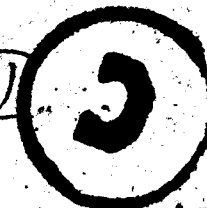


SWARAJYA,

VOL. II



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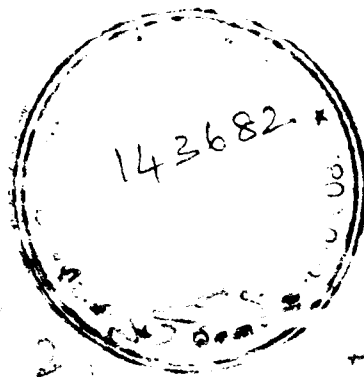
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. II. No. 31

MADRAS, FEBRUARY 8, 1958

6-MAR-1958

15 Naye Paise

MORE TAXES AND LESS BENEFIT

The Prime Minister made some excellent observations in his speech at Bombay on Monday inaugurating the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Merchants Chamber. He said, for example, that "accumulation of wealth by certain sections of the people could not be allowed to go on at the expense of others". But who are the people in India today excelling in this sort of accumulation of wealth to a degree not to be tolerated? It was announced sometime ago in the papers that a former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, the leading figure in his own State of the Prime Minister's own party, the Congress, died leaving property worth a crore of rupees. There have also been weird stories published in the Press which cannot be wholly discounted, of colossal accumulations of profit in the past two or three years by businessmen commanding official influence at the Centre. The jeep and the Mundhra scandals disclose a sorry state of affairs. Enough disclosures have come to light, with indications that much worse remains hidden, that official sins of commission and omission are not less to blame for the evil complained of by the Prime Minister than the rapacities of private enterprise unaided by the favour and patronage of authority.

Expatriating on the all-inclusive power of the new privileged class of bureaucrats and party bosses in Communist regimes, Milovan Djilas observes in his recent sensational book:

"The monopoly which the new class establishes in the name of the working class over the whole of society is, primarily, a monopoly over the working class itself. This monopoly is first intellectual, and then over the whole proletariat. This is the biggest deception the class must accomplish, but it shows that the power and interests of the new class lie primarily in industry. Without industry the new class cannot consolidate its position of authority."

Something similar to this is happening in India today under cover of the Socialist pattern which the Congress has been proclaiming as its glorious objective. When the Prime Minister speaks of the old concepts of free market and private enterprise as outdated ones having very little meaning in the present age and pleads the necessity for State interference, we seem to hear one more echo of the historic Communist sophistry for rivetting economic fetters on people in the name of welfare and rapidity of progress. Says Djilas:

"The emergence of the new class has been concealed under socialist phraseology and, more important, under the new collective forms of property ownership. The so-called socialist ownership is a disguise for the real ownership by the political bureaucracy. And in the beginning this bureaucracy was in a hurry to complete industrialisation, and hid its class composition under that guise."

In the light of this analysis, Nehru's pride in the "over-ambitiousness" of the Five Year Plan, which reads so spirited on paper, must be taken by sane critics with extreme care and caution. Government reports themselves show

that we have colossal irrigation projects that have failed to bring under cultivation even a fraction of the acreage they were planned for. It has been conclusively proved that expenditure in the Nehru regime is not equivalent to progress or benefit. The gap between the two represents so much loss not in lakhs but in crores, of the money got by taxation, down the drain in wastage, inefficiency, corruption and the like. It is a reason for halting further taxation till some assurance of money's worth in official spending through improved administration is established, and for a vigilant search of more dependable and honest care-takers of the nation's affairs and finances, and not for vain complacency and inopportune mutual flatteries of one another in the Government.

A. V. Raman

Life's unflinching Friend: Death has taken into his cold but holy embrace A. V. Raman. His restless spirit needed that embrace. Raman's restlessness of spirit was not born of ambition or any base origin. It was the throbbing of a soul that could not bear injustice to anybody or inefficiency or dishonesty in community life. His soul was so finely attuned that it felt the pain of everybody's righteous pain when it came to his notice and his spirit burned with indignation at every wrong to whomsoever and wherever it be. Needless to say that the lot of such rare men is unbroken sadness—but they are God's elect.

