. If these fine hopes should miscarry it should not be difficult to find scapegoats. Has not Mr. Nehru put the blame on the engineers for the lack of enthusiasm displayed by the workers on the giant projects?

Reliance on this kind of verbal magic as a cure-all for the lack of realism, the incompetence and the bungling that have attended our planning cannot postpone the day of reckoning indefinitely. Neither the land-owner, nor the wholesale trader in grains nor even the contractor is a functionless parasite. If contractors use bricks without cement and bridges cave in almost before the plaster on them dries, the fault is at least as much in the engineers whose duty it is to supervise the construction. But how can engineers attend to their legitimate work if they are expected to give pep talks to labour? Mr. Nehru if he wants to discover otiose middlemen, can find them in shoals in the numberless departments that the socialistic pattern has spawned. And not least among his own top advisers, including the Planning Commission, who mediate chimera. Instead of politely telling him not to mistake erratic fancies for profound insights, they seem to think that they must pretend that they are revelations from on high.

VIGNESWARA

The free world must be willing to employ weapons used by the Communist camp in order to cancel out their advantages. This means in the first place the building of organizations composed of national groupings in Asia which will work for the support of the United States and its allies. —PROF. RICHARD L. WALKER in *New Leader*.



## Khrushchov's Latest Letter To Rajaji

Mr. Khrushchov writes to Rajaji as follows:

I have received your letter in which you mention the initiative of the Soviet Union who, from March 31 of this year, unilaterally suspended the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons as a step directed at the achievement of general cessation of these weapons tests. Unfortunately, the further actions of the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain did not justify our hopes.

In your letter you are suggesting again that the Soviet Union should unilaterally declare that it would not use nuclear bombs or nuclear weapons of any type. At the same time you are expressing the hope that such an act by the Soviet Government will lead to the fact that the Western Powers, possessing the atomic weapon, will come out with an analogous declaration and assent to the conclusion on this question of a lasting international agreement that would also include consent to the destruction of all existing stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

I can assure you, dear Mr. Rajagopalachari, that with all their power the Soviet Government are striving to completely prohibit the atomic and hydrogen weapons and in doing so to remove the menace of atomic war threatening mankind.

During all the post-war years the Soviet Union has been steadily fighting to outlaw the use of atomic weapon, to stop its manufacture, to withdraw it from the armaments of states and to destroy all the stocks of these weapons. However, this struggle has not led us to success so far.

The main reason why no agreement on this question has been concluded up till now is the fact that all the military plans of the Western Powers are based on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. American war bases are situated near our borders, on the take-off strips of which there are bombers with the load of atomic and hydrogen bombs on board perfectly ready for action. American bombers with the same lethal load are always in the air over the territories of a number of NATO countries. Rocket weapons are also being feverishly installed now at many U.S. military bases.

Now judge for yourself whether under these circumstances the Soviet Union can unilaterally give up the use of nuclear weapons even for one year without endangering the security of our people.

We cannot shut our eyes on the following circumstances either. In order to improve the international situation and to make a start for the successful solution of the disarmament problem the Soviet Government repeatedly carried out unilateral reduction of the

armed forces and armaments with the result that in the course of last years its armed forces were cut by 2,140 thousand men. In doing so, the Soviet Government hoped that our measures to cut our armed forces would find a positive response from the Governments of the U.S.A. and other Western Powers, and that they would, in their turn, carry out corresponding reduction of their armed forces. And what happened? Western Powers passed by the peace-loving efforts of the Soviet Government, and, as before, they are going on with the armament drive, giving no thought to reduction of their army, navy and air forces which are unusually large in a peaceful time.

While taking the decision of a unilateral suspension of tests of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons, we expected that this step would impel the Western Powers in their turn to stop their nuclear test explosions and in that way the universal suspension of nuclear tests would be provided for good. However, in this case, too, the example of the Soviet Union did not affect the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain. On the contrary, just after the unilateral suspension of tests by the Soviet Union and after the appeal of the Soviet Government to the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain with the suggestion to stop all tests immediately, the U.S.A. undertook the largest series of test of atomic and hydrogen bombs in the region of the Pacific ocean. Great Britain followed in the U.S. footsteps and also started a series of nuclear tests.

Attaching paramount importance to the suspension of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, the Soviet Union raised this question at the 13th Session of the U. N. General Assembly and introduced a draft resolution which called upon all the states, which are carrying out tests of these weapons, to stop such tests immediately and recommended to begin negotiations with the purpose of concluding a corresponding agreement among them. However, the U.S.A. and Great Britain did not show any desire to support this resolution.

Do these facts disclose any desire on the part of the Governments of the U.S.A. AND GREAT BRITAIN to stop the tests of atom and nuclear weapons?

As for the statements by the U.S. President, Mr. Eisenhower, and by the British Government of August 22, 1958, concerning a temporary suspension of tests, the promises which are contained in them to stop the tests do not solve the problem. The statements deal with suspension of nuclear weapons tests for one year only, i.e., just for such a term which is required to prepare the next series of similar tests. The consent to prolong this term in the future for one year more

each time does not change the position so far as it is accompanied by the reservations and conditions, the obvious purpose of which is to give the Western Powers a possibility to evade stopping the nuclear weapons tests. Therefore, the Western Powers have not actually given up their policy of obstruction on the question of the cessation of tests and likely intend to pursue it in the future also.

One cannot help drawing a conclusion that the Governments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain are obviously using the cessation of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union in order to win for themselves one-sided military advantages. The Soviet Government, naturally, cannot allow the security interests of the Soviet Union to suffer and they found themselves compelled to declare that the actions of the U.S.A. and Great Britain freed the Soviet Union of its unilateral commitment to stop the nuclear weapons tests.

The Soviet Union will keep on striving to achieve a speedy final solution of the question of discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. We suggest to the U.S.A. and Britain, —and are ready to sign it ourselves,—an agreement on the universal cessation of nuclear tests for all time. But we cannot remain indifferent in the face of a stubborn refusal on the part of the Western Powers to conclude such an agreement. The refusal of the U.S.A. and Britain to stop tests of nuclear weapons immediately and unconditionally gives ground to the Soviet Union for continuing the nuclear tests started by it in the one to one proportion in relation to the combined number of nuclear explosions carried out by these Powers until the number of explosions conducted by the Soviet Union after its resumption of tests equals that of the experimental explosions carried out by the U.S.A. and Britain taken together after March 31 last.

Does it not seem to you, Mr. Rajagopalachari, that should the Soviet Union keep on taking unilateral measures on disarmament, while the Western Powers continued the unrestrained arms race and were increasingly arming themselves, a rather dangerous situation might arise creating a real threat not only to the security of the Soviet Union but also to the maintenance of international peace?

Collective security cannot be created at the expense of unilateral efforts on the part of one country. The desire and corresponding efforts on the part of all countries are necessary for this. We have proved our goodwill by practical deeds. Now it is the turn of the United States and other Western countries, which should make a real contribution to the cause of removing the menace of atomic and hydrogen war.

Yours sincerely,  
N. KHRUSHCHOV

November 17, 1958

## AWKWARD FACTS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

"Repent ye and be saved". Such was the message of a prophet whose voice had come as a cry in the wilderness two thousand years ago, but most advanced Christian nations steer clear of the inconvenient obligation of repenting. Expiation through the vicarious sacrifice of animals and even human sacrifice (*nara bali*) had been deemed the means of grace and hope of salvation in the childhood of the race until it dawned on seers that the "sacrifices of the Lord are a broken heart, a broken and contrite heart," thus casting the burden on the individual himself in the endeavour to lead a righteous life. This is not meant as a spoil-sport sermon in the Season of Goodwill but as a short preface to the recollection of a ghastly episode which Americans would like to be forgotten. Still, nearly four years ago, there were words between C. R. and P. C. Sherbert over the matter. Just as some of us

recoil over the story of the Black Hole tragedy as a myth, Americans wince over reminders about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, although combat-ready Yanks like Harry S. Truman maintain that given the circumstances they would do it again in the interests of the "boys". Confession is good for the soul. Unless it goes beyond a mere shrugging of the shoulders, we could never be right with ourselves in our horror of savage retaliation and the teaching of which is called a lesson which people would never forget for a thousand years. C. R. had no intention of rubbing it in and our record as an Asian nation is by no means stainless.

Members of the Consulate participated in open debates playing down the thesis about lives being cheap in the colonial regime. There was however the account of the Roman shout of *Vac Victis* (Woe to the Vanquished). Since the very notion of vindictiveness seems obnoxious to Americans taking part in the controversy, they try to treat the affair as an essential war-measure in order to hasten the cessation of hostilities by at least a couple of years, but is the excuse maintainable?

Perusing the records of Japanese surrender, I came across the following in that remarkable book *The Great Challenge*. Here we are, page 401:

Speaking at a celebration in his honour in Washington D.C., Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander of the United States Fleet in the Pacific, made a most astounding statement. "The atomic bomb," he said, "did not win the war against Japan. The Japanese had, in fact, already sued for peace before the atomic age was announced to the world with the destruction of Hiroshima and before the Russian entry into the war. In saying that the atomic bomb played no deci-

sive part from a purely military standpoint in the defeat of Japan, there is no effort to minimise the awful power of this new weapon."

And Admiral Nimitz was in a position to know, and his testimony must prevail against the evasions of patriotic Trumanites who, really speaking, wish to hear no more about this wretched outburst of "frightfulness," the Hun doctrine ascribed to the Germans in World War I. The extract I have quoted should be pasted in scrap-books for reference, lest we forget; not to exasperate American friends by way of a grimace that we never did hurl bombs in our history, barring Divali bombs, of course.

Nor should the self-righteous accusers ignore the Buchmanite ditty: "When you point your forefinger at another, there are three fingers pointing at you."

### THE CALL OF THE JAGAD-GURU (Kanchi)

Discourses by Sri Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi delivered in Madras. Compiled by Professor P. Sankaranarayanan. Foreword by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Crown octavo, 272 pp., 3 art plates, boards (1958) Rs. 4/-

### THE CALL OF THE JAGAD-GURU (Sringeri)

Teachings of Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri, compiled by Sri R. Krishnaswami Aiyar. Foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Crown octavo, 204 pp., boards (1957) Rs. 4/-

### SPARKS FROM A DIVINE ANVIL

Teachings of Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri, in the form of dialogues. Compiled by Sri R. Krishnaswami Aiyar. Crown octavo, 120 pp., boards (1958) Rs. 2/-

GANESH & CO.  
(MADRAS) PRIVATE LTD.  
MADRAS-17

### NEW BOOKS

|                                                                                     | Rs. | nP. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Land without Justice: An autobiography</i> by Milovan Djilas                     | 20  | 31  |
| <i>India Changes</i> by Taya Zinkin.                                                | 20  | 31  |
| <i>The Blue and Brown Books</i> by Ludwig Wittgenstein                              | 20  | 31  |
| <i>Shakespeare from Richard II to Henry V</i> by Derek Trauersi                     | 24  | 37  |
| <i>Power and Folly: The story of the Caesars</i> by Ivar Lissner with illustrations | 28  | 44  |
| <i>Position at Noon: A new novel</i> by Eric Linklater                              | 12  | 19  |
| <i>The Golden Slippers: A new novel</i> by Frances Parkinson Keyes                  | 12  | 19  |

K. MAHADEVAN,  
82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

## CAPITAL COMMENTS

M. P.'s STAGE-EFFECTS IN  
BANARAS UNIVERSITY DEBATE

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: India's Rotarians can justly take credit for having provided Delhi with the biggest international rally so far. Mostly, they came from all parts of India, for the rest from different regions of Asia. And yet there seemed to be something wanting. The Prime Minister who generally misses nothing even remotely international, was not there to exhort the big gathering. He was, it was at one time assumed, to honour the Rotarians, but on second thoughts (which is not for

us to fathom) he preferred to keep aloof—and just send his good wishes from a safe distance. It was a disappointment to the Rotarians and a surprise to the rest. One asked the other why it was so but no convincing answer was forthcoming. On the same day when the Rotarians assembled in their thousands, the Prime Minister found time to witness tennis—and do honour to the Kramer luminaries.

Was it for want of other excite-

ments that our M.P.'s — a good many of them in Lok Sabha—got unduly excited over the debate on the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University? The subject doubtless called for a frank review or candid comment, but not for any windy declamation, savouring of stage-effects. Indignant protests and angry outbursts may make parliamentary proceedings interesting; they do not necessarily invest them with any seriousness of purpose. It is not to say that the members of Lok Sabha who participated in the debate on the ill-fated B.H.U. were not earnestly agitated over the recent unfortunate developments which had overtaken it. But, to put it succinctly—and mildly—they rather got what is called the wrong end of the stick, with the result that they offered political demands as substitutes for statesmanlike solutions. Amidst the heat that was generated, it was left to the veteran Acharya Kripalani to rise with a cool head and say something extremely sensible.

No level-headed citizen can help being upset if the portals of any University in India had to be closed for a time — and too for quite a lengthy bit of time — if only because of students' indiscipline and professors' politics (and in both cases after all marginal allowances are made). That all normal bounds in respect of manners and decorum should have been over-reached, of all places, in holy Banaras, is particularly grievous and frightening. No university in the country has owed its advent to a single man's toil and 'tapas' in the same measure as the B.H.U. Indissolubly linked up with the imperishable name of Malaviya of revered memory, it reared its head on the high tide of Hindu nationalism. It had its halcyon days when Dr. Radhakrishnan presided over its destinies as much because of Malaviya's persuasion as because of Gandhiji's pressure.

But at no time was it blissfully free from the unwholesome influence of cliques and juntas, so alien to academic tradition while in recent years it had fallen on evil days and become the battle-

ground of group rivalries. And the worst happened when the students, in the absence of academic serenity and moral idealism, came under unhealthy influences and cut themselves adrift from their moorings. It is such a pity that none could stop the rot that had set in, wherever the mistake lay. Desperate measures can hardly pass for drastic remedies. No government can keep on looking, or go on tinkering, when the hour calls for firmness — and firmness allied to sympathy and not devoid of imagination. That the Union Ministry of Education is less exercised over 'the State of Denmark' in our university world than the M.P.'s, is a wrong and unfair assumption.

The Union Minister for Education, Dr. K. L. Srimali, had quite a hard time in dealing with the members whose readiness to criticise was not fortified by any willingness to probe. Dr. Srimali

is hardly the man to be swayed by unreasoning prejudice or wild passion. A man of unimpeachable decorum and dignity, he speaks from conviction, not from a brief. If he is not a friend of the students, it would be difficult to spot out another, and he should have been, as he could be, trusted to restore normalcy according to exigencies, without being bullied to force the pace with its attendant risks. He would not swallow hasty prescriptions but he will not take a day longer than necessary to create conditions when the university will function as it should. And it was characteristic of him that without promising too much and asking for cheap applause, he stood his ground manfully, with everybody's good at heart. His sincerity is his sheet-anchor. Perhaps he is giving his thought to more aspects of the problem than he is known to be. But he is incapable

of 'professing', though it is so fashionable.

It was absurd to have asked for the dismissal of the present Vice-Chancellor of the B.H.U.; it was even absurd to have talked of it, having little regard for, and less appreciation of, his extremely difficult position. Dr. Srimali sternly turned down the suggestion. Yet, for aught one knows, he must have been casting his net wide for one who could manage men, affairs and situations adroitly as well as relentlessly. Perhaps he expects to announce a name which will strike the imagination of the country: someone must be lurking somewhere, combining in himself alike the power of knowledge and the power of personality. Indubitably, it is time the B.H.U. was handed over to one who could recast its horoscope, not only with much deftness but with a little daring too.

**THE  
INDIAN OVERSEAS  
BANK LIMITED**

**SPECIAL SAVINGS  
CERTIFICATES**

Invest in I. O. B's three-year Special Savings Certificates  
for security to self and service to country

## Special Features:

- Interest on the certificates is payable half-yearly.
- Repayment may be obtained at the end of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th or 6th half-year at the option of the depositor without loss of accrued interest.
- Loans may be taken on the security of the certificates at a nominal rate of interest.
- Certificates are available in denominations of Rs 50, Rs 100, Rs 500 and Rs 1000.
- Interest is allowed at progressively increasing attractive rates.

CONTACT OUR NEAREST BRANCH FOR PARTICULARS

C. P. DORAICANNU  
General Manager

M. C. MUTHIAH  
Chairman

IOB 372

**NEW YEAR GIFTS**

A BEAUTIFUL 1959 CALENDAR OF UNIQUE CHINESE STYLE PAINTINGS OFFERED TO EVERY SUBSCRIBER ENTERING SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ANY OF THE PERIODICALS (for annual subscribers for CHINA PICTORIAL and half yearly subscribers of PEKING REVIEW) before 31-12-58.

In addition:

For CHINA PICTORIAL subscribers: Concessional annual rate of Rs. 3/- instead of Rs. 10/-.

For every two year subscribers: A PICTORIAL ALBUM of over 100 pages.

For ANNUAL SUBSCRIBERS OF PEKING REVIEW: The new book "AN HISTORY OF CHINA"

Subscribe today! Don't Delay!

Subscriptions accepted at:

1. PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, M. M. Road, New Delhi.
2. VISALAANDHRA PUBLISHING HOUSE, Buckinghampet, P.O., Vijayawada.
3. NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE, 199, Mount Road, Madras-2.
4. HIGGINBOTHAMS (PRIVATE) LTD., Mount Road, Madras-2.
5. JAICO PUBLISHING HOUSE, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras.

## CHINA PICTORIAL

The fortnightly journal that tells you all about the resurgent nation building for an ever prosperous tomorrow.

Single copy: 0.50 nP.

Annual: Rs. 10/- (from 1959)

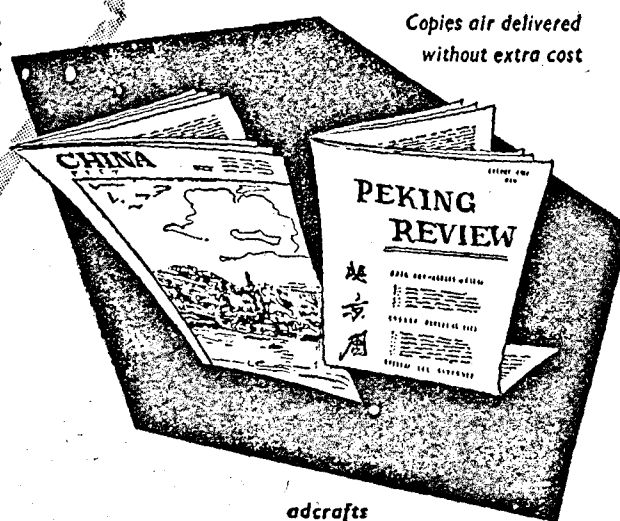
## PEKING REVIEW

The weekly newspaper of Chinese News and Views

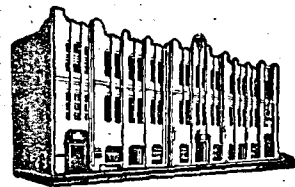
Yearly: Rs. 12/-

Half-yearly: Rs. 6/-

Copies air delivered  
without extra cost



## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

### 23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole  
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,  
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND  
SINGAPORE.

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000  |
| Issued and Subscribed Capital                   | 72,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | 66,19,625    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | 91,61,883    |
| Deposits as on 30-6-'58                         | 38,00,96,415 |
| Total Working Funds                             | 46,05,11,811 |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

## UNOFFICIAL LAMENTS

By BHIKKU

It was a conclave of officials of various degrees where their current woes were on the tapis. Starting as an odd trickle of a murmur from out of a Pandora's box the lid opened up with the pressure inside of suppressed emotion.

*The Magistrate:* The judge brought it on himself, this sudden transfer to a god-forsaken hole. After all he was a Government servant and when he parried the hint requiring him to justify the police action, he wasn't given a chance to deal with the case at all.

*The Central Govt. Officer:* Now I am to call my peons, Class IV officers. They take objection if I relapse inadvertently into any lesser designation. When I write to another office asking for something I write 'My Class IV officer Sri Muthukaruppan will fetch it'.

*The Magistrate:* Sometime back the work in the station where I was posted had accumulated so considerably that after much persuasion and much meticulous application to the prescribed methodology—correspondence lasting for over six months with tabulated statements of past and present work—I was sanctioned an additional clerk. I should have known better and spared myself all this bother. The selection of the candidate was not in my hands and in due course one after joining duty was called in to take notes of my judgment in a case. What he produced later in type was "In cace numbr..... in the fille..... Subdar wersis Shariff Hussine....."

On investigation I learnt that the candidate was exempt even from the present day minimal qualifications as one belonging to the scheduled class. Despairingly I saw in vision my arrears doubled with the additional burden of teaching this man something of the English language which still happens to be the medium of court proceedings. There was no question of discarding him, much less of his replacement by ano-

ther. Once an entry is effected into the holy precincts of a Government office there is no getting a body out on the trivial score of incompetence. I could see a way out only in taking a long leave and getting posted elsewhere afterwards.

*Business magnate:* You think that sending out of inefficient staff is difficult only in Government offices. It has come to be the same in Industries. Go-slow methods have been reduced to rule-of-thumb formulae and punishment and dismissal of any one is impossible, for you are up against the Union and the Tribunal. A sage judgment is given against the luckless executive, a victim of exasperating baiting, that the procedure laid out giving opportunity for explanation and rectification has not been followed and so the man should be reinstated. One such instance demoralises all discipline.

*The College lecturer:* Talk of discipline—where is it? I run a bear garden or rather a bear garden runs me.

*The 'Central' Officer:* The procedure laid out for framing charges and proving a case against any one is so complicated and difficult that one balances nicely the trouble of it all against putting up with slackness or disobedience before taking that course. I myself prefer to turn my head away to avoid forcing the situation. I have found that even if one goes through all the trouble the officer higher up pooh-poohs the whole thing and writes confidentially to be more tactful!

*The Co-operative department man:* That is it. One has to get along as best as one can and push the days from the first of one month to the first of the next. Every other day is a holiday and the work piles up. It is now November. I know for certain that all my staff are looking up balances of casual leave. There will be a run on them until the end of the year so as not to let



## THE SPECTACLES

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

Subbaraya Sastri had mislaid his glasses and could not find them.

"Oh nose, dear nose!" he appealed. "Where are the spectacles that used to bestride you?" The nose in turn appealed to the eyes. "O eyes, my dear sisters, search and find our master's glasses. Without them he cannot read and without reading he cannot be happy!"

The eyes had no ears for the plea of the nose. "It is all very well, Mr. Nose!" said the right eye. "The spectacles ride on you and belong to you. Why should we bother?"

"Yes, yes", echoed the left eye. "You, nose, you called them yours and boasted you carried them. Search and find them yourself!"

"All right," agreed the nose and it sniffed and sniffed all over the house. Still it could not discover them. How could it when spectacles have no distinctive odour.

Grief-stricken, the nose confessed failure and told Subbaraya Sastri, "I cannot find them. Ask your eyes to help you."

He addressed his eyes and said, "My dear eyes, it is for your sake that I went in for these glasses. Please make an effort to find them. I have forgotten where I left them and cannot now lay my hands on them." But the eyes persisted in their indifference.

Then the ears interceded. They said, "If we should be thus jealous and in mutual conflict, it would be bad for all of us. We shall repeat to you what we have heard from the great ones of old. Listen." The right ear moved the mouth; the left ear joined. And the mouth began to speak. That is the Sastriar started singing:—

In the Brahmin's house  
were milch-cows five.

Wild and untended, they  
roamed at large.

Tamed and tethered and  
well-controlled,

The milch-cows poured out  
plenty of milk.

You know these five cows, don't you? They are the five senses of taste, sight, touch, sound and smell. If these cows are not allowed to wander wild and range at will, but are tamed and controlled by their master — then they will give abundance of sweet milk. This is a verse from Tiru-Moolar.

No matter what sciences and what learning one has mastered, one can have no happiness without controlling one's senses.

The mouth said, "We should work in harmony. We should not be envious of one another." The eyes learnt the lesson. They searched for the spectacles and spotted them.

The nose can smell only what is very close to it. But the eyes can see even the stars which are millions of miles

away. Such is their marvellous power. The nose, however, can recognise the scent of a thing after it has been removed from the place. The eye cannot see, but the nose can smell, what is not present here and now. The fragrance of jasmine clings to your sister's hair for days after the flowers had been worn and cast away. The dog can trace by scent the track of a thief, who entered the house the night before. So can the cat track and catch a mouse. But the eye cannot perceive absent objects. The song that neither the eye nor the nose can experience is enjoyed by the ear and through it by the heart.

The story of the body is indeed strange. The memory of something seen, heard, smelt, touched or otherwise experienced thirty years ago can be recalled as easily as one can look up in an account book the entry of an old receipt or expenditure. The power of memory is more wonderful than that of any of the five senses. It brings the past back and makes it present before the mind's eye. I seem to hear now the voice of my father and mother which were silenced over sixty years ago.

Tiru-Moolar sings, "The milch-cows pour out plenty of milk." Yes. It is like tasting sweet milk to remember the voice of the beloved dead. The barrier between past and present disappears when we recall a face that is no more and the touch of a long vanished hand. There is no greater joy than the memory of golden moments.

them lapse unutilised and 'wasted'.

*The 'Central' Officer:* When a clerk wants to be absent he does not bother to apply for leave. Questioned, he contents himself with saying that he was too ill to write and 'Do I have a peon to send the leave application to

you'? If pressed, a medical certificate is easy. He often takes away the keys of his locker with him and the officer has to cut a sorry figure explaining to the visitor whose appointment had been fixed for that day that the concerned file is not available and 'would he please come'—recol-

lects himself before saying the next day and says instead—after a week!

Added to the casual leave, the Central Government has allowed 3 days every month in which the staff can avail of one hour of late arrival to or early departure from the office. Intention probably is



to give a margin for meeting contingencies of domestic needs that may require work or calls during office hours. The privilege has never been missed by any chance by any one since its inception.

*The Magistrate:* Apart from incompetence there is contrived confusion, assumed stupidity and sometimes veiled blackmail.

*The Pensioner:* In our days the trouble was different. There was a great deal of bossing by the superior but not this tyranny by the under staff. But then there was also such a thing as appreciation of good work to compensate. There was not this listless reckoning of hours and days for the sight only of the pay bill.