THE THOUGHT BARRIER

The news letter of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation has now begun to appear as a quarterly publication with the title *Christus Victor*. The December issue's editorial has the following significant passage:

"Not far from the house in which I live is a military airfield, so I have become accustomed to the sound of aeroplanes breaking the sound barrier. Unfortunately, this technical achievement does not fill our hearts with hope as long as the thought-barrier remains untouched, the thought-barrier of fear and faith in violence which prevents even Christians from determined peace-making in our atomic age.

"But there are signs, increasing in number and variety all over the world and in many fields of human life and action, that the attack upon the thought-barrier has begun."

This is illustrated by what Hildegard Mayr, one of the travelling secretaries of the Fellowship, writes in a report of the recent World Youth Festival held at Moscow:

"It is impossible to describe the many cultural events. We were rather disappointed with the antiquated, pompous style of architecture and theatre and interior decorations. Modern ways of expression have only recently been reluctantly accepted.

"Discussions between Communists and non-Communists during the homeward journey revealed perhaps most clearly what seems to me to be a real value of the Festival: both groups returned with somewhat changed opinions. The Communists realised that the Soviet Union is not an earthly paradise, that there, too, as in every other country, there are mistakes and injustices and that Socialism has not yet been achieved. There were some excited discussions on the Hungarian problem and about the just ways and means of fighting anti-governmental groups. On the other hand, the non-Com-

munists learnt that besides ideological materialism and dictatorship, there are many things in Russia, e.g. in the fields of economic or social welfare, which are just and good; that a great deal has been done in the fields of medicine, science, hygiene, sexual relations and moral responsibility; that there is in the Russian people a true sense of *caritas* and a willingness to accept sacrifice; and, above all, that the Russians like ourselves from the West, are people with whom one can talk and discuss, whom one can understand and whom we Christians must love. And the most convincing way of love is to show them, through our sincere friendship and understanding, a true picture of Christ."

The following extracts from a recent letter from Mira Behn to Rajaji will also interest our readers:

"This ghastly death-patrol of H-bomb carriers, which seems to be going on all over the West, is beginning to stir revolt among the unfortunate people down below, and the U.S. plan for missile bases too is becoming more and more unpopular. I am hoping that the sturdy and clear-brained Scottish people will set an example by flatly refusing the proposition for bases in Scotland. And all these things are done by so-called democratic Governments, in spite of the horror felt by the mass of the public! I have read with great interest your correspondence with Khrushchev, and thank God that there is someone competent to put those great truths across—some one who has both the intellectual grasp and spiritual conviction. The orthodox Gandhians of today... you are not orthodox, you are much greater than that! Though Khrushchev has not felt that he can go the whole way, the very fact that he has given so much time and thought to his replies, and couched them in the language he has, is of great significance"

Sotto Voce

"Full-Blooded" Democracy



In Mr. Naval Tata's speech at the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber I can find no provocation for Mr. Nehru's telling the world, rather unnecessarily, that he was responsible for last year's taxation measures and that the Finance Minister, as a loyal aide, had ably carried out his chief's intentions. But then, Mr. Nehru has got into the habit of converting every meeting into a beach meeting, an extension lecture for the benefit of the sub-normal. He produces a kind of *avial* in which you may expect to find everything from Sputnik to the socialistic pattern. However, it was, to say the least, odd that he should have been so emphatic in denying that the upshot of the Chagla Commission enquiry might have some bearing on the policy of nationalisation, when the Commission is yet to submit its findings.

Curiously enough, Mr. Nehru made no direct reference to the pointed if discreet challenge thrown out by Mr. Tata when he said that the commercial and industrial classes did not propose meekly to submit to extinction in the name of a classless society. Mr. Tata affirmed that the profit motive was a legitimate one. He indicated that, now that functional representation had been abolished, "some of us will have to come forward and stand for election in order to interpret our outlook and objectives in the legislatures". There are, no doubt, quite a few businessmen in the legislatures, but they have got in through the good graces of the ruling party, to which they have made themselves useful in various ways. Clearly Mr. Tata does not think of them as representative of their class.