In the socialistic pattern that prevails the standard for selection of staff is not efficiency or qualification or any congruity with need but just squaring with the political need for levelling up society. Result: Subsidisation of unlimited ignorance and unlimited laziness. Inefficiency and deliberate slowing piles up work—more staff is employed needing more supervision but getting in fact less. There is more company for smoking, loitering, palavering idly and—more banding together for pay and privilege and forming an under current of menace against any individual invidiously applying himself to work or showing greater competence—further accumulation of work—more increase in staff and so on endlessly. The merry-go-round whirls an ever widening and speedier circle. How long will the central pin-pole hold?

#### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:  
**Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,**  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

**S. Krishnaswamy,**  
Secretary.

## CONCEPT OF "SOCIAL PROGRESS"

By C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

"Social Progress" is a somewhat difficult term to define. It is something which one feels and realises rather than what one can explain. Nevertheless, these are factors which can be identified as indications of such progress.

In India during the last few decades there has been considerable social progress which it is not possible to assess in definite terms. There has been progress in education, in health services, in regard to provision of essential amenities to various groups of persons which they did not have before. All this is "social progress" in a technical sense.

Social progress, generally speaking, is reflected in the amelioration of conditions of life of the hitherto backward and socially down-trodden, in the relations that subsist between different groups in the community and the common effort that is put forth by the people for their own betterment, and in the awareness of the fact that "progress" is not an abstract but a concrete concept, which has human beings as its subjects.

It is in terms of these vital considerations that it must be confessed that social progress in India has still to make a large lee-way. There is still widespread poverty and the per capita income of the people is not more than Rs. 300. There is still not that realistic consciousness that all sections of the people are entitled to equal rights and duties as members of a democratic social community. The most conspicuous revelation of social inequality consists in the practice of untouchability and the resistance—silent and determined though not open—that attempts at enforcement of the Untouchability (Removal) Act, for instance, encounter. The manner in which we tolerate beggary, the exploitation of women and children for immoral and unsocial purposes is another indication of this.

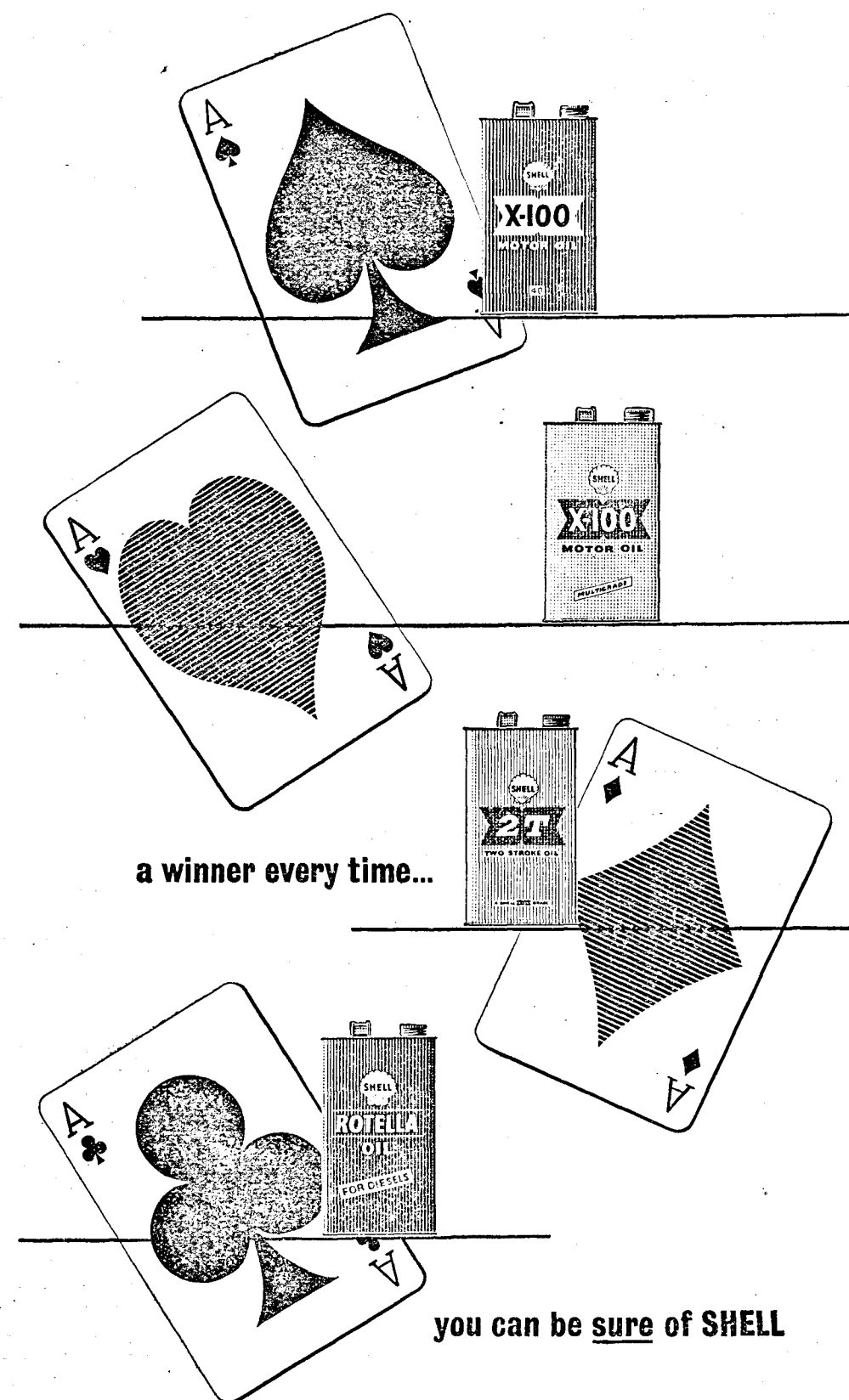
The sense of common endeavour

for community benefit is only inadequately developed in many of us either in the urban or the rural areas. In sum, it may be said that what may be called a "social conscience" has not yet developed among the Indian people to the extent it should.

Indeed a large number of persons and institutions are at present engaged—or are prepared to engage themselves—in social welfare work of different kinds. This is a sign which is most welcome, because in a large community, social work cannot be limited to single individuals nor can it be equated to doling out charity to particular persons—a cripple, a beggar, a destitute, an orphan or a person who is old and imbecile. It is a good sign because it is implicit with the realisation that welfare work must be on an organised basis, that it must serve the needs of a larger number of persons and is better accomplished, through a properly organised institution based on public support than on an individual and personal basis.

Of equal importance with institutional services is the need to have a corps of social workers—trained and equipped for the task. There are workers and workers—but there can be no social work which will yield results in the form of social progress unless such work is carried out in a spirit of dedication, with sympathy and understanding of the mental, physical and psychological and economic needs of the people for whom the activity is meant. Gone are the days when social work was identified with unpaid, voluntary work. All honour to those who are willing to serve their fellow-beings without any thought of reward or remuneration. One may be receiving a return for services rendered and yet may prove a successful social worker, provided he or she has the right and proper attitude towards what he or she is doing.

A Welfare State being our



ideal, funds for social work from public sources are not difficult to come by. Though not in abundance, they are at present sufficient to finance and support any well-organised and efficiently-run welfare effort, either in the urban or rural areas. But the qualifying phrases are important and must be fulfilled if public funds available for social service work are to yield maximum benefit.

The outlook for social work and social progress in India is on the whole quite encouraging for the future. Progress can, however, be continuous and sustained only if there is a change in the mental attitudes of the community, if there is the firm realisation that national progress in the real sense of the term cannot be achieved in isolation from social progress and that social progress is correlated to the prevalence of the ideas and the spirit of social equality, the elimination of social barriers, the development of a community outlook and civic responsibility. Lastly, it is correlated to the number of persons with the right perspective on social service—a perspective of sympathy, understanding and goodwill—who come forward to undertake it.

As a preliminary we must discard the mutually contradictory attitudes that presently govern our public and national attitudes. For instance, we cannot talk of economic progress while thinking in terms of continuing backwardness in social matters. We cannot advocate political liberty and equality and maintain a rigid attitude towards the ideal of social liberty and equality. We cannot continue to observe obsolete customs and practices like untouchability, and profess to be achieving social progress.

### SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)

77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14  
PHONE: 86640 & 85251

Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise

#### SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(Including Postage)

In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.  
Half-year: Rs. 4.00.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

## STORIES OF KHUSHWANT SINGH & CHETTUR

By HANUMAN

Though stories there may be in plenty and variety in ancient works of Indian literature, short stories as such, in their present form, are by and large modelled on those from English, French and other modern European languages. In depicting life and portraying character, the English medium and the western technique need not work as a handicap but can well be an effective aid, as shown by Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan and other practitioners of the art. Khushwant Singh and S. K. Chettur, each in his individual manner, have handled this medium with consummate skill and understanding and some of their best stories have just been brought out in popular paperback editions. \*

It is but natural that while Khushwant Singh deals with the Punjab in general and the Sikhs in particular, Chettur covers South India in general with special attention to Madras and Malabar which he happens to know best.

There is a commendable variety of theme in the stories of Khushwant Singh which present life in the Punjab and Delhi in its different aspects. The superstitious temple priest, the wealthy sardar who lords it over the ballot box as well as over his tenants, the insurance agent with his bear hug, the grandmother of the house in her dignity, the plump, plain-faced girl who is tickled deeply to tears, pass before the mind's eye in vivid succession. The portrayal is realistic and the satire, where it is found, is gentle though sharp enough to be unmistakable. In the title story—which does not strike this reviewer as the best in the collection—the elections, by which the demagogues swear in

\*The Voice of God and other Stories: by Khushwant Singh. The Spell of Aphrodite and other Stories: by S. K. Chettur (both published by Jaico Publishing House, 7 Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras-2. Rs. 2 each).

our democracy, are shown in their nakedness, shorn of the cant and claptrap that surround them. The voice of God, far from being the voice of the people, is found to be the voice of big money. It is another version of the idea of God being always on the side of the big battalions. A moulvi and a swamiji are placed in an odd juxtaposition in a world congress of faiths to show that there is little difference between their rival claims of superiority for the two faiths. 'The Mark of Vishnu' is a cynical commentary on the priest's innocent faith in the divinity of the cobra—incidentally there seems to be some confusion in the author's mind between the Indian cobra and the king cobra, a comparatively rare variety that can be as long as 12 to 18 feet.

'The Rape' is an incident related with great fidelity and sympathy. It is moving without being pornographic. In the riot-torn villages in the aftermath of the partition, even a canine romance is surcharged with overtones of communal frenzy. The last piece, an imaginary auto-obituary, is smart, if rather frivolous. In all the stories, the observation is keen and the narrative is crisp, with a commendable economy of expression that is spiced by a dry and mordant wit.

The stories of Chettur are a little more elaborately worked out and are often more fruity in description as well as in dialogue. From the choice of the material and the author's treatment of it, one cannot help forming the impression that he is more pre-occupied with sex in its strange ramifications than the previous writer. But he undoubtedly handles the subject with an ease and naturalness that bespeak an adept at the art of story-telling. He tries a number of techniques with success,—of leaves in a diary, of a friendly conversation in a club, of

#### CINEMA

## RAW FILM PRIORITY LIST

By V. P. SATHE

Newspapers announced the Government of India's new directive to licensing authorities indicating priorities for the release of raw film to the industry.

This announcement took the industry unawares. The Government decided to wrest the initiative from the hands of the film industry, which has utterly failed to take a united stand on this vital

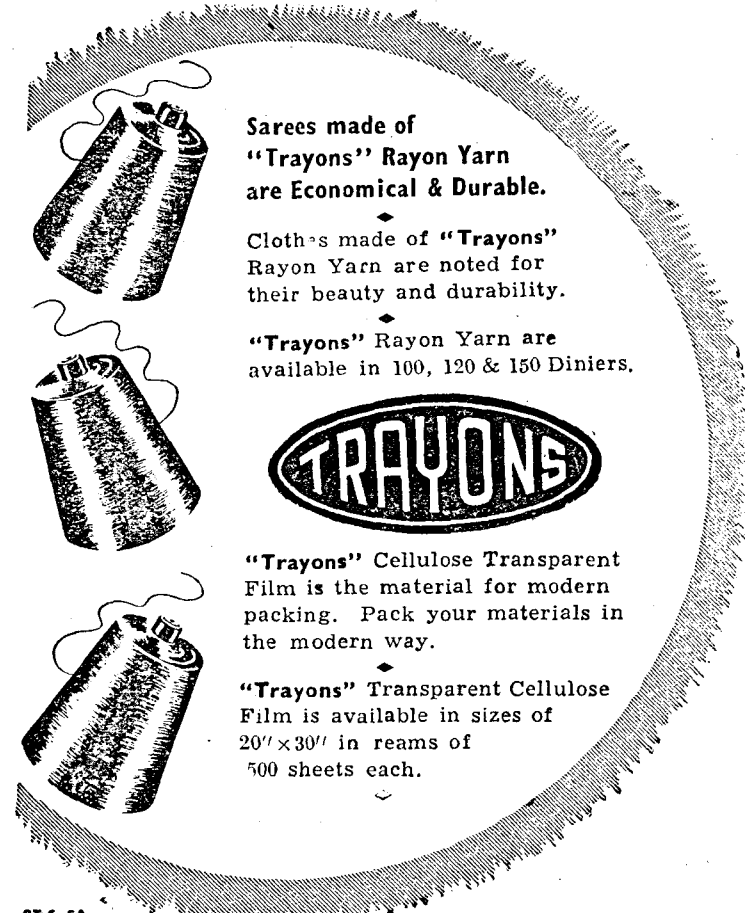
an account related to the narrator by the character in the story as also of a dream or a series of dreams. The first is a hazy sort of dream romance with a creature not of this earth and the flights of fancy are poetic, though they prove fatal to the young man involved. There are quite a few stories telling of the experiences of young women where the thrill of delight is followed by a fit of disillusionment. The stories are all convincing enough, though the too fond lingering on the physical signs of young womanhood seems to be rather adolescent (in a writer of such maturity).

Not that the author is not interested in other subjects. The supernatural has a strange fascination for him as for many others. Ghosts and evil spirits are tackled with an ingenuity that induces a willing suspension of disbelief or at least a temporary relaxation of the reader's scepticism. The ghost in the P.W.D. dark bungalow has a curious preference for cooks and butlers, leaving the official hierarchy safely alone. In 'the Pilsan Commissioner' and other stories, the author writes about the kind of society that he knows as the palm of his hand. The small talk that goes on in clubs and among officials is delightfully true to life. One or two stories there are which are based on the readings of the subconscious. The one about an ambitious mother netting in an eligible son-in-law at the expense of her front upper teeth is deftly told, with gentle humour.

issue. The industry had failed to take cognizance of facts and demand equitable distribution of the available raw stock. It has been clamouring for removal of control and restoration of cut, when the Government was not prepared to change its import policy.

The failure of the film industry to face this raw stock problem with dignity and unity has only strengthened the hands of the Government, which is now determined to impose its own policy with or without the approval of the industry. In any case, the priority list announced by the Government is quite sensible and would meet with the approval of a large section of producers.

All this talk of priorities will be meaningless if the producer



Sarees made of  
"Trayons" Rayon Yarn  
are Economical & Durable.

Clothes made of "Trayons"  
Rayon Yarn are noted for  
their beauty and durability.

"Trayons" Rayon Yarn are  
available in 100, 120 & 150 Deniers.



"Trayons" Cellulose Transparent  
Film is the material for modern  
packing. Pack your materials in  
the modern way.

"Trayons" Transparent Cellulose  
Film is available in sizes of  
20" x 30" in reams of  
500 sheets each.

## RAYON TRADERS PRIVATE LIMITED

Grams: "CELYARN"

27, CORAL MERCHANT ST., MADRAS-1

Branches:

COIMBATORE - SALEM - MADURAI

## The Andhra Bank, Limited

(Established 1923)

Head Office:

MASULIPATAM

Paid-up Capital and Reserves Rs. 58,97,300  
Deposits exceed Rs. 11,00,00,000  
Total working funds exceed Rs. 13,00,00,000

BRANCHES THROUGHOUT  
ANDHRA PRADESH, MADRAS AND AT  
BELLARY

London Agents:

M/s. BARCLAYS BANK LTD.,  
Chief Foreign Branch,  
LONDON E.C.3.

THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK,  
117, Old Broad Street,  
LONDON E.C.2.

All kinds of banking business  
including foreign exchange transacted

S. N. SARMA,

General Manager.

T. R. BHAGAVAT, B.A., B.L.,  
Joint General Manager.



FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN' Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES

Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/LSB/A

who qualifies for a licence is unable financially to make a picture. As a producer rightly said, the priorities of stars and finance are enough to check production and restrict the consumption of raw stock to the required quota.

'Adalat' presents Nargis as Nirmala, a poor college girl who falls in love with Rajendra, a rich Thakur's son. It narrates the tale of her woes and sufferings caused by an evil man who follows her like a shadow and makes it impossible for her to lead a decent life.

She meets one Kedarnath who gives her a job as music teacher in a school which turns out to be a "brothel" and Nirmala is caught with others. When she is freed, her aunt turns her out and she finds refuge in Rajendra's father's house. Secretly they get married before Rajendra leaves for England. After his departure, she is turned out by her father-in-law, who refuses to accept her story and believes the story of Kedarnath, who poses to be her husband.

A lady doctor gives her refuge and she delivers a child. Still Kedarnath pursues her, and when her hopes to meet Rajendra are frustrated, she is dragged to a prostitute's apartment and forced to become a singer for the sake of her child who is later brought up by the lady doctor.

Years roll by, and one day Kedarnath brings Rajendra to hear Nirmala sing. First, Rajendra is shocked and then he is moved by Nirmala's suffering. In the scuffle between him and Kedarnath, Nirmala kills her persecutor to save her husband. In the court-trial, when she is acquitted, she dies in the arms of her husband and son.

This has all the ingredients of a popular melodrama, though the contrived screenplay is full of twists. The redeeming features of this otherwise hackneyed melodrama are the superb acting by Nargis and Pran and scintillating dialogues by Rajendar Krishan who gives the romantic situations in the first half a new flavour. The music by Madan Mohan is mediocre, only one song "Ja Ja Ja" being noteworthy. Pradeep Kumar

appears to be improving with each film.

The huge crowd at the BPHA Stadium on November 22, testified to the fact that the play-back singers and music directors are as popular as the stars. The crowd had gathered for the musical function—S. D. Burman's evening organised by India Culture League.

Several compositions, old and new of the great composer Burman were presented with the full orchestra by renowned play-back singers like Mohamad Rafi, Hemant Kumar, Manna Dey, Talat Mahmood and Asha Bhosle. In fact, but for Lata and Geeta all the top singers graced the occasion.

Though Burman has given many memorable tunes, the programme he presented lacked verve and showmanship. Among the songs, Rafi's rendering of songs from "Kagaz ke Phool" and "Kala Pani" were classical in flavour and hence most appreciated by the connoisseurs of music. The audience preferred the old and already popular compositions to the new compositions from unreleased films.

Anyway, this was a great day for Burman as it proved beyond doubt the great following he enjoyed as a music composer in Bombay. Burman who is now 52, is at the pinnacle of his glory, and though one expects him to give many more hit-tunes in the near future, one is looking forward to the day when his son Rahul, who was very active at this function, blossoms into a full-fledged music director.

Tasviristan's Production No. 6 starring Meena Kumari, Pandaribai, Balraj Sahni, Achala Sachdev, Leela Misra, Daisy Irani went on the sets at Ranjit Studios.

Phani Mazumdar who had been away to Malaya has returned to Bombay for good and is negotiating for an assignment in Bombay.

Mohan Sehgal has gone to Poona along with Kishore and other artists for the outdoor shooting of 'Apna Haath Jagannath' while his picture 'Lajwanti' has been passed by the censors.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### CONGRESS AND BHARAT

Sir,—Addressing the A.I.C.C. at Hyderabad, Mr. Nehru vehemently denounced the attitude of the opposition parties in India. He accused them for painting a dark picture of the situations obtaining in our country. Perhaps he regretted the inability on their part to take a rosy view which can be perceived only through the Congress spectacles.

As a sterling democrat, he recognises their right to criticise and points out that he has no objection if Congress is criticised. After this lip-service he proceeds to observe thus: "By criticising the Congress, which had a major share in the administration they (the opposition parties) criticise the government. Ultimately it is the country that they are criticising". Further, he outbursts that it is an attack on Bharat.

I cannot simply understand the logic as to why at all the criticism levelled against Congress should be viewed as an assault on Bharat. By thus confusing the Congress with Bharat, our Prime Minister naturally abhors any criticism of the policies and actions of the Congress party. If, in any democratic set up, a party, however powerful it may be, seeks to be worshipped by the people on a par with the nation and its flag, it will undoubtedly sooner or later, become a counterpart of the single party of the Communist state.

Russia has built up dictatorship consciously. I am afraid that there are enough portents to prove that the same is being done here unconsciously.

Madras V. VENKATARAMAN

### OVER-CENTRALISATION

Sir,—The "working of the Constitution" recently reviewed by Mr. K. Santanam at a symposium organised under the auspices of the Council of Public Affairs has again brought to the minds of the people the "dangers of frequent Presidential rule,

overwhelming bureaucratisation and centralisation of the Government". Aptly he remarked that "each part of the country should regulate its own affairs as far as possible".

Coimbatore Y. V. VISVESWARAN

### OUR TEACHING STAFF

Sir,—I read the illuminating article of Prof. D. D. Karve on the "Reform of the Examination System" in SWARAJYA. For such reforms to be successful, the foremost need will be to select competent heads and teachers for the educational institutions.

Unfortunately the teachers and heads of educational institutions, are not competent enough to carry on these reforms. Firstly, the teachers' emoluments are so small that they cannot be expected to devote the best part of their attention to the work of teaching. They are much more bothered about making both ends meet. It is a lesson for us to learn from advanced countries, that no system of education would prosper if it does not give the significant role that is due to the teaching staff. Secondly, the selection of teachers is, at present, based on the academic career of the candidate. It is no unexceptionable rule that a first class candidate is a very efficient and honest teacher. Rather, the process of selection must be based upon the personal

qualities of the candidate which contribute to his efficiency and integrity as a teacher.

P. V. G. KRISHNAMURTY  
Hyderabad

### TRAGIC PLIGHT

Sir,—Wide publicity has been given at a considerable cost to impress the rulers of the land that unless the cut imposed upon the import of raw-film is removed—the film industry would eventually wither and face its doom. Facts have been placed before the Authorities with the 'aid' of the Press. Ministers have been garlanded and lavish parties have been thrown in their honour. They have relished the dinners and managed to smile while posing for the still-photographers. The agonised wails and cries and appeals, raised on these occasions still resound around Vijaya Gardens and the recent mass rally of the film-workers was no publicity stunt.

A vast number of technicians and other craftsmen are on the pavements—without a job; without hope; without the blessed opportunity to work and earn their livelihood; without the means to continue their very existence. You have only to care to understand the tragic plight of hundreds of starving junior-artists—extras.

Those in power, who are cosy and comfortable, have to realize what a starving stomach can do to a struggling soul.

Madras RANGACHARI, V. S.

## KOWTHA STEEL PRODUCTS

RAMAVARAPPADU, S. Rly., Andhra State

OFFER

Reliable Service and Quick Deliveries

for all varieties of steel structures, tanks, stagings, grills, Acid or basic high and low carbon and alloy steel castings in Electric Furnace upto ½-ton

to aid 2nd 5-Year Plan for all Industries

Head Office:

"Beehive Buildings", 95, Broadway,  
MADRAS-1. 'Phone No. 2020.  
Telegrams: "LUCKY".

Branch Office:

"Kowtha Buildings"  
VIJAYAWADA.  
'Phone No. 327





### ENGINEERS' CUTTING TOOLS

Milling cutters, Reamers & Involute gear cutters—made according to B. S. S. or Metric or Customers' Specifications.

### HIGH DUTY FERROUS & NON-FERROUS CASTINGS

for the Automobile and machine tool industries. Specialists in High Tensile, Dense, Close Grain & Pressure tight castings.



### STEEL FURNITURE

for the Home and the Office.

### SPRAYERS & DUSTERS

for Plant Protection & Public Health.

### LIGHT ENGINEERING PRODUCTS

and material handling equipment.

### DISTRIBUTORS FOR AMCO BATTERIES

## ADDISON & CO (Private) LTD

158, Mount Road

24, ST. MARK'S ROAD

MADRAS 2

BANGALORE

Branch at:

Printed by T. K.

and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
CESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

1221

# SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 22

MADRAS, DECEMBER 6, 1958

15 Naye Paise

## CEILINGS ON LAND

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Ceiling on holdings", "ceiling on land ownership", "ceiling on personal cultivation", etc., etc., — these are the daily headlines in the newspapers. The idea is born of an unfortunate jealousy complex and does not serve as a practical step in any egalitarian scheme. It surely does not help food production. It serves only to feed the ugly passions of jealousy, envy and greed, intended to produce the maximum crop of votes for this party or that. The competition in this race for mass favour is between the ruling party and the Communists, and other Socialist parties. The horses are run, not on a limited race-track, but alas, on the entire precious field of agriculture. The hoofs are stamping out all motives for increased interest in a noble occupation that stood highest in the scale of values throughout the ages in India and which notwithstanding all our industrial development is still of vital importance. Where the black spirit of pure jealousy takes the place of Reason, the situation gets particularly dangerous in democracy. Rule by majority of votes under universal suffrage is good or bad according to the character of those who secure votes.

What is it that prompts our government to propose these legislative limitations on the size of

holdings? If we rule out just mass-jealousy and vote-hunting, it is a desire to give opportunities to more and more agriculturally minded persons who are anxious to secure opportunities for this avocation. If this is the aim, how is it expected to be attained by putting a ceiling on the size of holdings? What do you propose to do with the excess? Are you going to set up a department of government to administer the excess land, say, by auctioning out leases? God forbid! Corruption would be continent-wide and take new and strange forms, not to speak of the total collapse of the main objective. What can result from these ceiling proposals hanging in the air without any constructive programme, except just political machination, subterfuges and depression of the industry of agriculture and a lowering of land values with consequent increasing inflationary trends in consumer goods? Why should owner-farmers be the targets of special attack, and why should floating lessee-farmers be treated as privileged citizens?

What is called for is a substantial increase of economic holdings. This cannot be achieved except by a well-considered scheme by which the small holdings of uneconomical size are supplemented with contiguous land and a plan

for consolidation and exchange. All this can and should be done on a voluntary basis, for land is not just furniture to be given away to the highest bidder, but should find not only a willing but a fitting owner. There should be no transfers without real and just compensation. The willing co-operation of all people concerned may be supplemented by the exercise of governmental powers of "land acquisition" for carrying out these objects. In fact such powers exist and call only for an extended definition of "public purpose". Suitable facilities for long-term credit have to be organized to enable all transfers to be made on a just basis without resorting to the cheap and inglorious method of confiscation and nominal "compensations" to satisfy the terms of the Constitution without obeying its spirit.