Mr. Nehru himself has said that

he saw nothing wrong in Big Business making substantial subventions to political parties. As he artlessly put it, running elections cost a good deal of money. Adopting Lord Bacon's argument in rather different circumstances, it might be said that if the tycoons thought it worth while to pay handsome sums to the Congress's fighting fund they must be presumed on the whole to have approved of the Congress. But an alternative explanation is possible. When somebody put forward the fact that in the Indian countryside there were shrines to departed Englishmen, Surendranath Banerjee sweetly explained that so, too, there were shrines to the goddesses of plague, small-pox and cholera.

This is not a digression, as the reader might suppose. Mr. Nehru speaks of our having "full-blooded" democracy. So had the Weimer Republic. And yet Hitler was able to undermine it, first by establishing a political dictatorship by exploiting mob passions, and then by using the political power thus gained to get the propertied and business interests under his thumb. Then, in league with these same interests, he rivetted the fetters on the mob more firmly. The simple truth is that adult franchise does not automatically produce "full-blooded democracy". The German masses at least were literate, unlike our enfranchised millions who are very much at the mercy of any artful cadger who might come along.

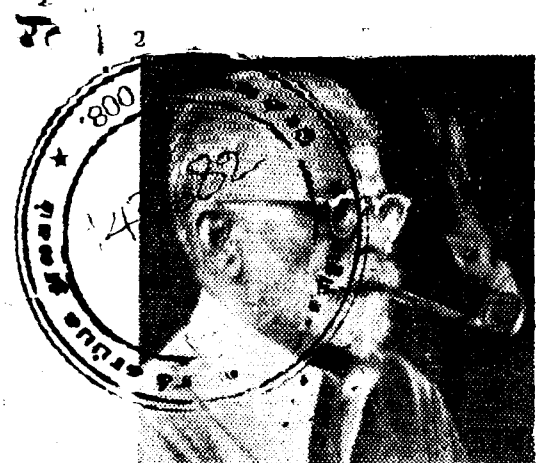
Hitler was able to stave off Nemesis for a time by engineering a second World War. "Bread and circus", which was the old Romans' way of keeping their "full-blooded democracy" in

good humour was plentiful so long as the legions could range the world from Britain to Persia for loot. When that source dried up the Empire fell to pieces. But these are no respectable precedents for an India devoted to Panch-Sila, even if she had the strength to embark on such adventures.

Mr. Nehru is therefore perfectly right in insisting that we must try and lift ourselves up by our own boot-straps. But does he realise that, while his counsel to the kisan and the worker, that they must tighten the belt in order to make the Plan a success, makes no impression—understandably, because they are chronically half-starved—they might be only too easily tempted to follow other siren voices which preach his gospel of levelling down, but with this difference that they scoff at the idea of non-violent socialism as a contradiction in terms? The masses thus misled may find too late that there is not much fun killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. Mr. Nehru is emphatic that our "full-blooded democracy" will not tolerate the bad old method of capital formation by grinding the face of the poor, which the Industrial Revolution followed in England. But America has shown that private enterprise can build up capital and yet treat Labour well.

There can be no industrialisation without capital formation and no capital formation without private enterprise—unless we choose to go the China and Russia way. Mr. Nehru, like the good democrat that he is, will not contemplate the alternative for a moment. But he is philosophically prepared to face the possibility of capital formation and industrialisation being slowed down as a consequence of our equalitarian zeal. He is however mistaken in thinking that by sharing out poverty we shall be just slowing down the pace of industrialisation. We shall be actually bringing it to a full stop. And are we so sure that we have "full-blooded democracy" and not merely an addled egg?

VIGNESWARA



Rajaji came to know him in the second decade of this century when he was in Salem and was municipal chairman. Raman came there as a young municipal engineer. Rajaji saw in him an officer truly devoted to his work, whose every moment's thought was his work. He was an engineer who could handle the trowel himself as easily and as well as any one who worked to earn twelve annas a day as a bricklayer. He required no over-seeing or push of any kind. This is perhaps unbelievable these days. But Rajaji testifies it is absolutely true. The quality that distinguished him in his early days continued right up to the end. Indignation incarnate was what he was towards his closing days as he saw the enveloping inefficiency and want of integrity that came as a dark cloud and a curse. May his soul rest in peace. One says this as a literal earnest prayer and it is the prayer of all the friends that knew him. His only vice was tobacco. With temptation and bad examples all round him, he yielded to no other vice. His own devotion to work made him often a hard task-master to the less devoted who had to work under him and a troublesome colleague to those who were mated to him but who did not feel the same total urge as he felt. Hot-tempered they found him, but who wants cold-tempered men in life either as friend or colleague? The family's bereavement is such as almost every one among us is familiar with, but to each one, it is of infinite significance and this journal feels almost a family sorrow in the loss of A. V. Raman's unfailing help and encouragement.