But the one thing essential in formulating and working out any such plan is that the ballot-box should be forgotten. Government should call into aid thinking agriculturists and avoid the advice of vote-culturists. The misuse of power leads to the discrediting of politician as a class and to thoughtless violent displacement of democracy, for which there have been too many models round about.

ble g  
s ow

## THE PRIME MINISTER'S DETERMINATION

The Prime Minister has spoken. He has said at Calcutta "Our declared goal is a socialistic pattern of society. We will brook no obstacles and if there are any, we will sweep them out with broomsticks". About the Third Plan "To those people who say that we should make our Third Plan smaller, I would tell them that they have no understanding of these plans, rather, what planning itself is". The private sector came in for punishment. "Who is judging the public sector? The critics are *purdanashin* people whose motive is to get more money and opportunity for the private sector".

So the Prime Minister is in for a bigger plan, relentless socialism, and more public sector. The economic background of this policy and totalitarian phraseology is rising food prices, slump in the most important industry of the land—textiles, confusion in the tea estates and fall in income from tea, severe import restrictions, forced small savings, a taxable limit of income which has already inhibited all private saving and investment, mounting unemployment, and gigantic foreign loans, a considerable part of which is not invested in new sectors of production, private or public, but is extinguished in the purchase of food and weapons.

It is time that the issues involved in the policies behind the plan are divorced from the prestige attached to the Prime Minister and examined in a less vocal atmosphere. The foremost issue is the financing of the Plan. The resources generated in course of time by increased production and increased wealth are the natural sources of Government income. But it must be remembered that the Government is taxing a people who are emerging from the level of subsistence into a level of marginal surplus in good years and marginal deficit in subnormal years; ostensibly for their own ultimate good, but immediately productive of a state of affairs in which investment is inhibited in every manner except through the Government.

We have expressed our anxiety that foreign capital should flow into India. That was the trend of the pronouncements at the recent Delhi conference of the International Monetary Fund. The experts gathered there said that one of the ways of promoting this flow was to create the conditions that favour equity participation by foreign capital in the private sector. The Finance Minister went so far as to say that the Government were set on encouraging such participation. But the attitude of the Prime Minister as disclosed in Calcutta towards the private sector is certain to drive away any intelligent foreign investor. Further, even foreign participation involves the raising of a moiety of the capital within the country. The scale of investment needed for any new industry today is beyond comparison large with what it was even a decade ago. One may well ask if the drive towards the public sector and the taxation that it will involve will allow even the local half-margin required to attract foreign capital for private enterprise.

The London "Economist" of the 15th November, 1958, has reviewed the "Report on Nationalisation", published by the Federation of British Industries, and observes: "If one reckons depreciation realistically, these industries have in general failed to cover their costs out of their revenues; to some extent at least this must have tended to inflate the demand for the goods and services they sell; and from projections based upon these inflated demands and upon privileged access to cheap finance, they have formulated development programmes that require what may be presumed to be an exaggerated share of capital resources that the British economy can muster". The point of this criticism is not one of detail, but covers the basic economics of the public sector itself; namely, that the public sector functions in a privileged climate of political support and that its political ideology as a way of life will make the Government that has sponsored it keep it alive in conditions that mask the intrinsic economy of the concern and divert for its use funds that arise from heavy and burdensome taxation. From a purely economic point of view, this is the wrong kind of investment, and even Keynesian apologists of public spending will not agree to the maintenance of a *status quo* by spending more. The whole theory of public spending is based on expansion that leads to more production in new directions. It is to be feared that we may be called upon to bolster up a theory of the socialistic pattern at heavy cost to the small margin over expenses that is available for capital schemes.

It looks as if the Government is bent on a socialistic attack on agriculture. And on the industrial side, the public sector is to be nourished. Where is the taxable surplus to come from? The new farmers will fall below any limit of tax-exemption. The present limit of taxation of private persons and companies can be increased only by more production. That involves private saving and investment. So the Plan stands every chance of once more breaking on the rocks of finance. The Government will insist on showing success and call upon the people to come forward for "sacrifice, more sacrifice, and still more sacrifice". May God save us from what must be described as the architecture of ruin instead of progress.

### Non-Conformism

Are we not all interested in free India developing on right lines? Non-conformity, the defying of convention, when it is opposed to what is basically right, is a virtue; habits, manners and customs change from age to age, from clime to clime, but absolute verities should always be revered and never departed from, at all costs. The crucial question every time, is, does the proposed measure infringe this salutary rule?

—SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO



## Sotto Voce

### Parliament and Patronage

The Indian Constitution has laid down that holders of "offices of profit" are not eligible for membership of Parliament. Parliament has certain limited powers to grant exemptions. But the Constitution does not define "an office of profit". A bill which is being discussed in the Lok Sabha seeks to remedy the gap. It does not propose a definition of the term—a task which is regarded as impracticable. In a schedule it lists such offices. As however no such list can be complete and meet all contingencies, the Bill proposes to set up a standing committee of Parliament to make proposals to revising the schedule from time to time; on the basis of its recommendations Parliament would legislate.

It seems, to say the least, doubtful whether it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution thus to vest in the hands of a party Government a large discretionary power of this sort. It might easily lend itself to misuse. Apparently the Constituent Assembly thought that in practice there would be no difficulty in deciding what was an office of profit and what was not and in cases of doubt the matter might be left to be decided in the ordinary way by the judicial tribunals. The schedule way is not going to be less cumbersome. And it might prove far more unsatisfactory by sacrificing principles to dubious compromises.

The British analogy does not help, as the British Parliament has not to work within the terms of a written Constitution. Participants in the debate showed themselves alive to the danger of the independence of members being undermined by the vesting of patronage in the Government. But not sufficient attention was paid to the fact that membership

of Parliament is really a full-time job these days. If a member has no private means or a profession which he is content to practise subject to the overriding demands on his time and energy as M.P., he must be prepared to live on his allowances and not hanker after subsidiary jobs at the Government disposal.

The wide cleavages of opinion that manifested themselves during the debate should show that the political approach to this question will bring no satisfactory solution. Because of the large consensus of opinion in its favour the Government accepted an amendment to the effect that University Vice-Chancellorships should be regarded as offices of profit. But the Communists were much keener than Congressmen that Members associated in some supervisory or executive capacity with the great public corporations like the L.I.C. or Bharat Electronics should not be regarded as holding offices of profit. And the Government were no less stoutly opposed to the dropping of the exemption proposed in the Bill to members of the Territorial Army and the N.C.C.

The Communists contended that British experience had shown that the appointment of private businessmen or industrialists to the Boards of public corporations could only result in the insidious undermining of the public sector. Our Communist friends, it naturally follows, will not be satisfied merely by the appointment of any kind of M.P. to these jobs. Perhaps only such M.P.'s as are ever ready to stand up for the public sector, whether it is right or wrong, will meet with their approval. As for the Government's defence of exemption for members of the Territorial Army, the argument is that

they are doing patriotic work at great inconvenience and must not be denied the satisfaction of serving the nation in Parliament. This is pure sentimentalism. Members of the regular defence forces are no less patriotic. But they are not allowed to stand for election to Parliament.

Plato would not allow the "guardians" of his ideal Republic to concern themselves with any work other than what was proper to their office. And he wanted them to live in Spartan self-denial. Admittedly our political system is not geared to the task of choosing and training such a ruling elite. But it must aim at decent standards of public behaviour and reasonable efficiency. On the calibre of Parliament depends the whole tone of the administration. Parliamentary scrutiny of public corporations will, to say the least, be handicapped if members of Parliament are on their Boards.

When, as in India today, there is virtually one-party rule, it is very essential that the Government should, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion. It is therefore unfortunate that the Government of India should have decided that political parties may accept donations from public companies, if these donations are made public. Publicity is no doubt of some value as a check against corruption. But where unofficial public opinion is so unorganised and ineffective as it is in this country and the glamour and influence of holders of office is so overwhelming, publicity will not by itself be an effective deterrent to the totalitarian urge which so easily persuades itself that its interest is identical with the public interest.

VIGNESWARA

### CORRECTION

In the first sentence in last week's *SOTTO VOCE* 'estranged' was wrongly printed for 'entranced'; the first two lines should read, "Mr. Nehru has the enviable gift of being entranced by his own discoveries."



## STORY OF A CAT

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN)

A cat was asleep near the kitchen fire-place. Having been awake all night looking for mice, she was sleeping soundly during daytime. Beside her, her three kittens lay asleep.

The cat had a dream. She had always wanted to become a tiger. No wonder then that in the dream she was a tiger and chased a sheep. The shepherd's dog came chasing the tiger. The tiger was frightened and ran, but the dog ran faster and was gaining ground every second.

The cat that had turned tiger was urged by instinct to climb up a tree and so escape. But a tiger—the cat was now a tiger—could not climb up trees. Suddenly in the dream the tiger was transformed into a cat

and it went up a tree and escaped.

The cat woke up. She rejoiced, saying, "It is good luck that I am a cat, not a tiger. Otherwise, that dreadful dog would have torn me to pieces." In her joy, she ran out and climbed a tree and tried to catch a squirrel. But the squirrel made good its escape. The cat came down, entered the kitchen and looked for some milk or curds left carelessly about. But she could get nothing. She curled herself up and fell asleep.

She dreamed again. This time she had become a dog! She saw a thief and gave warning. But she said, "Miaow, Miaow" instead of "Bow-wow," and no one took notice. The thief entered the house

and removed everything. He removed even the milk jug after pouring out the milk.

Forgetting the thief and his doings, the cat began to lap up the spilt milk. The lady of the house got up, said, "This dog is no good" and gave her a blow with the broomstick. And this made her wake up and find it was a dream.

She rejoiced, saying, "It is lucky I am not a dog!" and nestled fondly against the feet of the lady. She mewed cheerfully, "No tiger! No dog! A cat for ever I shall be."

But the lady of the house did not understand what she said. We cannot make out cat-language. The kittens understood and joined in the mew-ing: "Yes, yes, we shall always be cats."

## THE INEVITABILITY OF HIERARCHIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a recent article in the 'Yale Review,' Reinhold Niebuhr the eminent American has made a thorough analysis of the slogans of Liberty and Equality. However well-known the limitations of these political ideals, a re-examination and re-emphasis cannot but be useful, especially where progress is not organic but rather like hot-house cultivation. Niebuhr has re-emphasised the inevitability of social gradations as well as their corruption. If we let ourselves be drawn over-vigorously into the chase for equality, we must set aside the ideal of liberty. We cannot pay unqualified regard for the individual and his liberties if we must rush headlong to reach equality. And *vice versa* if we wish to preserve liberty at all cost, we have to accept inequalities.

The necessity of a gradation of authority and function in any community or common enterprise must be obvious, says Niebuhr, to even the most casual observer. Every school, every church, every production operation or sales organisation must have its hierarchy. The political order is integrated by the same sort of hierarchic structure. Even democratic communities are integrated by military and civil bureaucracies which depend upon rigorous adhesion to the prescribed chain of command.

Nor can we prevent the prestige, power and privilege of the upper levels of this inevitable hierarchy growing inordinate. In spite of these unwanted consequences, the necessity for the gradation of function and authority cannot be eliminated by any abstract equalitarianism.

This explains the much boosted recent effusions of disappointed individuals in Communist countries e.g., Djilas's *New Class* and Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*. To use Niebuhr's phrase, 'the social hierarchy is as omnipresent in a libe-

ral community as in a traditional one and for that matter in a Communist one'. Djilas, Pasternak and others have only proved this. Liberty and equality are twin *regulative* principles not realisable together in the absolute sense.

What is possible of achievement in a virgin continent with an advancing frontier and an expanding economy is not possible in countries that have not these advantages. Emerson's advice to 'each man' that he should see that "he can live all history in his own person. He must sit solidly at home, and not suffer himself to be bullied by kings and empires, but know that he is greater than all geography and all the governments of the world" had meaning in spite of its exaggeration for the American with his advancing frontier and expanding economy. But it would be merely braggadocio in other contexts and misleading if zeal runs away with commonsense.

Even America, some people feel, has now reached a "have-not" status. An American university professor recently declared that "until we plant our flag on another planet with rich resources and learn how to transport them through interstellar space to the smelters and factories in Pittsburgh, Detroit and Cleveland, we shall be increasingly dependent upon overseas supplies". It is an illusion to think that what was done in America must be capable of achievement in India and that it is only lack of will and assiduity and want of proper guidance that prevent it. This illusion leads to a great deal of pleasant, expensive globe-trotting of eminent men and their wives and 'seminars' which have touched the borders of the ridiculous. It is an illusion whether it be generous Americans, that think it or Indian publicists hysterically shouting for foreign aid in order

to achieve a 'higher' standard of life. We must resist the imitation complex and see where happiness lies and avoid where tension waits for its prey.

### Nelson Rockefeller

One of the newest and most unexpected figures on the American political scene is an exuberant, young (fiftyish) millionaire. Six months ago, this handsome grandson of oil-man John D. Rockefeller collected paintings and sculpture, subsidised studies on U.S. defense and educational policies, and, with four rich brothers, oversaw the vast, benign commonwealth of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Today Nelson Rockefeller is Republican Governor-elect of the State of New York. He faces one of the hardest and most labyrinthine jobs in government, for a State Governor in the United States, unlike a Governor in India, is both chief executive and political commander.

A question in India now must be, how did a political newcomer defy the surging ranks of the Democratic Party and thrust skyward a banner for the Republicans? The answer, in this writer's view, is strangely uncomplicated: People like him. Mr. Rockefeller, of course, is not unknown. The family name, once scorned, is honored now. Nor is the new governor an amateur: he handled political issues deftly in the election campaign, refusing, for example, to debate unpopular national policies while running for a state office, and thus stripping the incumbent Governor of argument against him.

But allowing for all this, the sudden rise and triumph of this young man who is now a potential Republican candidate for the office of President in 1960 is due largely to the power of a good reputation and the strength of a good face. It is as simple as that.

JOHN E. FRAZER

## COTTON YARNS

OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS

FOR HANDLOOM, POWERLOOM AND HOSIERY FACTORIES

### MADURA MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

Phone: 250 (5 Lines)

MADURAI  
SOUTH INDIA

Telegrams: 'HARVEY'

MILLS AT MADURAI, TUTICORIN AND AMBASAMUDRAM

5,00,000 Spindles

Counts up to 80s

*We Supply:*

WARP YARNS, COMBED YARNS, HOSIERY YARNS,  
CONE, CHEESE AND HANK YARNS, SINGLE AND FOLDED

#### SPECIALITIES

Yarns for the Manufacture of ROPES — HEALDS — CANVAS — TAPE

BELTING DUCK — TYRE CORD — SEWING THREAD

MULTI-PLY AND CORD YARNS

### MANAGERS: A. & F. HARVEY LIMITED

PANDYAN BUILDING, MADURAI, SOUTH INDIA

Phone: 420 (4 Lines)

Telegrams: 'HARVEY'



## MR. KHRUSHCHOV'S LETTER

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Khrushchov's latest letter to me has been published in SWARAJYA of last week. In spite of all the realistic logic of Mr. Khrushchov and the reasons he gives for his inability to take a unilateral step, in spite of the apparent failure of his first trial to produce any good results by way of co-operation from the West, I feel that there is no other way for mankind to be saved. It may require explanation why I pester the Russian leader with these suggestions for unilateral action. I confess that somehow I still entertain greater hopes in that quarter than in Mr. Dulles. Further, Mr. Khrushchov did respond early this year in a manner which in spite of every hostile analysis must be recognised as unique. And again, is there not Jesus Christ together with all his churches daily appealing to the secular powers of the West? Is not adherence to the Sermon on the Mount their greatest external advantage over their brothers in Russia? Where this appeal is ignored would it not be presumptuous for me to enter the field?

We cannot overcome evil by evil or folly by folly. We cannot overcome the enemy's doubts, or his fears except by unilateral action not caring whether the opponent will or will not immediately co-operate. If two men or two nations must give up enmity and arrive at trust, goodwill or friendship, one of them must some time step forward with faith. If this is not possible, it means we discard all the religions of the world as illusion and futile nonsense. The doom of the world is certain and it is as well we disappear. I see no agreement in the offing. But I clearly still see the possibility of unilateral action, out of which an agreement is bound to issue. The solution of ill will and fear lies in unilateral action. This is as fundamental as any other law of nature.

Have those who are not in this cold war no rights to object and no real power to bring to a stop this programme of poisoning the present and future generations of mankind? I do not think Mr. Nehru and his great friends among the nations of the world have given adequate attention to this aspect of the matter. Genetic damage is caused by the fall-out of nuclear explosions in two ways. One is the immediate and direct effect on the gonad tissue of the radiations from fall-out. The changes thus produced in the human hereditary material are passed on to future generations. Again, there is the long-term effect of carbon-14 produced from the bomb. This isotope has, we are told by scientists a life of 8,000 years. Throughout this long period of eighty centuries this poison goes on damaging the human hereditary material and these mutations are passed on to future generations. It will be thus seen that these explosions accumulate poison for generations and generations of mankind. Can we not hope that the uncontroverted facts repeatedly testified to by eminent scientists in the clearest terms may make some impression on the people of the great democracies of the world? Here is Mr. Khrushchov definitely offering to sign below the dotted line for an unconditional cessation of test explosions if the other powers agree to sign. Is it not worth while to take him at his word be he as bad as bad can be, and give to the world a guarantee against poison. A new chapter of world negotiations may begin if this be done.

### POSTSCRIPT

I have just received a cable from Clarence Pickett and A. J. Muste (Philadelphia, U.S.) asking me to join the deputation of the

crew of Golden Rule and Phoenix at Geneva and assist in their plea to U.S.A., Soviet and British representatives at the conference to draft an unconditional agreement to end nuclear tests. The Golden Rule and Phoenix sailed to the Pacific last summer in protest of U.S. testing programme. The voice of Japan has so far failed to be heard. May these American Knights of Christ fare better. My view is that the American Government is now the great stumbling block.

If only the good people of America knew their strength much could be achieved. The mothers of America and the prospective mothers of deformed children—can they not smash the near-war strategists and the security hunters who are poisoning mankind and children to be born?

C. R.

## Enough H-Bombs to Wipe Out Humanity

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24

Stockpiles of nuclear bombs are now sufficient to wipe out the entire human race, the Council of the Federation of American Scientists announced here today.

The Council of the Federation—a nation-wide organisation concerned with the inter-relation of science and world affairs—also stated there was not, and probably never would be, any defence against massive atomic attack.

It urged the US to agree to a permanent stoppage of all testing of atomic weapons in the current Geneva talks with the Soviet Union.

An agreement should be subject only to the condition that a system of detecting tests be put into operation within an agreed period.—Reuter.

The Editor, SWARAJYA, who was in hospital for over a month will, it is expected, be able to resume his work from next week.

## ISWAR DUTT

By POTHAN JOSEPH

A Rip-van-Winkle sensation creeps over me as I pay my belated tribute to Iswar Dutt, weeks after the celebration of his Shastipoorthy. Old Man Rip had fled to the Appalachian mountains to escape the tantrums of his virago-wife, and when he woke up he found himself out of date. I was not sleeping when the Iswar Dutt anniversary was observed in the quiet manner open to all of us who have suffered trading losses in our career of journalism. On his seventieth birthday, T. S. Eliot received favourable notice in the press, but there was no round of visits by V.I.P.'s. as in the example of our Cabinet Ministers at the Centre who are besieged by eminent callers on their *jayanti*, to receive garlands in token of high esteem. Not long ago the tribute to a Minister consisted of a garland of one-thousand-rupee notes, corresponding to the number of years put in by that Satyagrahi in the national cause. The Seer of Faber and Faber, "Mr. Eliot" had no such demonstration in his honour on recently registering his three-score years and ten. Poet Eliot evaded backslappers. Iswar Dutt must have shrugged his shoulders as messages of goodwill came swelling upon him on his sixtieth birthday.

I discovered at the Helsinki Conference of 1956 that a speaker on the conclusion of his performance should lead cheers by clapping his own hands and bowing in a semi-circular range to evoke noisome support. I cannot imagine Iswar Dutt in such a piece of play-acting since he is modest by nature. If I am late with my bouquets to a contemporary of rare culture, coupled with reticence, I should not be compared with the sailor who once attacked a Jew at an Australian port. On shore-leave, he banged at the pawnbroker who was plying his business past the gate. The youth was questioned. He explained that Jesus Christ had been crucified by the Jews whereupon the

inn-keeper pointed out that it had happened two thousand years ago. The sailor answered: "But I have heard of it only now."

The professional career of Iswar Dutt has been that of a "genteel, parfait knight". He belonged to the *elite* of his time in the Tej Bahadur orbit of politics, delighting in the associations of "Moderatism", with no urge for prominence, a very contrast of another Moderate of his age, A. D. Mani. Ever since Iswar Dutt rose on the horizon, I compared him with Robert Lynd, the charming essayist of the 'Twenties. Names like Robert Lynd and Sylvia Lynd had a high place in the transient records of Fleet Street. What Richard Church wrote about Robert Lynd, I can repeat in praise of Iswar Dutt:

"It is a great thing to say of a man that he was universally loved, although he never attempted to conceal the idiosyncrasies of his character. It can be said of Robert Lynd both as a man and a writer. For over 50 years he was an active professional writer, and principally as a critic who never compromised because it might have been expedient to do so, and never concealed the principles on which he based his standards of judgment. Yet he never made an enemy. The reason for this is that he expressed his views, and particularly his adverse views, in terms of a benevolence that was so patently sincere and natural that anger and chagrin disappeared before it."

That sizes up the personality of Iswar Dutt. Admiration of C. R. Reddy and his corruscating wit had its grip on him from youth, and in his apex-days in Allahabad, Iswar Dutt shone amongst drawing-room politicians, unlike his predecessor from Andhra, C. Y. Chintamani, the pioneer-editor of the *Leader* whose chair Iswar Dutt subsequently occupied.

Iswar Dutt made firm friendships with solid folk, largely be-

cause mercurialism has no place in his composition. He reluctantly engaged himself in the sword-play of his time, but there is not a heart-stain on his blade.

## The Recent American Vote

"The vote reflected dissatisfaction with the Republicans on a variety of counts—the recession, labor policy, farm policy, a general sense of lack of leadership in both foreign and domestic affairs."—*New York Times's* verdict.

### THE RESULTS:

#### Senate:

|             |    |    |      |
|-------------|----|----|------|
| Democrats   | .. | 62 | (49) |
| Republicans | .. | 34 | (47) |

#### The House:

|             |    |     |       |
|-------------|----|-----|-------|
| Democrats   | .. | 281 | (235) |
| Republicans | .. | 153 | (200) |
| In doubt    | .. | 1   |       |

#### Governors:

|             |    |    |      |
|-------------|----|----|------|
| Democrats   | .. | 33 | (29) |
| Republicans | .. | 14 | (19) |
| In doubt    | .. | 1  |      |

[Previous strength in brackets.]

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

For Writing Comfort



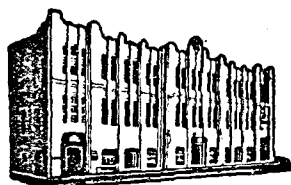
FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MRC/150/A

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole  
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,  
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND  
SINGAPORE.

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |                |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000    |
| Issued and Subscribed Capital                   | " 72,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | " 66,19,625    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | " 91,61,883    |
| Deposits as on 30-6-'58                         | " 38,00,96,415 |
| Total Working Funds                             | " 46,05,11,811 |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

### CAPITAL COMMENTS

## THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL OF NEHRU'S COLLEAGUES

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: A man of commanding presence, always and everywhere Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon commands attention. If today, even in his absence he is commanding attention in the country, it is not by his achievement abroad but by his adversity at home. The best known, if also the most controversial, of Mr. Nehru's colleagues, he has earned both praise and censure in extreme measures and superlative terms. As Minister for Defence he has seized new opportunities but alas, he has given a new handle to his critics and opponents by his (way of) handling the Ministry. No other Minister, not even the Prime Minister, can claim to have gone (headlong) to the extent of dividing the press into two sections on the basis of personality cult as he has done: for today certain newspapers and periodicals have come to be classified as pro-Menon or anti-Menon. Bombay is building him up as a hero while Delhi is holding to public gaze the skeletons in the Ministerial cupboard. It was something of a sensation at the Capital when one leading daily went for him, hammer and tongs, in what seemed to be a well-documented indictment or charge-sheet. There was, however, no speculation about the sources of the story, for there was no need for any. It is open to any paper to launch such an attack against any one, however mighty, but one would have liked it to be done when the victim of the attack is on the spot to answer the charges and not when he is far away. Mr. Krishna Menon's friends of the Fourth Estate will no doubt furiously retaliate. The only person who gains by the controversy is the newspaper reader who is tired of dullness. Nor can Mr. Krishna Menon himself afford to neglect his critics, new or old, by assuming a pose of lofty disdain. He

must clear his position—in his own interests and those of the Government. As said earlier in these columns, the Minister for Defence is now manifestly in defence. What show he will put up, remains to be seen. For all one knows, he may be actually chuckling over the fact that he is the most discussed of Mr. Nehru's men. Was it not Lady Oxford who said: 'No matter whether you are praised or abused, get discussed'. Mr. Krishna Menon values this tip to ambitious politicians.

No 'slander' issue can ever be a slender issue. It was hardly surprising that Mr. Minoo Masani's move to raise it, within the context of the Kerala Chief Minister's alleged remarks against a Member of Parliament, caused intense excitement in Lok Sabha. As was to be expected on such occasions, the debate led to slashing exchanges on party basis—and the introduction of extraneous factors which had little to do with the real issue. For once, the 'minorities' had all the fun of party warfare while the majority or, as is the fashion to call it, the ruling party, played a passive role. The matter is now, as ultimately decided by Lok Sabha, before its Privileges Committee. The Prime Minister wished that this matter had not come up before the House at all: it was, however, as well that it was. For, the House—and through it, the country—had the opportunity of hearing the Prime Minister on the very vital subject of the Centre's attitude to Kerala which, rightly or wrongly, clouded the main issue. 'All States are equal in the eye of the Centre. They are all treated alike, on the same basis, with the same objectivity and impartiality. If anything, Kerala is shown greater consideration, for the very reason

that it is run by a non-Congress (in this case, the Communist) Ministry.' Such is the Nehru line. After the earnest and unequivocal statement made by the Prime Minister whose horror of cold-war, here or elsewhere, is beyond doubt and cavil, the Communists, whether in Kerala

or outside, should realise that the wind was taken out of their sails. Of the attitude of the Centre towards Kerala there can be no mistaking, whatever individual Congressmen may think or feel, mean or say. The Prime Minister rose to yet greater heights when he left Parliament in no doubt as to his

own reaction to the trends in the country. He was feeling out of tune; also he felt he was ageing. And in saying so, he perhaps took his countrymen into confidence as to what is in store for them if they go about frittering away their opportunities—and his leadership.

## A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

### SOLVING A PRESSING PROBLEM:

It was such a large pile of clothes, sheets and towels—Mummy had to ask Ruma and Uma to help with the ironing.

Lots of washing, yes. But Mummy used so little soap. She washes with SUNLIGHT, of course. That wonderful extra lather washes so much! It draws out every scrap of dirt without beating!

Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!

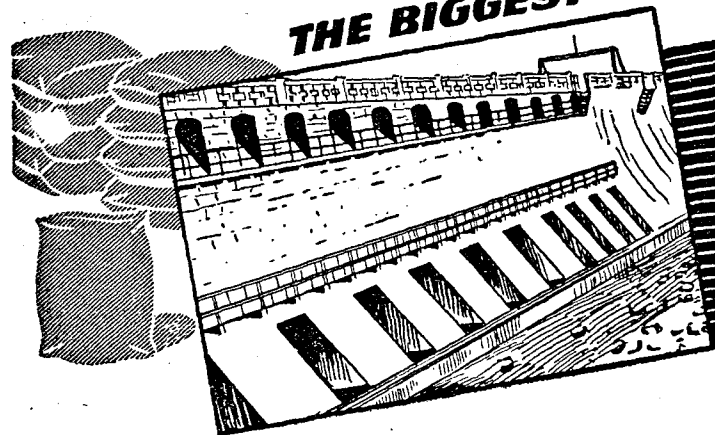


SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

8, 263-X53

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

**SOLID STRENGTH  
AND STABILITY** Behind  
**THE BIGGEST DAMS**



**DURGA BRAND**  
**PORTLAND CEMENT**

Manufactured by  
**THE ANDHRA CEMENT CO., LTD.**  
Reg. Office: 337 THAMBU CHETTY ST., MADRAS-1  
Factory Office: VIJAYAWADA - 2

Managing Agents :  
**THE ANDHRA ENGINEERING COMPANY**  
**(Private) LTD.**  
**RAJAHMUNDRY.**

Junius would like to share with his readers the following excerpt from a letter addressed to him by a friend who was a member of the Indian delegation to the UNESCO at Paris :

'I have come to realise two things much more fully than ever before. The first of them is the great international reputation of our revered Vice-President and the second one, the honoured place which India has acquired for itself in international counsels. Even for me who has known for a long time now the name made by Dr. Radhakrishnan as our great philosopher-statesman, the reception he had and the respect he was shown everywhere during the brief time I was privileged to be with him during this trip was — shall I say — a thing of pride. He was presented with a guard of honour at Damascus; he was given a rousing reception in Prague; the red carpet was spread for him in Paris; his every word and the slightest of his gestures was followed with respect. Of all the speeches so far made in connection with this Conference his are easily the best. Indeed, how inadequately do we realise at home the great part which Dr. Radhakrishnan has played and is playing in winning respect for our country in the outside world!

And this brings me to my second point. Because of the great respect won for our country by Dr. Radhakrishnan and our Prime Minister in the international field, anyone who had the honour of representing India in any world conference, be it big or small, must be on his watch lest he should make the least false step or strike the wrong note. Really it is amazing, as well as highly gratifying, to note how keenly, not only the Afro-Asian nations, but the whole world is observing what India is saying and doing.'

There is no Indian who does not feel proud of India's prestige abroad. Is not the regret keener on that very account that at home one finds little cause for generous enthusiasm and less for any jubilation?

### SWARAJYA

(Published every Saturday)  
77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14  
PHONE : 86640 & 85251  
Single Copy : 15 Naya Paise  
**SUBSCRIPTION RATES :**  
(Including Postage)  
In India : Annual : Rs. 7.50,  
Half-year : Rs. 4.00.

## READING THE SUDANESE REVOLUTION

By N. S. MUTHANA

Like Pavlov's dogs with conditioned reflexes the whole world responded to the military coup in Sudan with but one question : Whose side is Gen. Ibrahim Aboud on—Nasser's or the West's ?

In their unnatural haste to put every event in its cold war perspective, statesmen and newsmen alike ducked the responsibility of assessing the revolution in realistic terms.

An un-named spokesman of the British Foreign Office declared "on record" that the General was pro-West, and that his coup had stalled the take-over of Sudan by a coalition of pro-Nasser cabals.

Cairo went all out to announce it as a "victory" to Afro-Asian nationalism.

Washington declared that it was an "internal affair" while Moscow watched the event in its own inscrutable way.

It was the most non-violent revolution the military leaders of Sudan staged. They gagged the press for exactly one day and they kept the former Prime Minister, Abdullah Khalil and his colleagues under house arrest for very little over 24 hours. Everybody seemed to accept the military coup in an almost supine manner.

The strongman of the military junta is said to be Maj.-Gen. Ahmed Abdel Wahab who has been named Minister for the Interior. Last week Gen. Wahab gave a clue to where Sudan stood in the "cold-warring" world. In a widely quoted interview with a Khartoum paper, the General said, "I categorically deny that our revolution is pro-Western. It is purely Sudanese. We shall follow a policy of neutrality. We shall not ally ourselves with any camp or bloc."

What then was the cause of the revolution? Sudan had a democratically elected government, followed an enlightened policy at

home, was intensely nationalistic though pro-Western. The foreign policy of Sudan was however not so rigid as the phrase "pro-Western" seems to suggest. It was pro-Western to the extent that it was *not* pro-Nasser.

And that is where the cause of the revolution seems to lie. There appears to have been a powerful pro-Nasser press which was of the opinion that the differences with Cairo over some territories and the question of Nile waters were kept alive to divert the minds of the people from the economic realities in Sudan.

But then the Government of Abdullah Khalil was changing its attitude to these things. Khalil had agreed to re-constitute the Government and include in the cabinet members of all the leading political parties of Sudan. This national coalition would doubtless have been more pro-Nasser than the old coalition of Khalil's Umma

party and the People's Democratic Party. Further, Khalil had already planned to go to Cairo to negotiate and normalise Sudan's relations with the United Arab Republic. As a result, the propaganda machine of Cairo had stopped calling Khalil the Nuri es Said of Sudan.

This did not appear as if it made any difference to the Army at all. Which was why the first reactions from Western capitals hailed the coup as a pro-Western swing aimed at stalling a change-over to pro-Nasserism.

They even said that the presence of the Sudanese Commerce Minister Ali Abdel Rahaman (People's Democratic Party) in Cairo without the approval of his Prime Minister had a slightly subversive odour about it and the army stepped in to avoid any permanent tie-up with the UAR.

This does not seem to be the correct interpretation. Immediate-

Quick,  
soothing  
relief  
from pain



The gentle touch of  
AMRUTANJAN,  
Conqueror of Pain,  
quickly relieves  
throbbing aches  
and pains.

**AMRUTANJAN**



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
Calcutta-7.



## CINEMA

## THE RAW FILM MUDDLE

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** The raw film muddle shows no signs of improvement. Last week there was hectic activity and several meetings were held by producers, who also met Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Minister for Industry and Commerce and Shri Bilgrami, the Chief Import Controller. On 26th November, the Central Advisory Committee also met in Bombay. While the representatives of the film industry in the South boycotted this meeting, the local producers were at loggerheads with the result that the industry could not suggest any uniform policy.

With the film producers divided and issuing contradictory statements, the chances of the Government deciding the distribution of raw stock in consultation or on the advice of the industry are becoming more and more remote. It appears that, as evident from the announcement of the list of priorities, the Government will adopt its own policy disregarding all the claims and counter claims of the producers.

Ramesh Saigal's 'Phir Subha Hogi' may or may not be a faithful adaptation of Dostovsky's 'Crime and Punishment'. An authentic adaptation would be perhaps too intelligent, psychological and grim for the taste of an average picturegoer; so it is hardly surprising that Ramesh Saigal has reduced it to the pattern of an Indian screen formula without, of course, distorting the original theme or the tone.

As presented by Ramesh Saigal, it is a love story of the impoverished law student Ram and a poor girl Soni, who in the original novel plays no vital part. Indeed the 'original' sister of the hero has been converted into the beloved. The first half of the picture shows how Soni and Ram meet, Soni's poor family and Ram's poverty are established and though they fall in love with each

other, Ram finds it increasingly difficult to protect Soni from the greedy bootlegger who has been supplying liquor to her drunkard father. Out of desperation, to save Soni from the bootlegger's clutches, Ram goes to steal and inadvertently kills the pawnbroker.

Rather too long and sketchy, the picture is nevertheless a sincere effort to portray the social reality and the tragedy of the 'have-nots'. The picture is also a poignant commentary on social conditions which give no scope for a brilliant student and a competent girl to pursue their ideals without persecution from the parasites who fleece the poor and yet go unpunished. The social comment is bitter and pointed; and for showing the 'courage' who indulge in it, Ramesh Saigal deserves praise. As a piece of drama, it is dull in the beginning and warms up in the end leaving an impression of sincere and sober thought on the present-day social conditions in our country.

It is enlivened by excellent portrayals. Raj Kapoor as Ram gives a superb portrayal, reminiscent of his work in 'Jagte Raho'. Mala Sinha is rediscovered and puts over a tender, sympathetic portrayal making an ideal romantic heroine. Mubarak as the Police Inspector, Nana Palsikar as the drunkard father, Leela Chitnis as the ailing mother, Jagdish Sethi as the rich bootlegger give memorable cameos; but the best cameo is contributed by Rehman in the best characterization in the picture of a lovable friend.

Sahir's lyrics are in tune with the theme and purport of the picture and Khayyam's music is also excellent. Unfortunately, the screen play and editing are poor and have failed to exploit the songs dramatically.

'Phir Subha Hogi' is thus a sincere, but occasionally dull and confused, social drama highlighted by powerful portrayals.

At the premiere of 'Phir Subha Hogi' on Thursday last, the most conspicuous person absent was Ramesh Saigal himself. Ramesh, who had been working day and night to complete the picture in time for release almost collapsed on Thursday afternoon at the Censor office as he had not yet received the certificate. Eventually, it was granted, but Ramesh Saigal was rushed to the hospital. Next day, he was up again and attending to the regular release of his picture.

Acclaimed as a bold and sincere effort, the picture is in keeping with the tradition of Ramesh Saigal who first came into limelight as the co-author of Prithviraj's famous play 'Deewar' and made two popular patriotic films 'Shaheed' and 'Samadhi' for Filmistan.

As a producer also in 'Shikast', 'Railway Platform' and 'Bharati', he kept up his tradition of making off-beat purposeful films. But the pictures proved costly failures and 'Railway Platform' evoked the wrath of the Marwari community and the picture was banned in some States. His 'Phir Subha Hogi' also had a lot of censor trouble — the scars of which are visible in the picture, especially in the last speech by Raj Kapoor in the court. What is more, the picture is likely to create a lot of controversy over the adaptation.

While Ramesh has faced many emotional and economic crises in life, one hopes that 'Phir Subha Hogi' will be successful enough to give him scope to make a courageous experiment again.

On Friday last, Ashok Pictures' new production went on the floors starring Ashok Kumar, Padmini and Ragini.

Dilip Kumar returned from U.K. on Wednesday last. But as he had an attack of flu in London, he is not keeping good health and had to cancel the shooting of his picture 'Ganga Jamuna' on Saturday.

S. K. Ojha is leaving for London this week in connection with the technicolor printing of one colour reel in 'Mughal-E-Azam'.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## PRICE OF 'PERSPECTIVE PLANNING'

Sir,—At the outset, please permit me to congratulate you on your lucid analysis of the land reforms issue. I shall be grateful if you will kindly allow me to make the following observations through the columns of your esteemed journal.

The size and outlay of the Second Five Year Plan is still nebulous. The Plan, according to some well-informed people, is 'ambitious' and to some it is 'over-ambitious'. But, the authors of the Plan do not recognize this fact and put forth the argument that considering the poverty of the masses the Plan is not at all 'ambitious'. One is confronted with a news-item that the Plan is still to be whittled down for want of resources. This is after the prodigious shower of external assistance.

After 7 years of planning, there is very little enthusiasm among the common-folk. Perhaps, they may be wondering that for all the heavy contributions made in the name of the Plan, the very sustenance of life—food—has become dearer since our 'perspective planning' era started.

Bombay P. K. SANKARAN

## TELUGU BOOKS

Sir,—There are not many bookshops in the whole of Andhra Pradesh where one can find a reasonably complete selection of Telugu books. On the other hand, every town has at least one bookshop where popular English books can be obtained.

Obviously, there is not much demand for Telugu books. There is a common impression among the educated that there is no literature worth reading in Telugu. This can be disproved easily.

The efforts of The Southern Languages Book Trust to provide good books in Telugu (and in other South Indian languages) have not achieved much success.

The reason is that public interest has hardly been roused. To this end the Telugu publishers must make intensive efforts. The methods by which the Tamil publishers increased their trade tremendously may also be studied.

Nellore

P. SUBBA RAO

## PANCHAYAT CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Sir,—Somehow, as the adage goes, the ill-paid teacher becomes the worst bargainer in any of the

State reforms. The bedrock of the educational structure, primary education, placed under the control of the panchayat union as envisaged by the new bill, is sure to suffer the ill-effects of the ad hoc forces of power operating more on opportunist exigency than on reason and morality. The purity of the teaching profession will be lost in the enclaves of political thought. It will be a sorry state of affairs if its future is to be chained to an elected body prone to be circumscribed by petty wranglings and jealousies, rather than to officialdom capable of acting with restraint.

N. S. PADMANABHAN  
Nidamangalam.



it does not matter  
if we win or lose  
so long as  
tea is there  
to cheer us up!



I am Tea

I serve  
those who play  
and those who watch



PST 201

ly after the coup the military took over the airports but allowed UAR's Military Attache in Khartoum to dash off to Cairo where he was later reported to have been in conference with President Nasser himself. Further, the Khartoum military junta did not publicly disown whatever commitments that might have been made by Commerce Minister Ali Abdel Rahaman, although he was not included as one of the civilian members of the new set-up.

Instead, a little after the UAR Military Attache arrived in Cairo, the Egyptian radio and press announced the visit to Cairo of Gen. Abboud "very soon".

Gen. Abboud has also been invited to the next session of the Arab League and it is on the cards that he will receive a hero's welcome at Cairo.

Then what was the cause of the revolution? Was it another case of a general seeing his chance and taking it?

Perhaps.

Then how is he going to rationalise the take-over and the abrogation of a democratic system which had the approval of the people at the last election in Sudan?

#### REFERENCE BOOKS

|                                                                                                                    | Rs. | nP. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations</i> ..                                                                      | 36  | 06  |
| <i>Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English</i> by Ernest Weekly ..                                       | 28  | 44  |
| <i>Cassell's Latin Dictionary: Latin-English and English-Latin</i> —edited by R. V. Merchant and Joseph Charles .. | 17  | 06  |
| <i>Cassell's German Dictionary: German-English and English-German</i> by Karl Bruehl—Revised edition ..            | 24  | 37  |
| <i>A Dictionary of American-English Usage</i> by Margaret Nicholson ..                                             | 24  | 37  |
| <i>A History of English Literature</i> by Arthur Compton-Rickett ..                                                | 14  | 69  |
| <i>A Dictionary of the Underworld: British and American</i> by Eric Patridge ..                                    | 40  | 62  |

K. MAHADEVAN,  
12-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

Certain Arab sources in India are of the belief that Abboud's coup is pro-Sudan and pro-Nasser at the same time.

Their reading of the situation is as follows:

The worst outstanding problem that continually strains the relations between Cairo and Khartoum is the problem of the distribution of Nile waters. Presently the distribution is governed by the 1929 Agreement which lays down that Sudan could use the Nile waters only during the first six months of the year. This agreement is unfair to the Sudanese. Even the Egyptians feel it that way and they are willing to revise the whole thing.

The Egyptians have made an offer to the Sudanese. This offer involves an exchange of certain territories before Egypt embarks upon the Aswan High Dam project.

The Aswan High Dam, on which the Egyptians depend largely for their economic well-being, will upon completion submerge vast areas of Sudan lying north of the 22nd Parallel. For this loss of land thus incurred by the Sudanese, the Egyptians are willing to trade parts of their territories lying south of the 22nd Parallel. This offer was turned down by Sudan on an earlier occasion, and not all the Sudanese were happy about the non-acceptance of that offer.

It is expected that Gen. Abboud will be made the same offer, and this time it is expected to be accepted. And it is also said that such a compromise would not be unfair to Sudan.

Another view which appears to have gained currency among students of Middle Eastern affairs is that Nasser's offer to Mr. Marcel Wagner of the American Eastern Corporation, "Tell your American friends, if they want our entire cotton crop next year, they can have it," is not without significance in the present situation. It is believed that the UAR had not been extremely happy about its cotton deal with the Soviet Bloc. Nor, for that matter, has Sudan been happy about her cotton

with the West. And it is likely that Nasser and Abboud will evolve a formula to create a loosely-knit cotton consortium. Egypt's trouble with her cotton deal with the Soviet Bloc is due to the fact that the Soviets dictate the terms for the lifting of Egyptian cotton.

Sudan's trouble is that with the discovery of "non-iron" cotton material which could be made better with medium quality yarn, her fine cotton is no longer at a very high premium.

UAR official sources here did not, however, confirm the possibility of a common cotton marketing programme between Egypt and Sudan, but said, "such a possibility cannot be ruled out at all. We are, after all, great friends of Sudan!"

Nasser seems to be going all out for the economic betterment of his people. His plans to complete the Aswan High Dam, put half a million people into gainful employment in the 150 factories which are crying to be translated from blueprint into concrete, call for better relations with his neighbours more than for territorial expansionism. Indications are that he will go a long way to keep the Sudanese happy and that the Sudanese will also go a long way to normalise relations with the UAR, and for a change, begin a building programme.

Looked at from this angle, it appears that Abboud's coup was an expression of a military man's impatience with the slow and tortuous going of the civilian democratic regime.

#### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudalliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswamy.

## J. C. BOSE: PRINCE OF EXPERIMENTERS

By D. ANJANEYULU

It was on a winter's day in the first year of this century that an Indian scientist in his early forties, handsome and whiskered, stood before an international gathering of physicists at the Paris Exhibition to explain his observations on the response of living and non-living matter to an admiring, if incredulous, audience. The Secretary of the Congress himself confessed to a feeling of being stunned at the amazing conclusion that muscles of human beings and animals and the living tissues of plants as well as inorganic substances like metals responded to external stimuli, mechanical, electric or radiant, in a remarkably similar manner. His fellow scientists soon got over their initial scepticism and hailed him as a Revealer from the East.

An Indian monk of great insight and eloquence, who had already won fame in the western world, was witness to this inspiring scene and he did not hide his reactions to the thrilling experience. He wrote in a letter to a friend: "Here in Paris have assembled the great of every land, each to proclaim the glory of his country.... Among these peerless men gathered from all parts of the world, where is thy representative, O, thou country of my birth? Out of this vast assembly a young man stood for thee, one of thy heroic sons, whose words have electrified the audience and will thrill all his countrymen. Blessed be this heroic son;...."

The scientist referred to is Jagadis Chunder Bose, then Professor of physical sciences at the Presidency College, Calcutta, and the admiring monk is Swami Vivekananda, who had himself in a similar way, taken by storm the World Parliament of Religions a few years earlier.

Bose followed up his impressive success at Paris with a series of lectures in London and other

university centres in U.K., where he stayed for some months. He gave an illustrated discourse at the hall of the Royal Institution early in 1901 and his demonstrations evoked keen interest in scientific circles. The unexpected revelations were widely appreciated by scholars including Sir Michael Foster, the veteran physiologist of Cambridge and his own old professor Lord Rayleigh.

By his daring originality and untiring quest for the hidden truth, Bose placed his country on the world's scientific map, as the tributes from the contemporary British Press—no great respecter of Indian talent or sentiment—go to show. The Indian mind was till then associated, in the eyes of the West, with metaphysical speculation and logic-chopping and word-quibbling, not to speak of the unbridled flights of poetic fancy. The European intellectual would not, therefore have been surprised at a masterpiece of philosophy or literature emanating from the mysterious Ind. But here was a hardy musketeer knocking at the gates of modern science and the 'open sesame' seemed to work with an uncanny effect. He was hailed as a messenger of the mind who combined the mysticism of Indian philosophy with the experimental methods of Western science. His discoveries were marked by a rare capacity for systematic enquiry, patient experiment and accurate observation. And all this with a regard for truth that was not hidebound by scientific dogma or outmoded social convention.

His demonstration on 'Plant Response' touched new heights of originality. With the aid of magnetic crescograph, devised by himself, which could record one-millionth to ten-millionth of a minute, he demonstrated the physiological behaviour of plants under the impact of light, heat, electric waves, poison and air. The response was found not far

different from those of human beings and animal tissues. Bose's celebrated work in plant physiology was so much ahead of his times that the full implications of the conclusions arrived at by him were not realised by contemporary scientists. He did not recognise the division of knowledge into water-tight compartments, though it could be classified for the student's convenience.

In his laboratory Bose not only dealt with the physics of physiology but the physiology of physics. The lines of physics, physiology, and psychology tended to converge and meet in his pursuit of science. Science itself, according to him, was but an aspect of man's endeavour, along with poetry and philosophy, to pierce the veil of nature and unfold the mystery of creation.

It would require a poetic sensibility on the part of the scientist to set out on a study of the sleeping and resting habits and the irritability of plants. The 'praying palm' of Faridpur, always in a reclining position, but bending further down in the evenings, kindled his curiosity and he did not rest until he found a scientific explanation to it. He agreed that the poets forestalled the scientists but the blooming of the water lily at night and its contraction by the day was not because of the attachment to the moon but an effect of change in temperature from day to night.

With the savings of his lifetime Bose founded an institute after his name in Calcutta and dedicated it to the nation on his birthday in 1917. In this temple of knowledge meet the muses of science and art. The laboratory opens out into the garden of date palms, creepers and tendrils which 'spoke' to the founder at night. His was no one-track mind. He loved Bengali literature only next to plant physiology and was a constant source of encouragement to Tagore. He was a prince of experimenters. Like most men of genius, he was born before his time and there is enough in his researches for succeeding generations to contemplate and work upon.

## TRADE UNIONS IN INDIA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When Labour took a place in Parliament in England it grew into a Socialist party. Political forces have since then converted the Tories to the same view-point as that of the Socialists. The Full-employment Welfare State that Socialists aimed at has been practically achieved. The problem for the Labour party now is to find a programme that will restore labour's dynamic. They cannot fight for what has been already achieved. It is a serious problem to hold together a party when its work is over.

In India, the trade unions have not become a Socialist party. They fight for themselves. They are still organizations fighting for bettering the earnings of the factory workers and improving their conditions. The Congress party (and it is the Government) has adopted the Socialist pattern of society as its goal and as a result there is no room for trade unions to father such an ideal even if they had been inclined.

The aim of full employment and general welfare is indeed in conflict with the demands of labour in India. This conflict narrows the prospects in two directions. The demands of labour in India serve to hamper building up of fresh capital and prevents expansion and thereby reduces the scope for relief of unemployment. Labour unions do not allow free competition in the field of labour, aiming at higher earnings for a limited number of people and shutting out others who are willing to give their labour for a lesser price.

A free market for labour will of course reduce the standard of wages, but it will result in expansion of industry and rise in the employment curve. It cannot be the proper aim of a Socialist government to keep up high wages at the cost of expansion, when there is such a vast amount of ground to be covered by way of finding work and adequate wages for the unemployed.

Nationalisation of industries which is the natural programme of any Socialist policy, will also conflict with trade unionist aims. The unlimited claim to carry on a bargaining struggle with the employer through a strike cannot for long be tolerated when the State owns and manages the industry or enterprise in question. Custom and privileges may continue for a time but the inherent contradiction must one day be realised and employees in a nationalised industry or business cannot but be treated as government servants or soldiers in the army. Decisions must be accepted when once arrived at fairly and who is to judge this but the Government?

Trade unions will of course continue and they have plenty of work to do. Over and above the sovereign function of maintaining and improving levels of skill and the quality of production and constructive co-operation with the managements in all these efforts, there is the regular function of representation, discussion and conference with the managements in fixing conditions of work and remuneration. We have now all the laws necessary to have grievances looked into by independent tribunals. That the unions cannot strike or disregard final decisions of Government in nationalised or semi-nationalised enterprises does not mean that trade unions have no duty or scope in helping to shape those decisions before being finalised. The psychology of struggle which acted as a dynamic hitherto is not available under a Socialist government. It should be realised that the Government has robbed labour of its struggle-dynamic, and attention should be paid to the quieter and no less productive functions that are still open to trade unions. We cannot keep a war going when the enemy has surrendered.

## CHALLENGE OF OUR CONSTITUTION

The Indian Constitution rests on the four pillars of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. It defines the basic ideologies of democracy and federalism and socialism and nationalism, not merely in the abstract but by indicating the trends to make them live factors in the nation's life of progress.

The most vital question of the hour is: Has this challenge of the Indian Constitution been met by the Government at the Centre and in the States and by the public? Democracy can thrive well only if there are two main parties based on economic ideologies. The existence of many parties with personal affiliations is a menace to real democracy. Without a strong opposition which will be ready to take over the government at the call of the electorate, democracy will be at sea. Democracy grows by conventions and compromises and should have strong elements of stability and flexibility and certainty. These elements are wanting in India today.

The elements of nationalism are equally important. We must not allow the States to do anything to endanger national unity as a whole. All tendencies in the direction of disunity and disruption should be stamped out. In a federal State we must not endanger its strength by local autonomy or *vice versa*. Especially in India which is now newly experimenting with federalism and which has not till now had an all-India integral political unity, all tendencies to weaken the Centre in the interests of supposed State autonomy should be discouraged. But this is not the picture that we see.