SIDELIGHTS ::

In his early days Sri Bulusu Sambamurthi was somewhat of a dandy given to dressing finely in the height of fashion and rushing about furiously at breakneck speed on a motor cycle. The non-co-operation movement which brought the Mahatma, on the Indian political scene was a turning point in his life as in the lives of so many others who came to play conspicuous parts in Congress history. Overnight it made an ascetic of him.

Gandhian initiation into politics was in those days a discipline in the giving up of things. One had to sink into the lowest depth of simplicity to ascertain with how little one could get on. In his own case, and as an example for the inspiration of followers, Gandhi combined the most exacting abstemiousness with a relentless activity throughout the day that left no idle moments. Sambamurthi followed the leader's injunctions with passionate fanaticism. When the Mahatma took to the loin cloth, Sambamurthi abandoned even that for a while, contenting himself with a mere *kowpeenam*. It was an example, in an extreme form, of the defiant and stupendous casting off of wants to reduce expense and dependence, with which Gandhi-chelas of an earlier generation fortified themselves. They pitted against the British rulers not only resistance assessable materially but also an entire philosophy of life which inoculated them against depression and defeat in the face of any disaster or tragedy. On the very eve of the Kakinada Congress Sambamurthi lost his only son who was then in the prime of life. As if the calamity did not touch him he fulfilled with undiminished vigour all the executive work connected with the Congress reception arrangements. The *kowpeenam* was the only outward symbol of the silent account with destiny he was then settling. Later he reverted to equilibrium by assuming more spacious clothing. But the loin cloth was the limit he never exceeded.

The second turning point in

Sambamurthi's life came when he was elected Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly in the first of Rajaji's two regimes as Chief Minister. By this time he had become a terror to the pompous. Nothing daunted him. He had outgrown the zest for privation of the ascetic and cultivated the magnificent indifference to heat and cold of the Gita. He lived sumptuously or abstemiously as occasion arose, alternating between feasts and fasts, but without a care in the world or any hungering for the delights of the palate or any of the other hungers of the flesh. But one appetite stuck to him through all discardings. He was insatiably garrulous. Existence to him was one continual enthusiasm maintained at high tempo with unending dialectics; and by creating cyclonic disturbances with blunt and tactless home truths, he came to be dreaded by the wielders of authority. I have a shrewd suspicion that Rajaji as Chief Minister singled him out for the Speaker's chair as the only way of enlisting his uncontrollable tongue and energy for the sustenance instead of the disturbance of decorum.

The office of Speaker worked a wonder in Sambamurthi. He imposed on himself a daily two-hour regimen of absolute silence and positively became sparing of speech! This terrible act of self-denial, reacting on his habitual dash, daring and intrepidity, made him one of the best chairmen of a legislature that India ever had, fit to be mentioned in the same breath as the redoubtable Vithalbhai Patel. But the Speaker's office led to his political undoing. He had such an exalted conception of it that he refused to stand for election when the Congress took up office the second time, holding that one who had been once Speaker should be returned unopposed by combined connivance of all the parties. This did not come about. From the wilderness into which the Ex-Speaker was thereby thrown, he never re-emerged.

Sri Sambamurthi had the gift of intense affection for fellow-workers to an unbelievable degree. He treated them like members of his own family. He took care of their fortunes and built them into leadership, as much as their natures and capacities would allow. He contributed, with his own infectious courage, strength and stamina to waverers. Often

(Continued on Page 15)



An old picture of Sambamurthi as Speaker conferring with Rajaji.