The most important of all aspects is Socialism. It is all very well to advertise the Socialistic pattern of society. But the endeavour should be in the direction of evolutionary constructive Socialism and not of revolutionary destructive Socialism.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI



## Sotto Voce

### Of trucks and tractors

Not the least remarkable thing about the recent controversy regarding certain deals entered into by the Defence Ministry with foreign firms is the defence in depth put up vicariously for the Ministry by "special correspondents" of various descriptions at the headquarters of the Government of India. They anticipated questions in the Lok Sabha with impressive inside knowledge. They were liberal with bland assurances to disarm suspicion which Government spokesmen themselves seemed to be chary of giving. After the questions had been asked and answered not very convincingly, they declared that it was right that the army should not be dependent on the caprice of a few manufacturers. In any case the decision was not merely that of the Defence Minister; it had been okayed by the Prime Minister. So let no dog bark!

Even Mr. Patnaik, the unofficial expert on Defence in Parliament, professed himself fairly satisfied with these deals which, it is claimed, will enable the Ordnance Laboratories to make full use of their resources in technical personnel and equipment and supply the bulk of the vehicles needed by the Army at the price of a trifling addition to capital costs. The Communists are delighted that the Defence Minister should have dished the private sector. They have pointed out that it is only natural that the Indian automobile concerns should squeal at the prospect of having to forgo a big chunk of profits. But neither the paladins of the Press Gallery nor the outriders of the socialistic revolution have cared to take notice of certain inconvenient facts put forward by Mr. J. R. D.

Tata and the Premier Automobiles.

Mr. Tata said that the Government of India's sudden concern for economy did not square with their practice in buying petrol trucks in recent years in preference to diesel trucks and at substantially higher prices, though petrol trucks are always cheaper than diesel trucks. "These purchases at higher prices have never been explained up to now", he acidly commented. He went on to explain, that his own firm had had to ask for higher prices for a second supply of diesel trucks because on the first they had made a loss. He added that, owing to the smaller rate of output in India at the present stage of development, prices were inevitably higher than under conditions of mass production. By the same token the Defence Ministry's plan of producing only 2,000 trucks a year could not be economical, he concluded.

Mr. Lalchand Hirachand of Premier Automobiles has pointed out that if his firm had not been able in eight years to make more than thirty per cent of the trucks required, this slow progress was due to the delays that occurred in getting import licences for capital goods from the Government. But granting for argument's sake that the private firms in this industry have been unenterprising and greedy for profit, one would hardly think of the Defence Department as the Heaven-sent agency for correcting these abuses. It is true that the Ordnance Laboratories have very good equipment. It may be that they have high-class technical personnel also. But Ordnance Laboratories exist mainly for other purposes. If their programme of en-

listing foreign aid should be interrupted by a major war (which Heaven forbid!) and in the meanwhile the Indian firms in this industry should have suffered a set-back because of the Government's policy, will not the country be put to serious risks?

Our Government, which is so suspicious of the *bona fides* of our own industrialists, displays a touching faith in the promises of foreign firms. Thus one firm with which the Defence Ministry has concluded a contract has a very small capital (one thinks of those phantom jeeps that were to be produced with a capital of £ 100) and has been involved in a charge of income-tax evasion. But the P.M. thinks he has disposed this objection with the bland remark that that is not a weakness of foreign industrialists alone. A contract concluded with another firm was put through before its ability to supply as per specification had been verified. Do you know why? The only other firm that had tendered had backed out because it was unwilling to deal with the Government. And the Government were afraid that the other firm might do the same if they were not quick enough to pin it down.

We are told that it is very necessary to keep the private sector on its toes by the public sector entering into limited competition with it. Competition would be undoubtedly healthy if it was fair. But the Government as dispenser of licenses keeps a stranglehold on the supply of imported raw material and capital equipment. It freely enters into contracts of collaboration with foreign firms paying any royalty demanded. But it impedes similar proposals for collaboration put forward by the private sector. And the Defence Department has rarely acted as if it were aware that there was such a thing as cost accounting. Let us remember, too, that if heavy industries are an integral part of national defence it does not mean that they should be incorporated into the Defence system as the lamb was in the wolf.

VIGNESWARA



**SANKAR BRAND**

**PORTLAND CEMENT**

**FOR SOUNDNESS STRENGTH STABILITY**

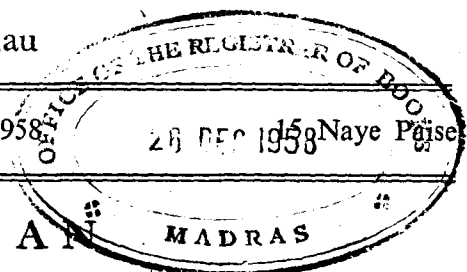
**THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.**  
FACTORY SANKARNAGAR, TIRUPUR, MADRAS

# SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. III. No. 24

MADRAS, DECEMBER 20, 1958



## THE THIRD PLAN

The programme of the Congress for the Third Plan has to be critically examined. It is stated to be part of the programme that public enterprises and State trading shall be run to yield additional resources for public purposes. This is a new and dangerous form of taxation. It lifts the general price level.

It is stated again that imports should be controlled and import duties raised and pressure on foreign exchange reduced. It is one thing to prevent imports to protect and promote local industry, but another to starve the public because of late-yielding capital imports in the public sector. The result is one more spiral in inflation by the creation of an extensive black market in medicines, pens, watches, small machines and a host of other things.

The third matter is expansion of Life Assurance. We have just been told that the business of the LIC has fallen by one hundred crores. The concerned minister has said that it was due to fall in agricultural prosperity and a setback in general economic conditions. This is lame and unconvincing. The fact is that the insurable margin has been swallowed up by higher prices. Also the staff have lost all incentive. The monolithic corporation has become a giant investment house for serving a political purpose. The drives for more business are drawing into its ring hundreds of uninsurable men and women who would be refused or charged very

high premium rates if companies had to deal with them in the normal way. It is a poor prospect that lies in front of the LIC.

The cliché about the priority for the essential needs of the people will not carry us very far. The manufacture of consumption goods is a necessary economic antidote to the heavy and long-term investment of capital in irrigation and steel and such like enterprises. The pattern of production should harmonise the two to avoid interim inflation.

The Congress resolution says that wages and salaries should depend on the work done and on production and should be related to the conditions existing in India. We are told that profits in the private sector should be similarly 'controlled'. The profits of the private sector are not uniform. In the same industry, an efficient unit makes more profit. Individual savings are canalised into banks, loans and private investment. The State levies taxes on goods and income produced out of such investment. If profits are reduced in the private sector, then one part of the sum available for investment will be lost. The amount realised as tax before the declaration of profits cannot be the major income of the State in a capital-heavy economy. The sum left over after taxes is the true measure of the investment potential. The Government should not initiate a policy which provides only for current taxes and loses sight of the loan and investment potential of the economy.

One may agree to the principle of price-wage harmony, but which comes first? If we base the price on a certain wage, arrived at by theoretical standards of a minimum living scale, which is what the tribunals are doing, then all that we shall succeed in doing is to perpetuate the disparity between the small sector of industrial labour and the large sector of rural labour, push up industrial cost and inhibit purchases of the products of industry.

It is strange that the most vital part of the entire plan, namely, the utilisation of the surplus manpower, has been relegated to the status of a codicil. The basic point of Socialistic planning is the creation of full employment. Employment is a function of production. Production is a function of saving and investment. The Government have seen to it that there will be no rural savings at all in the future. On the contrary, the small farms that will become the pattern of the future will be ever loan-hungry. We thus revert to the old question of the creation of conditions that will induce savings. Unless the Government are able to sustain the climate that will encourage the springs of individual saving, one may legitimately apprehend that all else will lead to a stitch in one place and a tear in another. What is required is an increased volume of total investment and not the transfer of an existing surplus from one channel into another.

## SHODDY IMITATIONS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The judgment of the Supreme Court (in the Patna *Searchlight* case) that the publication of an expunged passage in the proceedings of an Indian legislature constitutes a breach of privilege has certain anomalous and lamentable aspects, and there is more liberalism in the attitude of the dissenting judge as against the views of the other three judges. The majority base their opinion on British analogy according to which the functions of Parliament are *ab initio* privileged and that the production of *Hansard* is a matter under connivance.

The British people (who have no Constitution) revel in a lot of archaic fictions pertaining to the fight of fiefs against the Sovereign from the days of Runnymede where incidentally King John's barons espoused the popular demand for restricting the rights of royalty. As the power of Westminster developed, albeit through the phase known as the "divine right of kings", a lot of

parliamentary conventions emerged, and the secrecy of parliamentary confabulations against the interference of kings with their standing army became as sacred as the Bill of Rights or the outcome of Hampden's defiance or the lesson behind the trial of the Seven Bishops.

India has a Constitution given by "the people of India unto themselves". I think that all the serene comicalities need not be grafted into our parliamentary practice. Even as late as December 1958 the cry "Mr. Speaker, I spy strangers" was heard in the Commons. The gallery was cleared, but what was the *raison d'être* of it all? A recollection of the days when King Charles forced his way into the chamber. They couldn't bear spies, let alone secret conspirators like Guy Fawkes. To copy such a *tamasha* in the Lok Sabha and deprive M.P.'s of press-publicity by chasing out special correspondents would be an outrage, I say.

When a passage is expunged from proceedings in print, the logical question arises as to what was the stuff blacked out. In *Hansard* recording, the practice is to reproduce the offending passage in an indent form (small type to indicate penitence and humiliation); and then to run a diagonal line in order to establish cancellation of the passage reprobated under Privilege verdict. I regard it as logical, though British M.P.'s as a rule endure hard words without pathetic squeals that hurtful criticisms should be blotted out. They are not bothered about the danger of history being misunderstood by posterity. We are more solemn and sensitive.

At the opening of Parliament, Black Rod (a functionary of some *apartheid* specification) has to tap the door for ensuring popular consent lest the Sovereign burst into the House; and there are similar rituals of traditional

mumbo-jumbo in the British Parliament. "Who goes home?" cries a commissar as the House breaks up, reminiscent of the age when Hampstead Heath was infested with robbers and security lay in numbers.

They like this kind of thing, but in reality the concept of reserve against intrusive agencies of publicity does not deserve to be slavishly copied in India. The last occasion when Her Majesty opened Parliament, delivering her speech from the throne, the whole ceremony was televised. All heard and all saw. Where then lies the validity of hoary observances and shoddy imitations?

## In a Welfare State

"A Welfare State necessarily must be a powerful State, armed with all the functions that contribute to the Welfare State. It must be in a position to impose controls and it cannot help encroaching upon and infringing human freedom and we cannot deny to that Welfare State the power that it needs. To reconcile the liberty of the individual with a powerful State that is growing in our country, our Constitution guarantees certain fundamental rights. In guaranteeing those rights, the Constitution respects the sanctity, dignity and the worthwhileness of the individual. It proclaims to the world that in a democratic State what matters is the liberty of the individual; but at the same time it permits the legislature to impose reasonable restrictions on that liberty. When we are on the march and when we are working for a Welfare State, a legislature may overstep the limits and boundaries of proper legislation and very wisely our Constitution-makers left it to the courts to decide on the reasonableness of the restrictions. Once the reasonableness of the restriction was made justiciable, the liberty of the individual was won. It is no longer in the heat and dust of political battle but in the detachment and aloofness which one expects from the courts that this question has to be decided and that is the greatest contribution that our Constitution has made to the solution of this difficult problem."

M. C. CHAGLA

## CAPITAL COMMENTS

## TAMPERING WITH THE MAP OF INDIA

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is a grim irony — and a cruel jest — that while our great Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has, as the delicious phrase goes, put India on the map, the very map of Nehru's India should seem to vary from country to country or from one set of countries to another. It may appear to be an astounding statement but it is a stark fact or an ugly reality. In this respect China is an old offender, and we have heard quite a good deal of Chinese maps appropriating (which is to say, misappropriating) Indian territory over the years. And we have heard the explanation, or the excuse, that it was all the fault of the defunct K.M.T. Recently we were told by Government on the floor of Parliament that the Chinese promised to negotiate in regard to the boundary issue, once they had the opportunity to complete their survey. Meanwhile Chinese maps with erroneous boundaries continue to be printed and put in circulation. It is also clear, as demonstrated conclusively by a recent Delhi publication, that the Soviet Atlas has appropriated for the Chinese nearly all of N.E.F.A. and a large slice of Ladakh. Nor is it the end of the story. More things are coming to light. It happened to JUNIUS to see certain other maps — Czech, Hungarian and Rumanian ones — dated variously between 1953 and 1956, which follow precisely the same technique and the same pattern. Is it a case of the chicks following the hen vulture? This cannot be treated as an innocuous pastime: it is little short of a mischievous game. It is normally difficult for any self-respecting country to restrain itself when there is such daylight piracy. Yet we are perilously near being supine. The Government of India must take serious notice of, or strong exception to, official offending maps wherever they emanate from —

and make the welkin ring. No power has any excuse to dispose of Indian territory just as it pleases. Let it not be said that while the people and Government of India alike would not — and very rightly too — encourage Pakistan to claim one inch of her ground, they would rather not bother much if bigger powers like Soviet Russia and China, or even the smaller ones inside their bloc, appropriated thousands of square miles of her territory, by 'mapping' out things according to ideological exigencies. It is unthinkable that there should be anything mercurial about our moral indignation, whether it is this or that power that does the offending.

The last of the year's sessions of Parliament ends as tamely as it began. Its echoes die down, instantaneously. It is of little avail to look for any new Parlia-

mentary reputations when the plethora of opportunities is but answered by paucity of outstanding talent. Are the younger M.P.'s wanting in zeal or encouragement to command attention? Perhaps they are in no hurry — or they do not just worry. It is the duty of leaders to discover talent and foster it but they are as indifferent. While thus no new stars rose on the firmament, in the ministerial horizon there was a fear of light failing rather rapidly. At least two senior Ministers seemed to slip down from their pedestals — Mr. Krishna Menon by what was said about his Ministry's deals and Mr. Morarji Desai by his failure to impress the public outside when he exercised the old Viceregal privilege of addressing the Federated Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta. Though a *persona grata* with Big Business, he could hardly evoke the applause of businessmen. Neither hopes were raised nor fears allayed. Exhortations for support to any big plan or cause can hardly be sustained by bland assertions. As Finance Minister he seems to be more filling a gap than a place. Mr. Krishna Menon is luckier; he has

For Writing Comfort



FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES  
Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi  
MNC/ISO/A

First to  
fight colds  
since 1893

Three generations of  
users have proved that  
Amrutanjan brings  
quick, comforting  
relief from colds.



AMRUTANJAN LTD.,  
Madras-4.  
Also at Bombay-1,  
and Calcutta-7.

AL 57-2 A

the Prime Minister on his side, ever ready to take up cudgels on his behalf, when pursued by his critics of whatever party. That Mr. Nehru should have more than once rushed to his rescue, has nearly spoiled the effect of his intervention. When the Prime Minister says it once, it should suffice. But an all too readiness to repeat the performance is apt to produce a wrong impression, if not a contrary effect. Some are inclined to put upon Mr. Nehru's persistent defence of Mr. Krishna Menon, the construction that Mr. Nehru is really torn between loyalty to a colleague and concern for the Ministry's good name.

It was an unexpected feminine shaft that seemed to bring the roof down on the devoted heads of the M.P.'s. It had nothing to do with their role in either House, but it had very much to do with their lot in the houses allotted to them for their residence. Are the honourable members given to sub-letting their premises? An intriguing question — and, between you and me, a very, very, belated one. There was a shrugging of shoulders (many a one searching his own like the proverbial pincher of pumpkins) and a knitting of eye-brows. There

### NEW BOOKS

|                                                                                                                                | Rs. nP. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| <i>Orpheus Descending</i> : A new play by Tennessee Williams.                                                                  | 10 13   |
| <i>So Great Mystery</i> by Kenneth Walker                                                                                      | 14 62   |
| <i>The Pick of Punch</i> —An annual selection—edited by Nicholas Bentley                                                       | 12 19   |
| <i>Max's Nineties</i> — Drawings 1892-1899 by Max Beer-bohm                                                                    | 24 37   |
| <i>This is My Philosophy</i> — Twenty of the world's outstanding thinkers reveal their deepest meanings—edited by Whit Burnett | 20 31   |
| <i>Mount Olive</i> : A novel by Lawrence Durrell                                                                               | 13 00   |
| <i>Ramayana</i> in English prose by Shudha Mazumdar                                                                            | 10 00   |
| <i>Matter, Mind and Man</i> by Edmund W. Sinnott                                                                               | 14 62   |

K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4



## THE SAGE UNDERSTOOD

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by  
MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

A young man, belonging to the Bharadwaja clan, was doing penance. He aspired to write a unique Upanishad, just like the sages of yore. Not knowing how to set about it he performed *tapas* (austere penance) concentrating upon Brahma, the Four-Faced Creator.

"Son! What dost thou want?" asked Brahma.

"I desire to compose an original Upanishad. What should I do therefor? Kindly instruct me," said the youthful ascetic.

Said Brahma, "Study the ancient Upanishads well."

"If I read the old texts, nothing new will occur to me. My mind will be absorbed in them. There will be no room for new ideas. I shall then be merely repeating what the sages have said before. There will be nothing novel. My desire will remain unfulfilled," replied the aspirant.

Said Brahma, "You have spoken truly. There is no need to read the Upanishads. Lead the life of a house-holder for some time. Then new ideas will dawn on you."

"I have renounced the world. How can I live the life of a house-holder? If I enter into it, it will wholly capture my mind. I cannot then compose a new Upanishad full of true knowledge; and that is what I crave for?" he replied.

Lord Brahma smiled, his four-faces beaming. "Son," He counselled, "you cannot write an Upanishad. Give up this vain ambition. Do not allow your mind to wander."

The young sage was not satisfied. Brahma disappeared.

A hunter appeared before him and said, "I am weary and thirsty. Give me water to drink." The sage went in and looked into his *Kamandalam* (Water-jug). There was no water in it. "Wait," he said, "I shall repair to the pond and fetch water."

"I do not want water from the tank," rejoined the hunter. "It will not quench my thirst."

Said the ascetic, "If that be so, you wait here. There is a river nearby. I shall fetch water from there."

"No," repeated the hunter, "You may go to the river but you may not return. Wolves and tigers that kill and devour men lurk there."

The hunter disappeared. The sage did not follow the import of the hunter's words. He was plunged in thought.

"This was no hunter. It was the Four-Faced God who acted this part for my benefit. He refused to drink the water from the tank just as I refused to study the old Upanishads."

I also rejected worldly life. Life is a running stream. Transient objects come and go; and life flows on like a brook. I refused to drink of its waters of wisdom.

"My own jug was waterless. One cannot get water without resorting to a tank or a stream. Now, I understand," said the aspiring ascetic to himself.

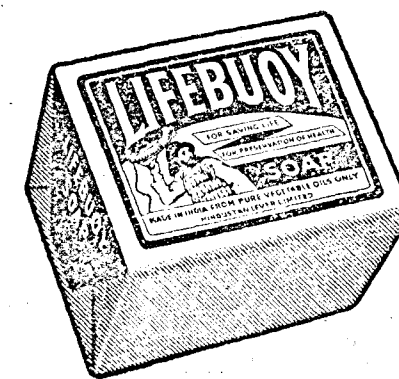
"I am pleased," said Brahma, reappearing before him.

was not, however, much shaking of fists as each felt consoled by companionship in the doubtful practice. For a long time they got away with it as nobody was willing to raise the question out of a sense of delicacy. Once before, during the first year in Parliament, the matter was just talked

over. But now, the probe having begun, there is real fun. If indeed, a commission of inquiry had been set up, the country would have got one of the most interesting documents on record, with unheard of revelations. At the Capital, however, they are an open book to those who go round

the M.P.'s avenues. JUNIUS' comment is extremely simple: 'In the matter of quarters, M.P.'s — in general — deserve no quarter.' Incidentally, Ministers who have been rather badly heckled on the floor of Parliament by members are said to be having the last laugh.

## Invisible guests in my home?



A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LIMITED

Yes, indeed! Invisible 'guests' that arrive uninvited—to cause disease. Look here... my friends are neither invisible nor the cause... It's not friends we mean. It's enemies: the germs in dirt! But my home is as clean as a new pin! Ah! Even here there's ordinary everyday dirt. Perhaps you can't see it—but you can't avoid picking it up! Heavens! Never saw it that way! What can I do about it? Simple! Just bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...

wash away the germs in dirt with

**LIFEBUOY SOAP**

— and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!

L 277-X33



## NEHRU, PAKISTAN AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY

By BAROO

Pandit Nehru is mistaken if he thinks that it will be possible to safeguard the future of democracy in this country merely by making speeches criticising the establishment of military dictatorship in Pakistan. Democracy disappeared from Pakistan because it had fallen into popular contempt. It is likely to disappear from India for the same reason.

The lack of popular enthusiasm over the kind of democracy we have experienced so far is not difficult to understand. Let us not talk of the Centre, which can not only still boast of a modicum of talent and integrity, but is also remote from the life of the people. It is in the States that the rot is most readily discernible. State Government have been captured, by and large, by unscrupulous men who know little beyond how to keep the "High Command" happy and to subvert the party machinery to their own ends. These men have reduced government to a joke and administration to a farce. Corruption and inefficiency flourish under their auspices. The man in the street is sick of these governments and of the system which make them possible.

This is the reason why the average Indian got such a kick out of the way in which Pakistani politicians got booted out of office. He read Mirza's indictment of these gentlemen with

deep, though vicarious satisfaction; so completely did the description fit some of our own more successful types. Even today there is a great deal of secret envy in this country of Pakistan's good fortune in having got rid of the men who ran it in the name of democracy.

If this country is to be made safe for democracy, something must be done to restore the people's faith in it. This can be done not by making speeches, but by improving the quality of the service it renders to the people. This, in turn, can only be achieved by weeding out from the ranks of the principal political party all the predatory and self-seeking elements which have got into it, and are in fact controlling it. This is where Nehru comes in.

Nehru can even today carry out a long-needed purge in the Congress so that honest and idealistic men and women may once again be attracted to public life. The whole nation will support him in this task. It will support him for the same reason for which it idolizes him. The Indian people have great respect for the qualities of honesty, selflessness and sacrifice which the Prime Minister embodies in his person. Nehru is loved for what he is, and not because he is the leader of a corrupt organization. It is he who gives strength to the Congress and not the other way round. He is therefore most favourably placed for improving the tone of our political life before it is too late to do so. The future of democracy, to which Nehru is so deeply wedded, depends upon whether he will rise to the occasion and act in time.

Many are interested in preventing the Prime Minister from acting, as distinguished from merely speechifying. A theory has been propounded, and accepted in high quarters, that the failure of our democracy is due to the inherent weaknesses of our character as a

people. It has been stated that we are a weak, cowardly and dishonest people and that this is the reason why our governments are corrupt and inefficient. Nothing could be farther from the truth. If our people were really as low-down as they are sought to be described, they would not have hero-worshipped a Gandhi and a Nehru. In fact, so loyal are our people to the ideal of purity in public and private life that they are continuing to follow Nehru even though they have begun to realise that he is surrounded by men of less than dubious worth.

These slanders are meant to camouflage the activities of our politicians, and to make them appear a necessary and natural part of the national scene. This is a nice way indeed of lulling the spirit of criticism and inculcating defeatism among the people, who might otherwise more easily discover that they are being looted in broad daylight. But even if it is accepted for a moment that we Indians are morally decadent and not deserving of anything better than what we are getting at the hands of our politicians, what is the way to an improvement of our standards? No proper answer has yet been given to this question by the men in power. All they can offer is a sermon about upliftment taking place in its own good time through the efforts of as innocuous Vinoba Bhave here and an untroublesome Sadhu Samaj there! Nothing, mind you, that might hurt anybody or disturb the idyllic peace of the Congress Party.

There are other ways also of diverting the people's attention from the main task which faces us today. A false sense of well-being is sought to be created by telling *ad nauseam* that we are now the only important democracy this side of Suez. This is a great distinction indeed, and how could we have deserved it if there had been anything wrong with the way in which we are being governed? No sir, we are running this country beautifully. We have a first-class Constitution, we have held fair elections, and our

Ministers, except in one small benighted State, are all true representatives of the people. Who said there was any danger to democracy in this country except of course in the said small State?

In the said small State, of course, everything is going wrong. The Constitution has been sub-

verted, law and order have disappeared, and the processes of democracy reduced to a mockery. All that is therefore necessary to ensure the safety of a wonderfully democratic way of life in the country is for Pandit Nehru to keep on drawing attention to the rape of democracy in Pakistan

and for Dhebar to keep on lamenting its perversion in Kerala. There is no need to turn the gaze inward, to face unpleasant realities and do something solid before the sands run out.

Let us all hope that the deluge, when it comes, will be after Nehru, and not in his own time.

## A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER



**LITTLE BOY: LARGE SHIRT!** Little Vijay has got into mischief again—and into Daddy's shirt this time. What a clean shirt it is...sparkling, like all Mummy's SUNLIGHT washing!

Look again at that pile of clothes, sheets and towels! A lot of washing? Yes, but it's done with such a *little* SUNLIGHT. That creamy, extra lather washes so much, and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Make SUNLIGHT *your* soap for the washing!

**SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT**

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:

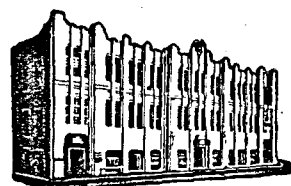
Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business  
transacted efficiently and  
quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits  
which may be ascertained on  
application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole  
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,  
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND  
SINGAPORE.

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |                |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000    |
| Issued and Subscribed Capital                   | " 72,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | " 66,19,625    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | " 91,61,883    |
| Deposits as on 30-6-'58                         | " 38,00,96,415 |
| Total Working Funds                             | " 46,05,11,811 |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTED.

London Agents:

WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents:

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

### BOOK REVIEW

## " DOCTOR ZHIVAGO "

This novel, which the heavy-handedness of the Communist leaders of Russia has almost made an international political issue, is as important in the intellectual battle against Marxism and its leaders as "Darkness At Noon" or "The God That Failed" or "Nineteen Eighty-Four". It may be true that M. Pasternak did not intend it to be a political polemic; it is quite likely that, in what was believed to be halcyon days for things of the mind when Stalinist tyranny had ended, he thought it necessary to delineate as clearly and as faithfully as he could the evil that had been perpetrated by the late dictator and that, thereby, he did not at all intend to fight against his own country. But, in effect, it is obvious from the panic into which the Communist leaders have been thrown that the book is nothing less than an indictment of the basic principles on which the Soviet Union is based. Towards the end of this momentous novel, M. Pasternak writes almost wistfully, "Although the enlightenment and liberation which had been expected to come after the war (against the Axis) had not come with victory, a presage of freedom was in the air throughout these post-war years, and it was their only historical meaning." This "presage of freedom" has, as we know, proved illusory, but it leaves a monument in "Doctor Zhivago" as the record of what a distinguished Russian thought of his masters when he believed that he was free to express himself. This fact is the measure of the indignation felt in the Kremlin and in the Writers' Union against M. Pasternak. He has dared to express with genius the case against Russian Communism with this advantage that he himself is a Russian. No Russian living in the Soviet

*Doctor Zhivago*. By Boris Pasternak. Translated from the Russian by Max Hayward and Manya Harari. Collins and Harvill Press, London. 21 sh.