PAROCHIALISM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Jack Cade: How now, who's there?
Smith: The clerk of Chatham; he can write and read and cast account.
Cade: O monstrous! Come hither, sirrah, I must examine thee. What is thy name?
Clerk: Emmanuel.
Cade: Dost thou use to write thy name? Or hast thou a mark to thyself like an honest plain-dealing man?
Clerk: Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.
All: He has confessed.
Cade: Away with him, I say! Hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck.

Not all the people up in the indi area who demand the exclusion of English are moved by mere love of their mother-tongue. Some of the anti-English feeling is a reality merely a proletarian antipathy to all learning as is wrought out by Shakespeare in the Jack Cade episode above quoted. In the South, too, this same anti-education feeling, though thinly eiled, is at the back of such support as the Congress resolution on the language issue has found.

It is not realised that the banishment of English will not leave the illiterate clear for illiteracy and ill-quipment but the plan is to replace it by a new task-master.

What is parochialism? Being interested in one's own parish: taking a narrow view of things instead of looking at matters from a broader point of view is what the word means in general usage. Who are the parochialists? Those who find that Hindi is the mother-tongue of their district or province and insist that it should be accepted by all including those masses of people numbering not thousands, but millions to whom it is not the mother-tongue? Or those who, listening to the call of justice and fairplay, and modern requirements, efficiency and rapid progress insist that English, though it be non-Indian in origin should be our language-tool at the top; while in State affairs, every State may use the regional language? Surely it is the Hindi protagonist who is parochial, not those who want the

status quo to continue.

Man requires tools to work. It will not do to raise tools to the height of religion and get excited and fanatical about them. The modern plough has to be improved with a steel plough-share, the bullocks replaced by a tractor where the soil is hard to break. In the selection of tools at various levels different considerations come into play. The teeth in the mouth are a tool, but they should not be replaced by better grinders made artificially except when the teeth are rotten and fail to do work and instead become an obstruction. But forks and spoons, leaves and plates to eat from, tables to eat on, and mats and chairs to sit on, grinding stones and cooking vessels, these are not matters over which we should develop patriotic or parochial fanaticism. They change even in conservative homes in conservative India as knowledge improves and circumstances change.

The mother-tongue in the earlier stages of education and the regional language in official work at bottom levels correspond to the teeth in the mouth.

At the top, in the Union offices and in the universities, we should look on language not with the eye of chauvinism but with the eye of wisdom. 'Which is the better tool?' is the only question: which is better for us and for all concerned, better for the future as well as for the present? This and this alone should guide our choice. Hence it is I stand for English at the Union level and for the retention of English studies and the study of technological and scientific subjects through English books instead of concerning ourselves and spending time and energy over replacement of the tool, and losing time and energy for the substantial work of progress.

Let not tools take possession of our souls; let us be in command over our tools. The Union official language is just a tool and as things stand as resulting from the historical development of India, English is a definitely better tool

and a juster tool. It is nobody else's property. Let not democracy allow itself to be sabotaged by false patriotism and lose efficiency and even-handed justice. We cannot be sustained altogether by xenophobia; especially is it so when the patriotism is a spurious type, the boosting of a regional language into something it is not adapted for.

If this plan is given up and intimidation and pressure-tactics withdrawn, there is hope to make a popular form of Hindi, usually known as Hindustani, what is spoken in the mixed camps of the army and in the bazaars of upper India into a kind of all-India *lingua* for routine social purposes. It cannot serve, as English does. But it can serve for the limited purposes of common intercourse. For this, however, an atmosphere of goodwill must be created. And this is not created by exaggerated claims and the threat of forced imposition and application of indirect sanctions. These create opposition all round and prevent a natural development. Giving it a humbler status, the *lingua franca* may well be taught in all the schools among other useful subjects. But modern knowledge requires the study of English, whatever may be the delusions of the Hindi leaders.

Parochialism that does not know its own parochial character but has been invested with power is a dangerous thing. Parochialism that knows its proper bounds, viz. to look after the interests of its own parish without detriment to the interests of the rest of the country is, far from being bad, a very necessary defence in democracy against power when it threatens to degenerate into tyranny.