Union has hitherto been able to write frankly of what he feels about his masters.

It is first necessary to evaluate the book as a piece of literature. It has been compared with "War and Peace", and the honour is by no means undeserved. Its sweep is spacious, its quality is epic. All Russia, from Moscow to the Far East, looks on as a spectator, sometimes an actor also. This is particularly evident in the use that M. Pasternak makes of the seasons to lend strength to his portraits. The fierce winter of Siberia is here, and so vividly is it portrayed that a sensitive reader may well feel that a snowstorm is sweeping across the pages. On the other hand, there is also the smiling spring, full of flowers and laughter. It comes as no surprise to be told that M. Pasternak is a great poet also. Even through the medium of translation, his perceptive awareness of the beauty that lies in nature and sometimes also in human character is obvious. Whatever the Kremlin or the Writers' Union may fulminate, there is little doubt that "Doctor Zhivago" is a great work of literary art.

Its political significance is evident in every page. The frankness with which M. Pasternak speaks out is outstanding even when it is remembered that he thought that he was writing at a time when there was a "presage of freedom". Only quotations can make this clear. Though in fairness, some allowance should be made for the dramatic nature of many of these passages, there can be little doubt that M. Pasternak detests Communism and its leaders. There is a remark by Doctor Zhivago himself which, because it is placed in the mouth of the chief character, is worthy of especial note. He is ridiculing the notion that Marxism is a science. "Marxism is not sufficiently master of itself to be a science. Science is more balanced. You talk about Marxism and objectivity. I don't know of any

teaching more self-centred and further from the facts than Marxism." Elsewhere he says, "The idea of special betterment as it is understood since the October Revolution doesn't fill me with enthusiasm. It is so far from being put into practice, and the mere talk about it has cost such a sea of blood, that I am not at all sure if the end justifies the means." There is the description of the N.E.P. as "the most false and ambiguous of all Soviet periods". There is the withering blast against collectivisation, "I think that collectivisation was both a mistake and a failure, and because that couldn't be admitted, every means of intimidation had to be used to make people forget how to think and judge for themselves, to force them to see what wasn't there, and to maintain the contrary of what their eyes told them."

So much for the essential theories and practices of Russian Communism. M. Pasternak has no better opinion of the leaders themselves. Two quotations will suffice. Dr. Zhivago tells Lara Antipov, the other principal character, "Those who inspired the revolution aren't at home in anything except change and turmoil. . . . They haven't any real capacities, they are ungifted." Even more biting is this vignette of some 'veterans' of the revolution of 1905: "Numbered among the gods at whose feet the revolution had laid its gifts and its burnt offerings, they sat silent and grim; they were men in whom everything alive and human had been driven out by political conceit."

All this is a weighty criticism at least of Communist society in Russia many years ago. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it is delivered in no hysterical or demented language, but almost as an after-thought, as a reverie. As I have already said, the fact that the quotations I have made are expressions of the views of the concerned speakers and that, therefore, it may be said that they may not be those of the author himself is not really valid. It is not a question of M. Pasternak

hiding behind his characters, but rather of his speaking through them, utilising them as his mouthpieces, without sacrificing in any way the interests of the story. "Doctor Zhivago" is first a novel and only then do its political overtones become significant. But stories of Russia from the October revolution to M. Malenkov are far from uncommon; what is unusual, unique even, is the scathing criticism of the Communist society by a Russian still living in the Soviet

Union. A fair appraisal of "Doctor Zhivago" will, however, take into consideration its value both as a splendid novel and as an indictment of the Soviet system. It will be ungenerous to M. Pasternak to imitate the example of his enraged masters and consider his work solely as a political tract against the times. I found my admiration divided between its great literary value and its importance as a counterblast to Communism. N. S. RAMASWAMI.

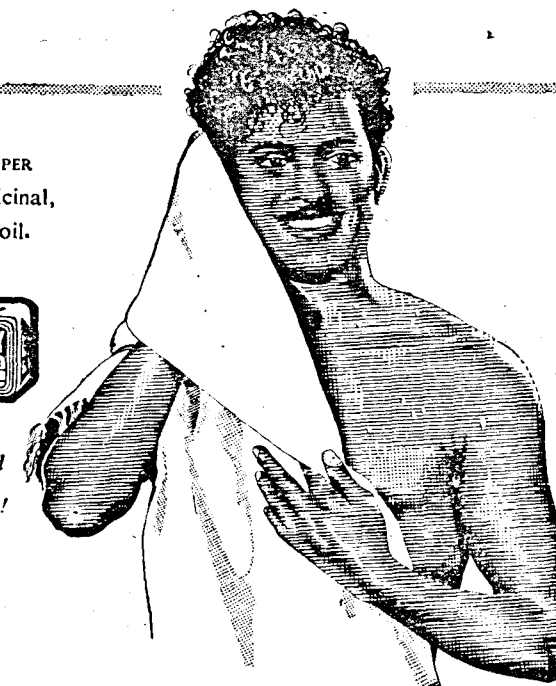
## Fresh up with Cauvery Super

Feeling hot and bothered? There's an easy way out. Have a wash, or better still, a bath with CAUVERY SUPER — you'll feel so thoroughly refreshed, so joyously clean. And you'll love its fresh, outdoor smell!

CAUVERY SUPER  
contains medicinal,  
chalmogra oil.



A handy-sized  
tablet, it's  
low-priced too!



A product of:

THE METTUR CHEMICAL & INDUSTRIAL CORPN. LIMITED  
Mettur Dam R. S. Salem Dt.  
Managing Agents: SESHASAYEE BROTHERS PRIVATE LIMITED

MC-518

## CINEMA

## NEW ATTRACTIONS THREATEN FILMS

By V. P. SATHE

**Bombay:** Last week, the producers in Bombay were busy resolving their differences and rallying round a united front under the leadership of producer-director Mehboob, the President of the Producers' Guild. And they were hoping that the raw film problem would soon be amicably settled. But for Shri Jalan of Filmistan, almost every producer responded to the telegraphic invitation to attend the producers' meeting at Mehboob Studios, Bandra, on Wednesday evening.

While the raw film crisis appeared to be subsiding, the film producers—especially those producers whose pictures have been released or are about to be released in Bombay—were worried about the counter-attractions like 'Holiday on Ice', which began on December 13. This spectacular, entertaining novel show will provide a tough competition for at least a month to the film business, as each show is expected to draw 15,000 to 20,000 people. Then here are two circuses performing daily in the city from this week. In addition, there are several counter-attractions in the form of ballets, dramas, and musical concerts.

Ten years ago in Bombay the film had no rival. The stage was then almost dead. Today there are at least three or four open air theatres and four regular theatres, with Birla Matrishri Sabhagraha, an underground air-conditioned theatre as the latest addition. And thanks to the encouragement given by the State Government by way of abolition of entertainment tax and cash awards for regional plays, the stage is very active and is becoming increasingly popular in Bombay. And now with the Ice-show and Circus, the people of Bombay have a variety of attractions to choose from for their entertainment. No wonder the

producers are worried. In fact, most of them are trying to postpone their releases till January so that their pictures do not have to face the competition of the other attractions, especially the Ice-show.

The postponement of the release is, of course, no answer to the problem. The motion picture is still the cheapest and most popular entertainment; and if the producers are sure of their product, they have nothing to fear as the record collections of 'Dilli Ka Thug' in Calcutta and Bombay bear out. At least until the television comes, the motion pictures can maintain their lead and the healthy competition of the stage can help a great deal to improve the quality of our motion pictures.

\* \* \*

At last producer-director S. D. Narang has hit the jack-pot with 'Dilli Ka Thug', a crime drama replete with popular songs and hilarious comedy.

Written, produced and directed by S. D. Narang, who was once a medical student, 'Dilli Ka Thug' seeks to expose the spurious drug racketeers who cause the death of many innocent people, who in their ignorance buy fake drugs. But it would be wrong to presume that the picture is a bitter social exposure. The picture is mainly an entertainer and the social exposure is just incidental.

The story revolves round Kishore, whose father, a newspaper editor, is killed by the racketeers for daring to expose them. Jobless, Kishore indulges in all kinds of pranks in his desire not so much to avenge his father's death as to meet Asha, a swimming champion and his childhood mate. Later another man is murdered and Amarnath alias Anantram, the ringleader of the racketeers, who hides his identity behind a mask, is out to dispose of Kishore. Kishore follows him to Bombay, gets a job in a

chemist's shop and keeps up his pursuit of Asha who eventually falls in love with him.

Gradually Kishore finds out that Amarnath, Asha's uncle, is his father's killer. But, before that, he gets himself involved in a spurious drug case—for an injection sold by him causes the death of an innocent child. But just when Anantram is escaping in a plane, Kishore catches him and is shot by Asha. The manner in which Kishore brings down the pilotless plane provides an exciting climax.

Full of incredible and sometimes absurd situations, the picture however succeeds in regaling the audience for over two hours, thanks mainly to Kishore's antics. Coming back after many months, he gets himself loose in the fashion of Bob Hope or Danny Kaye and in the process brings down the roof with laughter. The musical manner in which he fights the gangsters; the three roles—a Prince, his wife and Kishore—that he plays in one scene reveal his versatility and talent at its best. Nutan looks ravishingly beautiful and plays her role with good humour—providing a lovely romantic foil to Kishore. Among the rest only Amar as the villain leaves some impression. Smriti puts over rock-in-roll number with grace; but otherwise she has hardly anything to do. The much publicised water-ballet is colorful but not exciting; the second part of the color sequence is more appealing, thanks to the beautiful song 'Dekh Re Babu'. This and the last song 'Ye Raate, Ye Mosam' have beautiful lilt and melody. But from the popularity point of view the Westernized 'Hum To Mohobat Karega' and 'Cat Cat Cat Maane Billi' are the hit numbers and they are both cleverly picturized by Narang.

Entertaining and clever, 'Dilli Ka Thug' is expertly edited and photographed. It is a pity Narang's screenplay is not as good as his direction; otherwise the picture would have been more plausible and its laudable theme would have been more convincingly conveyed.

\* \* \*

Prabhat's trumpet blew again with the release of 'Gajgouri', a mythological picture based on a legend about Pandawas. The story and treatment and presentation provided a direct contrast to the obnoxious and crude mythologicals we have been forced to see in recent years.

Though not as human and heart-touching as 'Dyaneshwar' or 'Tukaram', Prabhat's 'Gajgouri' has a good theme stressing the importance of the mother's role in bringing up children in a proper manner. The contrast between the manner in which Kunti brings up Pandavas and blind-folded Gandhari brings up Kauravas brings home the message in a dramatic manner.

The story by G. D. Madgulkar begins when Kauravas and Pandavas were learning archery from Dronacharya. The Kauravas feel humiliated at the triumph of Arjun who was adjudged the best archer, and try to humiliate Pandavas through the erection of a mud elephant. In reply, Bhim, aided by Arjun's staircase of arrows to heaven, goes to Lord Indra and fetches Airavat to please his mother.

The story has all the ingredients of an ideal children's film and viewed in that light the picture is ideal fare for children, provided it is pruned and revised. The first half is unnecessarily slow and long and rather poorly acted and presented. It is the second half which compensates for all the earlier flaws. The sojourn of Bhim in heaven, his duel with the divine elephant and his triumphant return are beautifully picturized and convincingly presented. And it is this portion which will appeal to children as well as grown-ups.

In the second half director Raja Thakur, music director Sudhir Phadke, cinematographer E. Mohamad and juvenile artiste Vijay Dugal (who portrays Bhim) have covered themselves with glory. In the earlier portion Raja Thakur's direction is rather loose and Sudhir Phadke's music commonplace. The choice of the artistes for the role of Kauravas and Pandavas is not happy.

Among the elders Sulochana as Kunti, Ratnamala as Gandhari, Vishwas Kunte as Bhishma, Nana Palsikar as Dronacharya just pass muster. The production is lavish but technically the picture is a little erratic, especially its audio-graphy.

Strikingly different from the usual rut of mythologicals, 'Gajgouri' reveals what a mythological should be in its modest way and revives the Prabhat tradition.

With 'Gajgouri', Raja Thakur makes his debut in Hindi pictures. So far he has made only Marathi pictures. One of them 'Mi Tulas Tuzhya Angani' got the State award. Raja Thakur began his career as an editor and was associated with Raja Paranjpe, G. D. Madgulkar and G. R. Kamat. He has also started writing for Hindi pictures and is the author of the screenplay of 'Kala Pani'.

Raja Thakur made his debut as director and producer with 'Bol-vita Dhani', a comedy starring Raja Gosavi and Raja Paranjpe. Since then he has made five pictures; he got the chance to make Prabhat's first picture since its revival. And as critics have found it, he has done a fairly good job and given us a truly good children's film. But thanks to the permit system, he will have again to confine himself to Marathi films—for he has been given a permit only to make a Marathi picture.

\* \* \*

The man of the week is not any filmstar but a veteran producer-director who speaks the least but impresses most. Without any canvassing, he has become the leader of film producers. His name is Mehboob, the producer of that colossal hit, "Mother India".

Mehboob is not a very educated man or an intellectual. He has risen from the ranks. He started his career as an extra and became an ace producer and director. He has always commanded respect—for he is man of his word and has never found any excuse to wriggle out of his commitments.

Since the raw film control came he has not made any picture and

as his next picture will be also made in colour, he is not directly concerned with the present raw film muddle. For most part of the year he has been away and in fact has survived a serious crisis in health. Only last week Col. Nasser saw 'Mother India' at the premiere show in Cairo where Mehboob's 'Aan' had done record business.

Back in Bombay, he has been attending almost every film function. Recently several functions have also been held in his honour. He has been elected President of the Producers' Guild. And as such he is actively associated in dealing with the various problems confronting the industry.

Mehboob is getting fantastic offers for his new color picture 'Tajmahal'. Meanwhile by paying off all his debts and rewarding substantially his staff, he has won the gratitude of his friends and foes. One of the first producers to earn foreign exchange, he will have no difficulty in getting foreign exchange for his new ambitious color venture. And if he succeeds in maintaining the unity among the producers, he would have achieved an even greater miracle than 'Tajmahal'!

\* \* \*

Raj Kapoor is reported to have been signed for the fantastic sum of Rs. 5 lakhs by producer Dhanwant Shah to play the lead opposite Jabeen in 'Hum Bhi Kunware' directed by Santoshi.

Sohrab Modi is playing the lead in 'Sister' to be produced by Ramesh Vyas and directed by V. M. Vyas.

Hasrat will be writing the lyrics and Dattaram will provide music for Anupam Chitra's 'Santaaan' written by Pt. Mukhram Sharma.

Mahesh Kaul who is directing a picture for Pancholi is expected to direct a picture for Shekhar and Guru Dutt.

Talwar launched his new picture 'Ek Dil Sau Afsane' written by Indar Raj Anand, starring Raj Kapoor, Madhubala, Johnny Walker on December 7, at R. K. Studios.

Dilip Kumar resumed the shooting of 'Ganga Jamuna' at Igat-puri last week.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## REQUEST TO RAJAJI

Sir,—Rajaji entered his eightieth year on December 8 last. It is the duty of every Indian to remember the great services he has rendered to humanity. Surely he is one of the greatest men of the present age. As one of his admirers said he lived "in an Ashram in Tiruchengodu identifying himself with the life of India's humblest millions; he also lived in the palatial mansion of the Viceregal Lodge in New Delhi when he became the first Indian Governor-General of India". As Shri Harekrishna Mahatab said Rajaji is a person "in whom are combined the astuteness of a politician, the foresight of a statesman, the ability of an administrator and the detachment of a philosopher". Rajaji is connected with every inch of India's struggle for independence and also with the administration of the country after independence. As Mr. D. F. Karaka said "Rajaji has a clear mind and uncanny grasp over every problem he tackled. His approach was analytical, systematic and positive". The life of such a great person who is living amongst us is both inspiring and instructive and it is necessary that his teachings, his life and practical wisdom should be studied and understood. For this, it will be of immense value if Rajaji is pleased to write his autobiography. We all know that he is a great personality in the literary field also.

Guntakal K. SUNDARA RAMAN

## MEDIUM LANDHOLDERS

Sir,—Under the 2nd Five Year Plan, the bulk of medium landholding in the country now under lease is to be compulsorily transferred to the tenant on payment of statutory compensation. All holdings below a net annual income of Rs. 3,600 and above, a net annual income of Rs. 1,200 are treated as medium holdings for this purpose. Under the Plan, an owner can resume only a fraction of his leased lands. The statutory compensation will amount

only to about one-third of the market value. The proposal is, beyond doubt expropriatory to a large section of the lower middle-class. The number of families and the area affected will be considerable. The underlying hypothesis for the proposal is that the non-cultivating owner is a functionless parasite in the Agricultural Industry. Is this hypothesis correct? It is fundamentally wrong. It ignores the traditional role of the owner as the partner and financier and it ignores the obvious duty of the State to encourage, foster and develop the spirit of co-operation between the constituent sectors in the nation's food industry. It will seriously affect production. It will cripple the middle class which is a major stable sector of our society. It will lead to social unrest. It is unwise to a degree and unsuitable to the traditions of the ryotwari State of Madras. It should, therefore, be dropped.

Tirunelveli. A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

## THE PASTERNAK DRAMA

Sir,—Roughly two decades ago, in 1935, Adolf Hitler shouted, "No man who is German-born shall ever accept a Nobel Prize" when an eminent German Scientist Karl Van Ojietzki, who was under Hitler's tortures in a remote prison, was declared winner of that year's Nobel Prize. Now there is a like incident in Russia, with this difference that the present winner of the prize is not a scientist but a man of letters.

Along with this recollection comes another, a line from George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four." O'Brien, member of the Secret Brotherhood speaks of the Russian persecution! "They (the Party men) wore them down by torture and solitude until they were despicable, cringing wretches, confessing whatever was put into their mouths, covering themselves with abuse, accusing and sheltering behind one another, whimpering for mercy." O'Brien,

in his exhortation to the miserable sinking Winston, details the Brotherhood's method of annihilating an unwanted person: "You must stop imagining that posterity will vindicate you, Winston. Posterity will never hear of you. You will be lifted clean out from the stream of history. We shall turn you into gas and pour you into the stratosphere. Nothing will remain of you. Not a name in a register, not a memory in a living brain. You will be annihilated in the past as well as in the future. You will never have existed." Orwell's words have come very near to prophecy.

It may be that Russia had planned to send Pasternak out of Soviet boundaries in an unsuspected manner with a view to burying his name, unquestioned, in his absence. This, had it materialised, would have lessened the possible influence of his pro-Christian novel on Russian minds. Also, this would have kept the growing generation sweetly oblivious of the Pasternak episode. Pasternak sadly disappointed Russia. The drama has not yet reached the high climax. The worst is yet to come. Whether the world outside U.S.S.R. would have the privilege of hearing an exact account of the denouement of this drama is beyond us to figure at this stage.

M. V. NARAYANA RAO  
New Delhi

## THE SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

Sir,—Present day politicians make much noise about Socialism and attempt to thrive on it. But the common man whose only concern is day-to-day existence does not understand or feel convinced about it.

Of what use is the Socialistic pattern of society if it is not conceived in a spirit of real understanding of the present situation which makes living not only difficult but impossible? Our Prime Minister said at Calcutta: "Our declared goal is the Socialistic pattern of society. We will brook no obstacles and if there are any in the way, we will sweep them out with broomsticks. The plan-

## SECOND CHAMBERS

Sir,—Though several States in Europe have abolished their second chambers, in our own country some of our bigger States have two chambers. True to the spirit of federalism our Central legislature is also bicameral. The tempering influence of the second chamber on the unchecked enthusiasm of the lower chamber prevents ill-considered measures which may be passed under pressure of badly informed public opinion. For ensuring the stability of the upper house the method of election of members for varying periods is adopted.

Sri R. V. Krishna Iyer remarked recently that since 1937 "when the second chamber came into being in Madras there had not been a single case of a bill passed by the Assembly which was vetoed by the Council". He blamed the composition of the Council for its inability to perform its work. Reasoned action is feasible in a house which is not subject to passing political whims. Professors, doctors, lawyers and engineers should have their due share in the governance of the country. Able men in these fields known for their expert knowledge and experience who are unwilling to face the struggle and competition of a general election may be willing to face elections within the limited circle in their professions. Apart from the nominations that are made by the Governor, the power to select the other members of the upper house must be vested in the recognised associations or unions of engineers, doctors or lawyers.

Y. V. VISVESWARAN  
Coimbatore

## TELUGU BOOKS

Sir,—The utilitarian outlook, I-know-it-all-too-well attitude and fashion craze are the forces working against the popularisation of Telugu books. While the public has to be educated with regard to the first two, the educated and the elite should give a lead to counteract the third by showing an awareness and appreciation of the great literary heritage and wealth of ideas that we possess. The publisher of Telugu books and the Telugu teacher are in the same predicament with regard to this problem.

Madras SALVA KRISHNAMURTHI

studios are exempted from the operation of factory rules. There are no fixed working hours, no overtime, no dearness allowance, no security of service, no provident fund benefits for these poor workers. The work life under stray producers is still worse.

May I suggest that before the Government restores the raw film cut, it should introduce legislation for prevention of labour abuses and also for the betterment of the various categories of film workers similar to that to be enforced for the working journalists? Or alternatively the Government should nationalise the film industry, eliminating all middlemen and get-rich quick fortune hunters. At present, the popular opinion is that the films made by the Films Division are many many times superior in quality to that of the private producers.

JINNI CHARI

## ACHIEVING THE UNATTAINABLE

Sir,—The Minimum Wages Act has been made applicable to agriculture in Kerala with its attendant regulation of hours of work. In terms of wages, the workers stand to gain by this measure. But the average cultivator finding this measure beyond his capacity to comply (financially) may very well lay-off the workers, after completion of essential work. Thus, the supposed beneficiaries, though they may get increased wages for a time, find themselves without job.

In some places, the workers prefer the old system of 'contractual labour' whereby they get wages for a longer period. But the dread of penalty deters the land-owner from reverting to the old system.

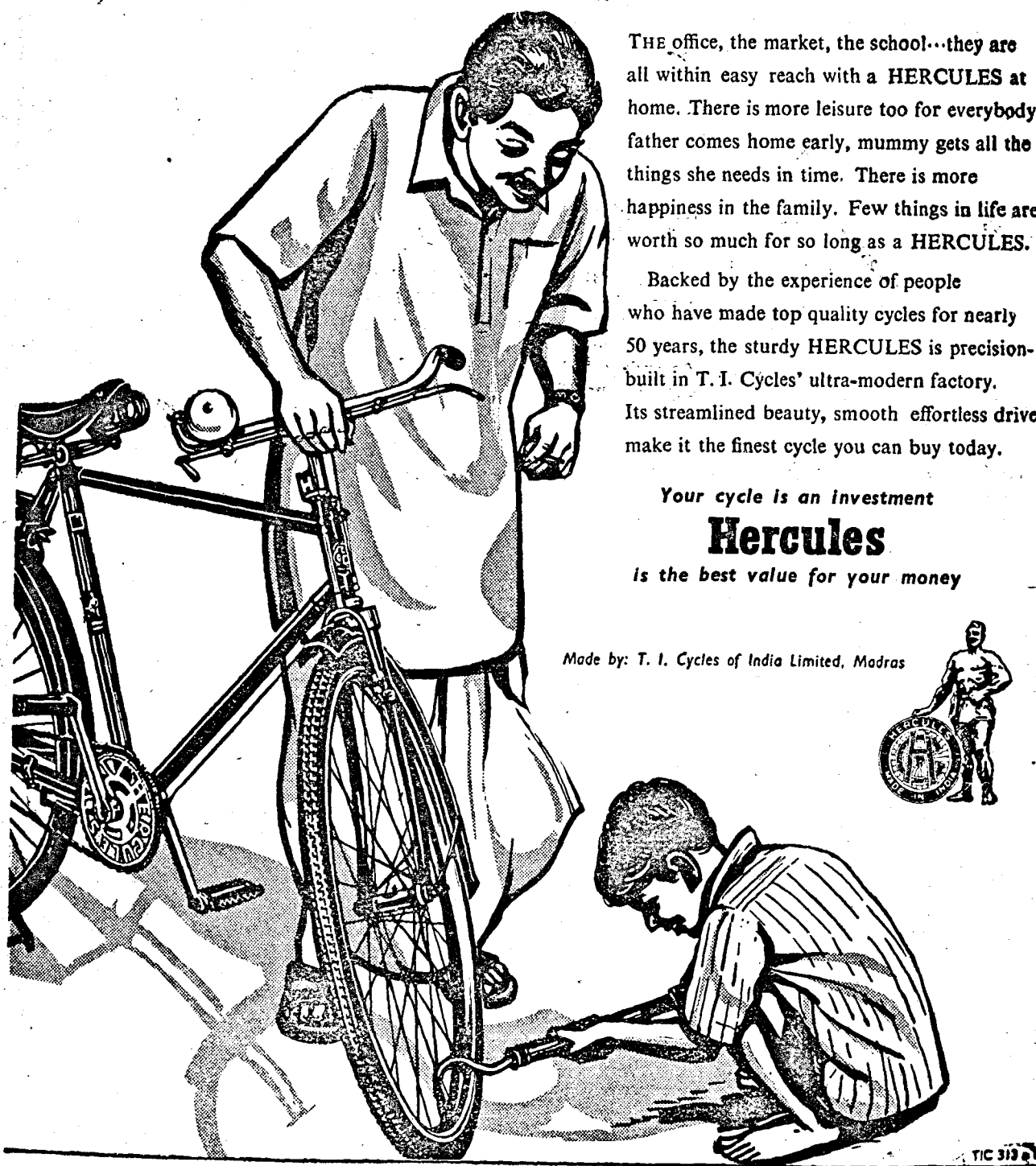
There is a wide feeling in this part of the country that many of the maladies owe their origin to the Congress propaganda—achieving the unattainable. Having failed to fulfil many of their professed faiths, is it any wonder that a party diametrically opposed to theirs completes the abandoned philosophy?

P. K. SANAKARAN  
Pallassana (Kerala)

## THE "UNKINDEST CUT"

Sir,—All of us should really feel sorry at the sad plight of the "under dogs" in the film industry as described by Sri V. S. Rangachari (SWARAJYA, Nov. 29) because of the import cut in raw film. But I wish to point out that at no time in the past 25 years, the lot of "extras", the junior artistes, and the second class technicians was anything above sub-human standards. For, film

## Hercules is more than a cycle... it's a lifetime companion



THE office, the market, the school...they are all within easy reach with a **HERCULES** at home. There is more leisure too for everybody; father comes home early, mummy gets all the things she needs in time. There is more happiness in the family. Few things in life are worth so much for so long as a **HERCULES**.

Backed by the experience of people who have made top quality cycles for nearly 50 years, the sturdy **HERCULES** is precision-built in T. I. Cycles' ultra-modern factory. Its streamlined beauty, smooth effortless drive make it the finest cycle you can buy today.

Your cycle is an investment  
**Hercules**  
is the best value for your money

Made by: T. I. Cycles of India Limited, Madras



Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.

# SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau  
28 DEC 1958

Vol. III. No. 23

MADRAS, DECEMBER 13, 1958  
MADRAS

15 Naye Paise

## UN-CO-ORDINATED POLICIES

It is one of the paradoxes of Indian economy that we rarely command a state of sufficiency in respect of any commodity in which supply and demand have achieved an intelligent harmony. Why have our over-all plans of production failed to make even a near-approach to a general equilibrium?

It was only the other day that we suffered from a shortage of cement and cloth. Today the Government have allowed free sales of cement and yet the stocks are accumulating in the factories. The textile industry is facing a giant slump.

The administration of the country is compartmentalised. Some one reports that cement demand is slackening. "Remove the control" comes the order. Cement has only one use but it also requires steel, wood, bricks, paint and labour. If steel is scarce, cement accumulates. If both are available but wood is very expensive, there is a tendency to go slow with construction. What we need therefore is co-ordinated de-control of allied materials. Otherwise we shall suffer in the midst of lopsided plenty.

Price is another factor. The ex-factory price of cement has been fixed, after careful study of all the relevant factors by the Tariff Board. It has been given effect to by the Government. But the price to the consumer has not been reduced. An excise duty, originally levied as a counter-vailing price-equaliser to the

imported cement, is allowed to continue even after exports have been stopped. There is no justification for a high excise duty on so essential a raw material. It is an imposition that now causes reduction of off-take in a marked manner. It is a blot on the ethics of State Trading that a price which would never have survived for a day under conditions of competition is maintained by a politically-idealised monopoly. One is afraid that finance is having too powerful a say in the matter.

Textiles is an uglier story. Why is yarn accumulating in the mills? Does this mean that every one has enough and more cloth in India? Definitely no. A common sight in the villages is to see a peasant woman drying one half of a saree on a tree, standing inside the other half which is wound round a shivering body. Cloth is not being purchased because the price is more than the consumers can afford. Purchasing power in the rural area has not risen *pari-passu* with the rise in the cloth prices. The position may be summed up by saying that the rural food-grower has no surplus cash and the urban food-consumer spends most of his income on food.

The Government have a habit of remembering the export market whenever there is an accumulation of stocks at home. But an export market can never be built up either during the periods of home-surplus alone or for the kind of goods that are not sold at

home. An export market must be a continuing one and has to be studied by reference to the purchase-preference in those markets. We do not want feverish and spasmodic export-promotion drives. We need to develop a sector of industry which manufactures for export.

Having created such monopolies, politicians subordinate the points of view of trade and industry to the paramount needs of taxation and State finance. Export drives are high-lighted as necessary for securing foreign exchange which in turn is required for financing State plans, rather than a stable economy. Biassed thinking fails to place first things in first priority and endows the policy of taxation with a primacy which it does not deserve.

It is particularly important that the export markets in cloth and cement should be nourished into a continuing growth. What have we done to secure the cement markets in Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, Siam and Indo-China? Or the African market in blue-cloth? Or the Middle-East market for fine textiles? It is folly to be satisfied with the fancy-sales in the advanced countries of the West. They make good pictures and interesting reading, but a permanent market for essential goods should always be sought in the less advanced countries.

Let us hope that a more co-ordinated and realistic policy will dawn on those in power.

## Neutral Nations Should Confer

The Government of India is doing a great deal at the diplomatic level to get a cessation of nuclear test explosions. Our Prime Minister naturally feels that his office and responsibility limit him to certain channels of approach. This is a correct attitude although Khrushchov and Eisenhower do not restrict their expression of opinion on world issues in the same manner. But our Prime Minister need not accept the ways of other governments if he thinks they are wrong.

The question still remains whether the neutral nations of the world and their governments should officially confer among themselves and find a proper forum and process to present a combined note of protest against the invasion on world health that is being indulged in by the nuclear powers against all international morality.

The cessation of the explosions should not depend on the will and pleasure of the nuclear powers but is a right which the neutral nations can demand through their governments. The poisoning affects generations and affects nations who are not on either one side or the other of the cold war. It is irrelevant for the offending governments to plead want of agreement among themselves as an excuse for the transgression of the rights of the peoples who are not in the cold war. It would be as wrong as a plea on the part of two criminal gangs that they cannot stop their crimes because they have not been able to agree among themselves as to how to live honestly. The news from Geneva is good—at least it looks like it. But things would greatly improve if the neutral governments put forward their case which stands on its own ground and apart from the fears and suspicions of the cold war governments.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

## STATELESS CEYLONESE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Whatever be our particular national problems there are some fundamental principles which we dare not ignore if we desire to maintain civilization. A person has rights of citizenship in a particular State because of his birth or because of his personal choice to be a citizen of that State. His trade or other interests in a foreign State should not be a disqualification to be enrolled as a citizen of the State in which he lives and has interests and stake and of which he desires to be a citizen.

All this would be an elementary axiom, but in Ceylon, we have a government that does not accept this axiom. It dislikes its citizens to hold property or interests in India and desires to bar persons of Indian 'origin' from being enrolled as nationals of Ceylon on that ground. Where any person desires to become a Ceylon citizen but does this only to carry on as a spy on behalf of another nation, one can understand his being refused citizenship. But where his property, his avocation and interests and attachments converge to make him seek citizenship in Ceylon, it is remarkable that the Ceylon government considers it right and proper to refuse the application on the simple ground that he holds some property and has some interests in the neighbouring State of India. There is no question of double citizenship. The persons who seek Ceylon citizenship have no idea of holding and cannot in fact hold any citizenship in India. A recent judgment of the Ceylon High Court delivered by Judge Fernando has brought to glaring light this wrong attitude of the Government of Ceylon in the case of A. Marimuthu. The court has condemned the Government's refusal of citizenship in the case in pretty severe terms.

Had this been a single or exceptional case or one of a small

number of that type, we could afford to be amused. But tens of thousands of families in Ceylon have been refused citizenship-registration on such and even more flimsy grounds, such as that the man visited India three or four times for some reason or other! This sort of thing makes it a case for international concern. Would America object to any of her citizens or would-be citizens visiting countries abroad or having property in neighbouring States, say Canada, or Mexico?

The position is difficult to fit into any code of proper relationship between States. India is not an enemy country to Ceylon. Families of Indian origin who have settled there and lived for generations as honest people carrying on some avocation are today being refused to be treated as citizens in spite of their earnest desire to continue to be Ceylon citizens. A State may be entitled to restrict new immigrants but the question here is with reference to persons who have been living in Ceylon for years and years. The injustice is patent and the magnitude of the problem makes it one that calls for international attention. A man's own attachment should settle what State he belongs to and it is not a case for investigation at all unless there are charges of some kind of criminal and anti-national activity. Would Canada refuse citizenship to anyone who seeks to be a Canadian citizen simply because he has some property in America? Or vice versa? A man's choice as to where he belongs must not be nullified by the decree of any executive authority. A refusal to recognise this elementary principle has resulted in a great body of "Stateless" people in the island of Ceylon, which is a public scandal that must be terminated at once.

December 13, 1958

S W A R A J Y A

3



## Sotto Voce

### The New Dark Ages

With the impassive finality of Jove on high delivering the judgment of the gods Mr. Kamaraj Nadar and Mr. Dhebar have been telling the public of this country that the Congress and the Government have once for all decided all such questions as land ceilings and ownership rights for the tenants. The only question yet open to debate, said the Chief Minister of Madras, was "about the extent of ceiling and not about the ceiling itself". As to the possibility of there being a body of public opinion in this country which was not prepared to abdicate its judgement in favour of the Congress, the mere suggestion would shock the high priests. Has not Dhebarji said even more categorically "Absentee landlordism has been overruled in the country".

The polite fiction that within the Congress itself there is unanimity of opinion on such matters will hardly bear scrutiny. The A.I.C.C. session revealed such little unanimity in fact that Mr. C. Subrahmanyam had his brief hour of glory as one who had dared to insinuate doubts about the practicability of proposals which the combined wisdom of the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission had approved. But at the first hint of dissent Mr. Nehru began blandly thinking aloud in his most democratic manner. He expressed mild surprise that anybody should have supposed that the principle of imposing a ceiling was still open to question. And that was sufficient to topple over Mr. Subrahmanyam's *ad hoc* committee.

The Committee delivered itself of the oracular opinion that the States should end uncertainty by imposing ceilings and at the same time safeguard against fragmentation by distributing on a co-operative basis the surpluses

derived from the application of ceilings. The Kerala Government has just ruefully reported that attempts at collectivisation there have not been a shining success. But it is more important for Congressmen to err in Mr. Nehru's company than to be right with Mr. Nambudripad. And the Subrahmanyam Committee, if it had to swallow ceilings under orders, was resolved on showing that it could be no less radical *suo motu*. It put forward a categorical demand that all "intermediaries" be abolished before March 1959.

Mr. Subrahmanyam, questioned about the proposal to extinguish the ryotwari owner as a parasite, admitted that originally only the zamindar had been regarded as a functionless intermediary. But, he added with judicial detachment, as we had now switched our wagon to Socialism it was apparently thought proper that the ryotwari owner should follow the zamindar into limbo. And Mr. Dhebar has clinched the matter by saying "Widows, minors and persons under infirmity should be exemptions. There should be no other intermediaries". The tenant will be owner of all "non-resumable" land. And the unfortunate owner, whether he owns five cents or five hundred acres, may be fobbed off with probably a year's net income as compensation as the Mysore Bill proposes.

You may be sure that the relenting towards widows and minors and infirm persons will not be immoderately excessive. They will retain nominal ownership but the rent will be cut down to a fourth or fifth of the gross produce. And by the time the minor attains majority or the widow dies and her heir claims the land the tenant will probably have graduated into the privileged class of 'permanent

tenant' or 'protected tenant'. He will then have the right to liquidate the owner after paying peppercorn damages. The Congress's abundant sympathy for every other kind of poor dries up at the mere mention of the poor owner.

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar airily dismisses the suggestion that production will suffer if ceilings are imposed. He points out that only the big landlords, a mere ten per cent of those who live by the land, will be affected. But of the other forty per cent who own land no one will, when the egalitarian hurricane has done its work, have more than five or seven acres, while the vast majority might own holdings which are hardly more than a pocket handkerchief in size. Again, of the other fifty per cent who own no land, only the tenant class will benefit (at the owner's expense). The landless, unattached labourer will find the old avenues of employment in large estates cut off and will clamour for jobs and higher wages. That will be a fine way of boosting production.

Ownership of land is not original sin. It is capital just like the capital that goes into business and industry. And it has as essential a function in any free economy. If the tenant is made owner by the arbitrary extinction of the present owner's right, he will find that his ownership is a mere fiction. He will be a land-serf ordered about and hectorated over by the State and its umpteen minions. And the elimination of the so-called absentee owner will not only dry up the biggest source of rural credit; it will mean the descent of a new Dark Age on the countryside.

VIGNESWARA

**S W A R A J Y A**  
(Published every Saturday)  
77, LLOYDS ROAD, MADRAS-14  
PHONE: 86640 & 85251  
Single Copy: 15 Naya Paise  
**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
(Including Postage)  
In India: Annual: Rs. 7.50.  
Half-year: Rs. 4.00.



## AN IMPRACTICAL GOAL

In an economy wherein but a small number are engaged in agriculture and where all but such tillers can be absorbed by industries and banks and other productive employment it is possible to conceive a state of things wherein all the tillers are owners of the land they till and no one intervenes between the State and the owner-tillers of the soil.

What is this fear about "intervention"? If it is the idea that the State must function too along with the individual tiller on each farm, then indeed we are moving towards a total wreckage of our agriculture. We do not have the conditions in our country to enable us to give enough land to every one of our agricultural population to hold as tiller-owner. Too many will be left out without any land and no opening in any other industry. Or the fragmentation will make uneconomic holdings.

Until our industrialisation reaches a magnitude when our leaders can say that the industries can absorb the large number as will be left out when every tiller is also the owner and every farm is of economic size, there is no good repeating the slogan "tiller shall be owner". A hierarchy is necessary and patience too. Patience to wait for industrialisation and conditions for full employment;—if indeed it be ever possible to devise the location and decentralisation of industries so as to absorb a population such as ours is, in numbers and spread. Or is it a part of these dreamers' dream that our population can be cut down by some miracle which will leave a most selfish, sickly and immoral population? The methods adopted for reduction of population, special cases apart, produce other results besides those wanted, which are wholly unwelcome.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

## A SANTA CLAUS ILLUSION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

With the approach of the Christmas season, the problem of gifts arises, aggravating deficit-budgets already sustained in Divali celebrations during the fraudulent days of family-planning.

If a boy prefers a water-rifle and his brother wants money with which he could buy a show-boat worth the same sum (rupees ten) how should I judge the difference in terms of disarmament or moral re-armament? The arms-race can proceed in more ways than one when there is freedom for the choice of weapons and no effort at unilateral repudiation in terms of non-violence which we claim to be our sheet-anchor and the classic contribution to the methodology of settling disputes.

Dwelling on the settlement of differences (Indo-Pakistan), the Prime Minister told the Lok Sabha on December 8, that "martial law and arms aid from abroad are the obstacles" to peace. Martial law is an unstable state of equilibrium and history teaches us that a revolution devours its own young, but the incidence of arms aid when we borrow from the same source and re-equip ourselves at our option and pleasure carries a fallacy. Our finances are supplemented with foreign accommodation, but our defence expenditure is up with purchases of dubious merit like air-craft carriers at a tremendous price when sea-craft is outmoded by more terrific weapons of destruction. If we extend maritime limits to twelve miles instead of the conventional three, are we any the safer against a submarine torpedo or an aerial swoop or an atomic blast or an I.C.B.M. surprise of uncertified origin?

When President Eisenhower offered military aid in equal measure years ago, Prime Minister Nehru nobly rejected it on ideological grounds of foreign policy, but he has stepped up the defence budget to a high degree making

up for the refusal and reserving liberty to choose our service-customers, loaded with primitive stock. Our contention is that we are not martially aided by foreigners in the absence of direct import. I believe Pakistan also has dud material (in kind) though not put down in terms of cash against stuff to match imports. From borrowed residues, we are, at the same time, giving lordly grants to Nepal and Bhutan; but at the same time we are sinking in indebtedness on account of secondhand benevolence.

When we maintain that we mean to pay all these acceptances in cash and kind, we wander in a labyrinth of economic fallacies not very different from Pakistani illusions of mounting might to settle the fate of Kashmir and the flow of rivers.

Americans are set in an unfavourable light in the controversy about arms aid, since they mean it as an anti-Communist fortification, whereas we in their eyes regard it as the vulgar augmentation of arms in the midst of borrowing to pay up liabilities of a military content in foreign markets.

Both the boys whom I have envisaged in this article should this Christmas season, in a competitive and combative mood, deserve only small savings certificates as the gifts of Santa Claus.

A Subscription to  
**SWARAJYA**  
will be  
a pleasant Gift for  
**X'MAS & NEW YEAR**  
to your Friends

## RAJAJI

By K. SANTHANAM

Rajaji is completing 79 years this month. Let us thank God for having given him to India so long and pray that he may do so for many more years to come.

Every person who has risen to the leadership of his people—whether it is due to his own desire or the result of circumstances—has to obey a dual call and perform a double duty. He has to obey the call of his conscience and be true to his own self. He has also to obey the call of his people and lead them with courage and confidence. If the two calls are in unison and the duties are complementary, he is fortunate and successful; but it involves no difficult choice and consequently no real sacrifice. When the calls conflict and the duties differ, it is the real testing time of a true leader. There is also an intermediate stage between the two when the calls are confused.

It is always instructive to study the life of great leaders with special reference to these three situations. I shall refer to a few illustrations from Rajaji's life.

From 1919 to 1922 and from 1946 to 1950, the two calls coincided so completely that Rajaji's popularity was at the highest levels during those periods. In the first, he stood forth as the champion of the Non-co-operation movement, second only to Gandhiji. The highest peak was reached at the Gaya Congress when the passionate arguments of the mighty leaders like Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru could not prevail against the cold but relentless logic of Rajaji who

was the spokesman of all those who felt that the Non-co-operation movement had not had a fair trial and that in any case to go back upon it when its great leader was in jail would amount to national betrayal. In the second period, Rajaji saw the fulfilment of his dreams for a voluntary settlement of the problems of independence and partition.

In the year 1942, the call of conscience was diametrically opposed to the call of the people. Rajaji felt that with the imminent threat of Japanese invasion and in the face of the bitter opposition of the Muslim League, the Quit India campaign was not in the best interests of the country though the over-whelming opinion of Congressmen was against him. He chose to be true to his own self and sacrificed the popularity he had earned by his previous untiring national service of over 20 years.

In 1936-37 and in 1952, Rajaji was faced with situations when the two calls were rather confused. In the former, he had at first wanted to be aloof from the elections to the provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. He was, however, persuaded to take up the leadership of Madras by the Congress High Command. Then the call became clear and definite and he struggled successfully against those who wanted the Congress parties in the legislatures to be content with sterile obstruction. He made history by his two years of Chief Ministership then. Again in 1952, the political situation in Madras was confused as a result of the elections and there were serious proposals of Presidential rule. It is difficult to imagine that there was a clear call from his own conscience or from the people that he should step in to save those who had opposed him before but when he took up the thankless task there was a sigh of relief throughout the country and the decision was justified by the result.

Thus Rajaji provides a fine illustration of a personality equal to all the possible situations which a leader, worthy of the name, has to face.

I may also add that not the least significant achievements of his life have been accomplished during the periods when he was temporarily free from the pressure of either call and had laid by the burden of active leadership. During 1925 to 30, in the small hut at Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu, he found the opportunity to develop his innate literary capacity which has enriched the country and particularly Tamil Nad with his incomparable short-stories and parables and matchless expositions of the Upanishads, the Gita, the Ramayana and Mahabharata. During the last four years, he has been performing for India the same task which Socrates declared he was divinely ordained to perform for the City of Athens, namely the function of a gadfly to arouse the sleepy conscience of his people. It should matter little to Rajaji—as it did not matter to Socrates—whether people agree with him or follow him. The important thing is that they should listen to him and they cannot help doing so. Long live Rajaji.

### BOOKS ON ECONOMICS AND MONEY

|                                                                                                                     | Rs. nP. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Post Keynesian Economics edited by Kenneth K. Kurihara—The volume represents the extension of Keynes General Theory | 24 37   |
| Economic Commentaries by Dennis Robertson                                                                           | 13 00   |
| A Course in Applied Economics by E. H. Phelps Brown.                                                                | 20 31   |
| Essays in Economics by A. C. Pigou                                                                                  | 12 19   |
| Selected Papers on Economic Theory by Knut Wicksell (Library of Economics)                                          | 24 37   |
| International Economic Studies by Jacob Viner                                                                       | 30 00   |
| Introduction to Money by Honor Croome (Home Study Books)                                                            | 8 56    |
| An Outline of Money by Geoffrey Crowther                                                                            | 12 19   |

K. MAHADEVAN,  
82-A, Royapettah High Road,  
Mylapore, Madras-4

### INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.

Chairman:  
Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar,  
K.C.S.I., D.C.L., (Oxon)

All kinds of banking business transacted efficiently and quickly.

Attractive rates on deposits which may be ascertained on application.

S. Krishnaswamy,  
Secretary.

### The Soviet in Berlin

The soldiers of the Soviet Union, like British, French, and American soldiers, rule Berlin by right of treaty signed after Allied victory in World War II.

Now the Soviet proposes to disavow this pact, and withdraw to suburbs in the Soviet Zone, a few hundred yards away. East Germany, instead, will rule the Soviet sector.

This is an abrupt abrogation, and at the root of it is Soviet fear of a united Germany. The loser of World War II is loser no longer: West Germany, at least, is thriving and healthy, and if joined again with its sundered half, could become a swift and flashing sword for the non-Communist world. Mr. Khrushchov, therefore, will do all in his power to stiffen partition, and to elevate East Germany's status among nations.

Yet the map, and history, and the energy of the German people, and the common interest of Germans and the Western community all protest against permanent division. Sooner or later, East and West Germany will be one. The grave risk to the Soviet Union, which renunciation in Berlin now would seem to increase, is that in a time of bitterness and power West Germany will grow impatient. JOHN E. FRAZER.

## KHRUSHCHOV PREPARES FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS

By N. S. MUTHANA

Mr. Khrushchov is getting ready for the 21st Party Congress. He has already built up a new set of circumstances quite unlike those under which he faced the 20th Party Congress in February 1956.

Mr. K has come a long way since that historic performance two years ago when the air in Moscow and other satellite capitals was tangy with post-Stalin liberalism. He is no longer the same iconoclast who felled the lofty and forbidding image of Stalin and stood up for "collective leadership."

Mr. K has undergone a sea-change. He played the grisly role in Hungary, and recently, under the not-too-subtle pressure of his comrade in Peking, Mao Tse-tung, he reverted to the Kremlin's traditional tough line. He is no longer a part of a "collective leadership." He is a full-blown dictator sharing his power with none.

In spite of his reversion to undiluted Stalinism Mr. K is not worried over-much about facing the 21st Party Congress early in 1959 although the delegates to the Congress will largely be drawn from the same old crowd which

witnessed him hurling down Stalin from his pedestal posthumously only two years ago.

But how is he going to rationalise his own row-back to Stalinism before the 21st Party Congress?

Very simple.

For one thing, Mr. K is a man completely devoid of inhibitions. Remember the way he rubbed out his once-trusted crew in the "collective leadership" — Zuckhov, Malenkov, Molotov, Shepilov and even Bulganin?

And for another, Mr. K has now sprung a king-size crisis on an unsuspecting world. And this time it is bang in the middle of Europe—in Berlin.

He will doubtless flaunt this crisis before the 21st Party Congress and tell the delegates that the present crisis, following his unilateral abrogation of the 1945 Potsdam Agreement, is the greatest threat to the survival of the Soviet Union and Socialism since Hitler — something which calls for the old, familiar monolithic unity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

And Mr. K knows that it is just



Develop **Neem** habit

use **Neem** TOOTH PASTE twice daily

To use Neem Tooth Paste once a day is enough. But doctors advise a second brushing before bedtime. For dental hygiene, use 'Neem' twice a day and be sure of healthy gums and teeth.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD.  
CALCUTTA-29

NT/130-E

the right bait which the Party Congress will bite.

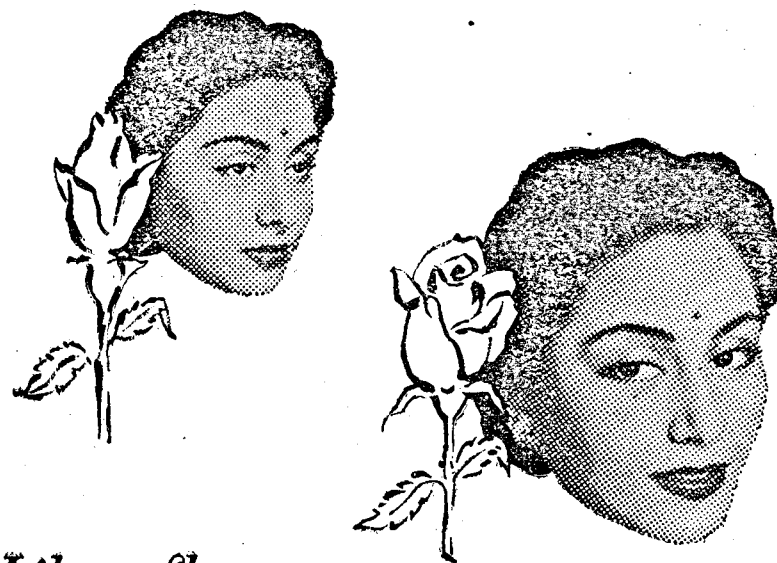
Meanwhile, Mr. K's propaganda mills are grinding away, creating that illusion of danger to the Soviet Union from the capitalist West which has its Trojan Horse in West Berlin, an enclave in the

Democratic (Communist) Republic of East Germany.

Mr. K has made sure that the crisis in Berlin will last at least six months. He has worked it out to the last detail with one eye on scoring an immediate propaganda victory over the West and the

other on consolidating his own leadership in his empire.

Mr. K's first step was to announce at a Moscow reception held in honour of the visiting Polish Premier, Gomulka, that the "occupation rights" of the Four Powers (U. S., U. K., France



Like a flower...  
your complexion blooms  
with **REXONA**

Your complexion becomes so much fresher, more glowing when you use Rexona Soap regularly. Only Rexona contains *Cadyl*—a special blend of skin oils formulated for skin beauty. Use fragrant Rexona daily; let its creamy lather reveal your natural loveliness!



MADE IN INDIA FOR REXONA PTY. LTD.

THE ONLY SOAP CONTAINING **CADYL**

BE. 146-X52



## THE FOREST ASSEMBLY

(Fable by RAJAJI translated by

MRS. A. V. RAMAN)

The forest goddess convened an assembly. Representatives of trees, plants, creepers, birds, insects, cattle, deer and of other animate and inanimate beings gathered together; but only herbivorous animals were present. The tiger and the bear held aloof.

"I trust you are well?" said the goddess. The plants, and the creepers, and the animals present severally spoke about their welfare.

Plants and animals are dumb only unto man. They are eloquent amongst themselves. Our own conversations and controversies are meaningless sounds in their ears. Similarly we do not understand the speech of the trees, plants, creepers and birds. We hear them not; nor can we understand if we hear. In short, they can speak but we cannot hear.

"Long live insects" said the flowers. "Long live", and "Down with" are phrases which are used as slogans of human politics. Such praises and curses are used by the inanimate also.

Said the flowers, "come and

gather the honey, flit from blossom to blossom; you increase our tribe, but harm us not. Ye flies and insects who give us the joys of love! May you live long!"

"Birds! may ye live long! Ye also, oh monkeys!" said the trees of the forest. "Pick our fruits and eat them. Spread the good seeds in the forest. Eat the berries, save the seeds and give them back to the earth. Throw them where it rains and shines. Here they lack both light and sun. Our children cannot go elsewhere by themselves. They have neither wings nor legs. Preserve our progeny within you, then spread them on the earth like the Lord Himself."

"Ye creatures that move! Goats and men are death to us. Goats consume us before we put forth our branches and leaves. Men urge the goats on to us to use them as their own fattened food; what can we do?" wailed the plants.

Said the trees, "These men break our tender twigs and use them to clean their teeth! They are merciless!

They hew us down for fire-wood! They do not kill the living elephant for the sake of ivory, but the wood-cutter cuts us for our bones even before we die!"

Thus wept the trees and plants.

"These two-footed beings eat our flesh to nourish their own! God has not made our flesh poisonous. If He had done that we would have been saved," cried the cattle.

The words and wails of the dumb creatures spread in the air as wave upon wave and knocked at the gates of Heaven.

All this is the sport of the Lord. May He grace us with understanding.

Who knows? The wood-cutter is reborn as wood, is hewn and dies in pain, oozing sap? He alone knows.

We should not destroy trees and plants.

The goddess of the wood said: "Grow and multiply! Let a hundred thousand flowers bloom on every tree, a thousand fruits mature and make you increase more and more. Men may seek to destroy you, but you will not perish. May you live long!"

Having blessed them thus, the forest goddess dissolved the assembly.

and Russia) in Berlin were ridiculous and smacked of imperialism. Like a large-hearted statesman, Mr. K said that he intended to end this anachronism by abrogating the Potsdam Agreement.

When Mr. K made this announcement he meant business.

This naturally agitated the whole Western world. Washington, London and Paris just could not think of giving up their "occupation" rights in Berlin. Nor could Bonn stomach it. For the abrogation of the Four Power Potsdam Agreement would not only put an end to the peculiar status of Berlin but would also make it obligatory on Washington, London and Paris to do busi-

ness not with the Russian Commander of the East Berlin sector, but directly with the East German Government. Which in turn would force the three Western powers to recognise the sovereignty of that Government.

In a fit of temper, Mr. John Foster Dulles came out with a bristling statement: Yes, the U.S. would do business with Otto Grotewohl and Walter Ulbricht but regard them as agents of Russia.

But Mr. K didn't intend it to be that way. And if there were any doubts about it, East Germany's Deputy Premier, Walter Ulbricht, cleared them right away in an interview with Mr. Robin Smyth,

correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, London.

Said he:

"Whoever uses the territory of East Germany does *de facto* recognise the existence of the East German Government, no matter whether he uses it by water, by land or in the air. If I want to travel to London I must have the permission of the British Government and if Britons want to travel to Berlin they must have the permission of the Government of the German Democratic Republic. That is how things are. Maybe the representatives of the Western Powers refer to the alleged rights of an occupation Power. Permit me to point out that the German Democratic Republic with its capital, Berlin, is a Sovereign State in which there is no longer an occupation Power and there are no occupation rights. Least of all

do American, British and French troops have any claims to occupation privileges because the former occupation rights derive from the Potsdam Agreement, which the Western Powers have consistently violated..."

As soon as East Germany's

views on its future relations with the three Western Powers hardened, Mr. K's Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, handed a note to the U.S., British and French envoys in Moscow proposing a six-month limit to negotiate the future of Berlin and declared the Four Power (Potsdam) Agreement void. The only alternative it offered: Make Berlin, i.e. West Berlin, a "free city." And as soon as the West the Soviet note added, "the Soviet Government does



## He tears paper all day long!

HE'S not destructive by nature; it's his job to tear paper wrappers... scientifically, to test their strength.

Wrappers, containers, cartons and packing cases are subjected to exhaustive testing at Hindustan Lever! As for the products themselves—they are also constantly undergoing the most gruelling tests. From raw materials to finished product, experts, scientists and technicians are sampling and checking.

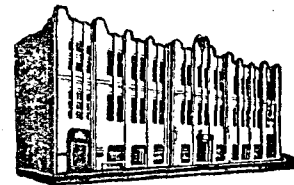
But why all this testing? Well, we know that you expect *unvarying* high quality of a Hindustan Lever product. The only way to maintain it is by quality control at every stage. This quality control also enables us to conserve precious national resources and vital production time.



**HINDUSTAN LEVER SERVES THE HOME**



## THE INDIAN BANK LTD.



(Established : 1907)

"INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS"  
NORTH BEACH ROAD,  
MADRAS-1.

23 Local Offices

Branches covering the whole  
of South India

Branches also at

BOMBAY, POONA, NEW DELHI,  
CALCUTTA, COLOMBO, PENANG,  
KUALA LUMPUR, MALACCA AND  
SINGAPORE.

### CAPITAL

|                                                 |              |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Authorised Capital Rs                           | 1,00,00,000  |
| Issued and Subscribed Capital                   | 72,00,000    |
| Paid-up Capital                                 | 66,19,625    |
| Reserve & Other Funds (including Share Premium) | 91,61,883    |
| Deposits as on 30-6-'58                         | 38,00,96,415 |
| Total Working Funds                             | 46,05,11,811 |

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KUMARARAJAH M. A. M. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
R. K. VENKATACHALAM.  
R. SUNDARAM IYER.  
O. M. SP. L. M. MEYAPPA CHETTIAR.  
RAO BAHADUR T. S. KACHAPIKESA  
MUDALIAR.  
DR. RAJAH SIR M. A. MUTHIAH  
CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD.  
L. ALAGUSUNDARAM CHETTIAR.  
P. V. RM. KULANDAYAN CHETTIAR.  
K. BALASUBRAMANIA IYER.  
RAO SAHEB E. M. MUTHAPPA  
CHETTIAR.  
K. ARUNACHALA MUDALIAR.

ALL TYPES OF  
BANKING BUSINESS INCLUDING  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
TRANSACTIONED.

London Agents :  
WESTMINSTER BANK LTD.

New York Agents :  
FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK  
OF NEW YORK

D. P. PARTHASARATHY,  
SECRETARY.

not object to the United Nations participating in observing the status of the Free City of West Berlin."

Of course, East Berlin being the capital of the sovereign Democratic Republic of East Germany the question of "freeing" East Berlin just does not arise.

While his Foreign Minister handed that note to the envoys of the three Western Powers, Mr. K met the foreign correspondents in Moscow to tell them that he would press for the liquidation "of that cancerous tumour that is West Berlin."

Why did Mr. K time the proposal for now?

His answer: "We pick this particular time to make our proposal on West Berlin because 13 years' time is long enough—more than long enough..." This answer should also clear any doubts one might entertain about the ethics of the unilateral abrogation of the Four Power Agreement from which the "occupation rights" derive.

Would the "free city" status of West Berlin be permanent?

No; only as long as the "inhabitants desire it." The "desire" of the inhabitants, after all, could be taken care of by Walter Ulbricht.

The "free city" status of West Berlin pre-supposes the complete withdrawal of Western Occupation Forces stationed there since the fall of Berlin. If that is not agreed upon in the next six-month negotiation, Mr. K will certainly pull out of Berlin, leaving the West to trade with Grotewohl, Ulbricht & Co.

But Mr. K's note to the West has a word of advice. It says: "It is evident that the most correct and natural solution of the problem would be a decision, under which the Western part of Berlin, now actually alienated from the German Democratic Republic, would re-unite with the Eastern part of the city within that State in whose territory it is situated."

And if the West refused?

Mr. K speaking: "We would,

of course, be most sorry, but it would not stop us if they reject the proposal we have made. We have no other way out."

About Potsdam Agreement. Mr. K speaking again: "Those who do believe it (exists) do so in order to continue the occupation status."

Mr. K's decision to end the Four Power Status of that city has thrown the West into the uncomfortable position of having to defend their patently "colonial" type of "occupational rights."

Side by side it has also created enough tension to make the conscientious Communists everywhere to feel that the West's intransigence in West Berlin is a threat not only to the people of East Germany but also to the whole Soviet world and its satellites. And since the Soviet Union is committed to defend the sovereignty of East Germany, the ensuing crisis over the future status of Berlin, is a good enough platform for Mr. K to "sell" himself to the 21st Party Congress.

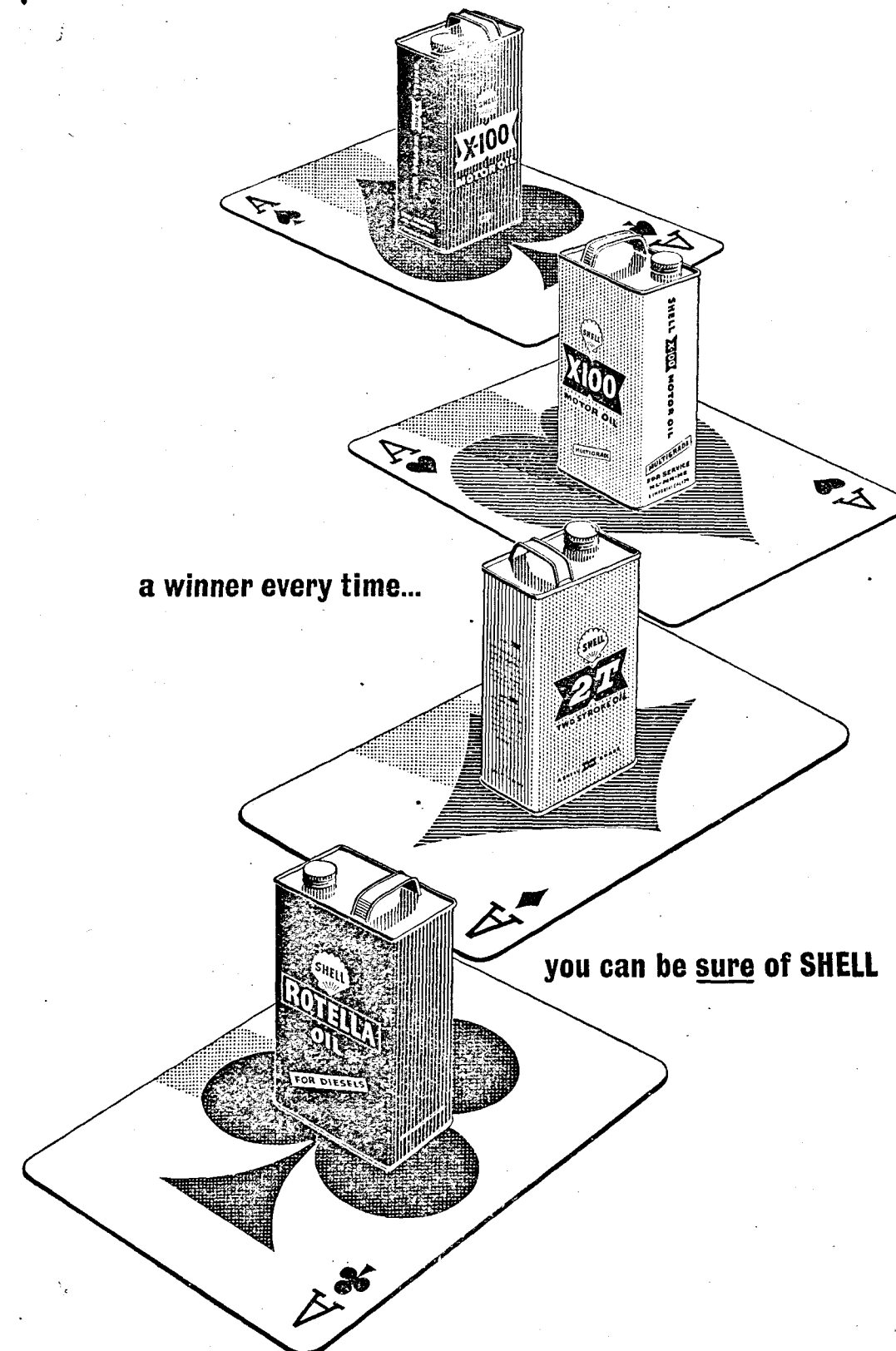
And it will not be out of place to mention here, that on two occasions during the first five years of the Four Power control of Berlin, all-Berlin elections were held twice and both the times the people of Berlin voted heavily in favour of the West!

### A Selfless & Loyal Worker

Lady M. Venkatasubbarao, Founder Hon. Gen. Secretary, The Madras Seva Sadan writes:

Mrs. M. Lakshmi Ammal M.A. (Oxon), Organising Secretary of the Madras Seva Sadan passed away after a brief illness on December 6, at the age of 62. As a selfless worker she endeared herself to the young and the old alike, with her kind and unassuming ways. After retiring as the Principal of the Queen Mary's College, she joined the Seva Sadan, and for seven years identified herself with the institution. Her loyalty to the Seva Sadan and to its Founders, was a striking feature of her work. The services she rendered to the institution will be remembered with gratitude. As a mark of respect to her memory, the Madras Seva Sadan and its branches remained closed for a day.

May her spirit abide with us always and continue to inspire us in our work.



# YOU and the METRIC SYSTEM

Whether you are a buyer or a seller, you will find that the Metric System of Weights and Measures makes calculations easier.

A single system of weights and measures for the entire country will not only help trade but also promote national integration.

Use of Metric Weights has become legal in selected areas of the States and industries from October 1, 1958.

The reform will be gradually extended to other areas.

| Commercial weights are of the following denominations |   |      |                      |   |                         |      |    |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|------|----------------------|---|-------------------------|------|----|---|
| Cast Iron Weights                                     |   |      | Brass/Bronze Weights |   |                         |      |    |   |
| Kilogram                                              |   | Gram | Bullion only         |   | Commodities and Bullion |      |    |   |
|                                                       |   |      | Kilogram             |   | Kilogram                | Gram |    |   |
| 50                                                    | 5 | 500  | 20                   | 5 | 1                       | 500  | 50 | 5 |
| 20                                                    | 2 | 200  | 10                   | 2 |                         | 200  | 20 | 2 |
| 10                                                    | 1 | 100  |                      |   |                         | 100  | 10 | 1 |
| 1 KILOGRAM=1,000 GRAMS=86 TOLAS                       |   |      |                      |   |                         |      |    |   |

## METRIC SYSTEM

ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

for  
simplicity  
and  
uniformity

DA 58/320

December 13, 1958

SWARAJYA

13

### AN IMAGINARY CONVERSATION

### ON A BIRTHDAY

VIKAS : The newspaper says that Rajaji is 79. The Bharat Ratna is like a diamond in which whosoever sees him will find his own reflection.

VIVEK : Yes, it is a newspaper fact that Rajaji is 79 while knowledgeable circles say that Rajaji has no knowledge of his birth date, yet he may like for the sake of convenience to be born on Sunday.

VIKAS : Rajaji's friends say that his birthday is on December 8, while the newspapers 'scooped' it by a day; why allow this duality in such a non-controversial event like a birthday?

VIVEK : Where is the duality? While those who are pleasing themselves about the 'birthday' are getting confused over the dates, Rajaji is perhaps amused over the confusion of others.

VIKAS : Do you mean to say that Rajaji lives and works independent of the thoughts of birthdays and his years?

VIVEK : While Rajaji has a remarkable sense of Time, he is like the Rishis, ageless. What matters it to him if he is 60, 70 or 80, so long as he is doing his duty to Man, God, Country and the World?

VIKAS : You say Shastriabhapoorthi or Satabhishekam is not for him. Does it mean he believes only in a centenary?

VIVEK : Perhaps he likes a centenary. A hundred years of good life in service is great both for individuals and institutions. That, I believe, is the reason why he is to preside over the Centenary celebrations of the Central College, Bangalore, of which he was an old student, on December 20.

VIKAS : If all of us request him for a message on his 'birthday' what would he say?

VIVEK : Rajaji's life is an open book of sweet and simple messages for father, mother,

brother, sister, wife, husband and the child. They get directly into the system, if we do not resist them. The messages are there for every day, for a hundred years and for all occasions of a lifetime to lead lives of simplicity and truth. Without accepting these messages how can we ask him for another message?

VIKAS : We shall ask for a really powerful message, since on a birthday he may relax and ignore our past failures.

VIVEK : Rajaji may say that he does not want us to have ennui on what we call his 'birthday.' He may say that we have had enough power-ful messages during the past three weeks.

VIKAS : Will he be so enigmatic at 79? A Politician-cum-Vedantin said at Calcutta recently that 'we are, if we are to be honest to ourselves, basically dishonest, corrupt and degenerate.' Will we have Rajaji's verdict?

VIVEK : No. We shall not draw him into a controversy on his 'birthday'. Don't we know that what is true is good and great while what is power-ful need not be true and right?

VIKAS : Here is a frightening assessment of the working of our democracy by Diplomat Chagla just received :

Democracy is on trial in our country. There are dark clouds on the horizon and even a little thunder and lightning. The people are getting impatient. They want to see the tangible results of freedom. Can democracy produce the results? Corruption and nepotism are also growing, and that, to my mind, is the greatest danger to our young democracy.

VIVEK : We have been warned of such a situation by Gandhiji long, long ago when he said that 'corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy as they undoubtedly are today. Nor is bulk a

true test of democracy. True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to represent. I hold that democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.'

VIKAS : How pregnant and prophetic these words from the Father of the Nation!

VIVEK : Did not SWARAJYA say recently that 'energy has been sapped all round and the fire of national independence has been converted into ashes in citizen life'?

VIKAS : What is Rajaji's solution, if not his 'birthday' message, in this situation?

VIVEK : Rajaji has been telling us that our troubles are largely of our making and that we must make up for errors of judgment and face hard facts without false pride. What better message for action do we need?

VIKAS : Please tell me in clearer terms.

For Writing Comfort



FREE FLOWING  
QUICK DRYING  
NON CORROSIVE

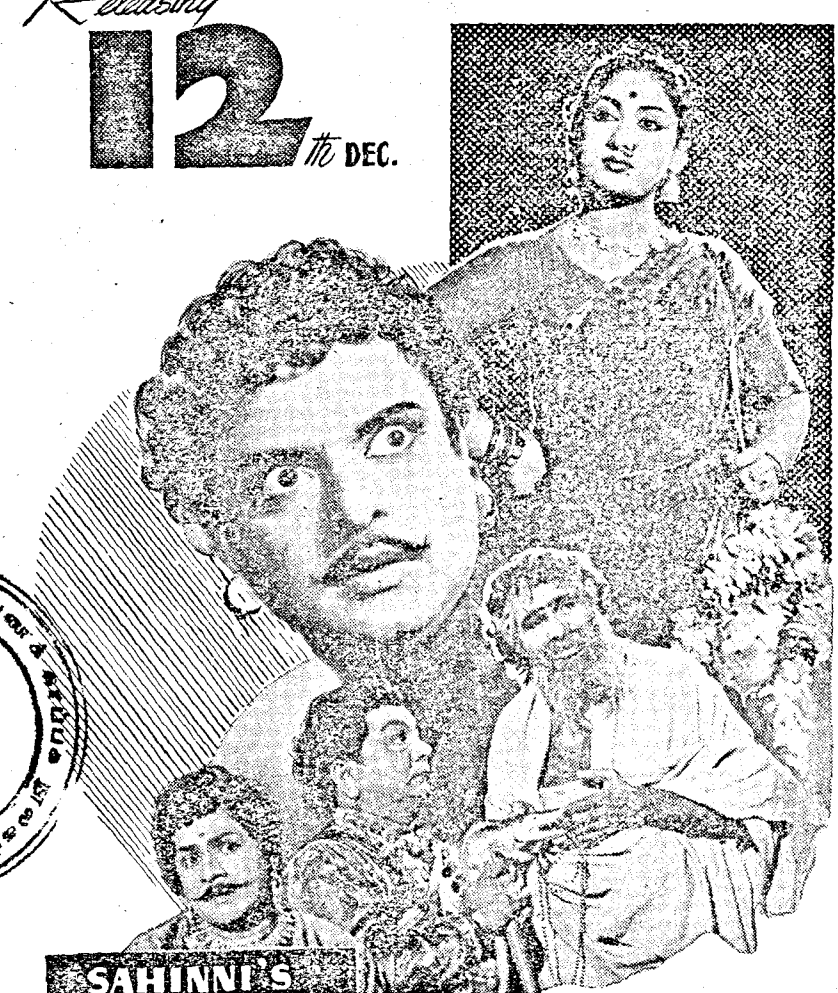
For skin diseases  
SANDALIN Ointment

RESEARCH CHEMICAL  
LABORATORIES

Madras-4  
Bangalore - New Delhi

At Madras PARAGON-PRABHAT-SARASWATHI and all over SOUTH

Releasing  
**12** <sup>th</sup> DEC.



SAHINI'S

# Adhisaya Thirudan

Direction... P. PULLIAH B.A.

STUDIO:  
**VIJAYA VAUHINI**

Produced by S. BHAVANARAYANA - D. B. NARAYAN

World Rights Controlled by MESSRS. FILM FINANCIERS, VADAPALANI, MADRAS-26.

DISTRIBUTORS: For Madras City: Messrs. SRI RAMA FILMS, Chintadripet, Madras-2. For North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput: Messrs. MEENAKSHI PICTURES, Mount Road, Madras-2. Released through Messrs. RAJA FILMS CIRCUIT, Madras-2. For Coimbatore, Nilgiris and Salem: Messrs. KARUR JAI HIND PICTURES, Coimbatore. For Trichy and Tanjore including Pudukottah: Messrs. AJANTA PICTURES, Trichy-8. For Madurai and Ramnad: Messrs. VIJAYA PICTURES CIRCUIT, Madurai. For Tirunelveli: Messrs. VIJAYA FILMS CIRCUIT, Tenkasi. For Kerala State: Messrs. ASSOCIATED PICTURES PRIVATE LTD., Ernakulam-1. For Mysore State: Messrs. VIJAYA PICTURES CIRCUIT, Bangalore-9. For Ceylon: Messrs. CINEMAS LIMITED, Colombo, Ceylon. For F.M.S: Messrs. SHAW BROTHERS LIMITED, Singapore.

December 13, 1958

VIVEK: 'I should work single-handed in the implicit faith that what I fail to make clear to my countrymen today shall be clear to them some day of itself; or if God wills it through some apt word He may put into my mouth or

some apt work which He may prompt me to do in matters of such tremendous importance'.

VIKAS: That means Faith and Socrates.

VIVEK: Faith, Socrates, Gandhiji and Rajaji. Has not

Rajaji asked us to hope—hope that merciful Providence will not abandon us to bankruptcy after removing our shackles of subjection? VIKAS: So, the Birthday Message is Hope-ful!

V. KALIDAS.

**A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing**  
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

**SOLVING A PRESSING PROBLEM:**

It was such a large pile of clothes, sheets and towels—Mummy had to ask Ruma and Uma to help with the ironing.

Lots of washing, yes. But Mummy used so little soap. She washes with SUNLIGHT, of course. That wonderful extra lather washes so much! It draws out every scrap of dirt without beating!

Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!



SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

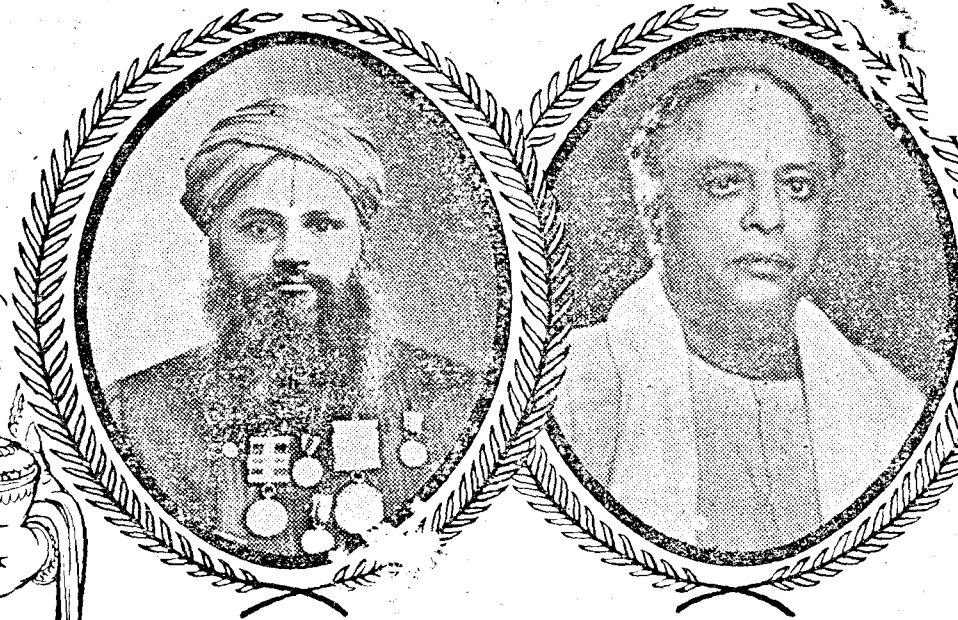
A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.

S. 263-X53

Edited and Published by KHASA SUBBA RAU at 77 Lloyds Road, Madras-14.  
Printed by T. K. VENKATESAN at THE JUPITER PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 109-C, Mount Road, Teynampet, Madras-18.



1898-1958



PANDIT D. GOPALACHARLU

PANDIT D. DESIKACHARLU

# AYURVEDASRAMAM DIAMOND JUBILEE

## DEDICATION

On this happy occasion of the DIAMOND JUBILEE the management rededicates to the cause of the suffering humanity and assures one and all that they will carry on the noble traditions of their illustrious founder Pandit D. Gopalacharlu and Pandit D. Desikacharlu under the great and divine blessings of LORD DHANVANTARY built for over 60 years since 1898.

The Management takes the opportunity to express their respect and evincing his great interest in Ayurveda and to gratefully acknowledge the kind co-operation offered to them by the citizens, doctors - allies, firms, the great community of merchants and distributors all over India and abroad and request them to extend to the AYURVEDASRAMAM the same benevolence as hitherto.

AYURVEDASRAMAM, MADRAS 17.  
JEEVAMRUTHAM MANUFACTURERS OF THE WELL KNOWN RECIPES  
ARUNA BALA PRI

JL  
2002, N2550  
NCEB