It is definitely wrong to begin with a hypothesis that Hindi can do the work of English and tinker with an all-important machine of government, viz., the language of Central official work, hoping that all will be well, when really most words have to be coined afresh and precision thrown to the winds. What is worse still is to ignore the feelings of people, impose unequal burdens on different regional populations, and look upon resistance to injustice as separatism.

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... OVER A. I. R.

By M. KRISHNAN

Since anyhow some of my readers are likely to misjudge me, since, however tactfully and reasonably I put things there will be people who will insist on misreading me, moved by a spontaneous and uncritical loyalty whose touchy chagrin mere words cannot anticipate or sidestep, since I cannot wait prudently for another century when people will be sufficiently removed from today to have a more objective point of view—since all this is inevitably thus, I, who love mixing metaphors, might as well be hung for a sheep as for a lamb, and have my say with no euphemistic frills or fade-outs.

Listening to the Gandhi-commemorative programmes of A.I.R. on January 30, I was struck by the fact that all the tributes paid were so adulatory and rhapsodic, so very devotional. My point is that one of our truly great national figures deserves better at the hands of A.I.R. He might have been paid less formal and more personal tributes, treated more like a great man than like a god. His severest critics could never have denied his most potent asset and strength, his unbounded humanity. The tributes that were paid were addressed to the Mahatma, not to Gandhi.

Having said this may I add two other observations, neither by way of retreat? There were so many references to Gandhi as the Father of the Nation and the Architect of our Democracy—and still these broadcasts were worshipful! Imagine the Americans paying worshipful adulatory tributes every year to Abraham Lincoln—would Lincoln have been remembered as that curious blend of unbending iron and fluid compassion, a very human and lovable man? Isn't it this fundamental humanity in men like Lincoln and Gandhi that raised them above other men notable for their rectitude and achievement? So many broadcasts featured only the righteousness, the courage and other heroic qualities of Mahatma

Gandhi. We are very near him still, but in the interests of posterity and justice, a more human and intimate portrait could have been painted.

That reminds me of a bit of corroborative evidence, though this has nothing to do with A.I.R. The very term 'heroic' is used in art to indicate the super-sized stature of a commemorative representation; the hero is shown larger than life. But only mere increase in size is permitted; no change in the proportions. I saw Gandhi only once and for a moment, from the fringe of a roadside crowd as he passed by, but I remember that glimpse of him well—not because he was celebrated, but since his charm, which transcended his homely looks, was manifest. Why then do our artists, seeking to represent him, 'touch up' his looks and lineaments instead of trying to recapture the vivid charm of the man? But perhaps I am wrong in attributing any transforming, idealising motive to our artists, perhaps it is merely a question of poor draughtsmanship.

My second suggestion, stated in accepted clichés, is only this—let us remember Gandhi as the Father of the Nation and not as the Architect of our Democracy. I say this because I do not think he was the Architect of our Democracy. I think this because I feel, logically, that he could not have been the Architect of our Democracy when, in fact, we have no democracy as yet. Yes, if democracy is an administrative technique, a mode of government with certain formal features, we do have a democracy. But if it is, as I believe it must be, a way of life adopted by the majority of the people, we are not a democracy. The people of India, the vast majority of whom are rustics whose culture is dominantly conditioned by oral traditions and not literacy, do not know or practice a democratic way of life. They were used to feudal values, whether their homage was paid to a Maharaja or a Tahsildar of the

British Raj, and I am afraid they have not changed radically in the villages though they recognise new allegiances. And I do not think any fair-minded person would say that the nascent and reactionary defiance of all authority or the victimisation of certain minorities, observable in and around our cities, is democracy. It is only you and I, members of the wretched, indeterminate middle-class, that rant about democracy and the socialistic pattern of society. The poor villager has no wish, prompted by an unlovely inferiority complex, to assert his equality with those better endowed with education, or money, or other talent.

"The rich arrived in pairs,
And also in Rolls Royces;
They talked of their affairs
In loud and strident voices.
The husbands and the wives
Of this select society
Lead independent lives
Of infinite variety.

"The poor arrived in Fords,
Whose features they resembled.
They laughed to see so many
lords

And ladies all assembled."

That is a verse about English society, but the Indian villager is no less prepared to accept and formally kowtow to a select and superior class, and no less prone to laugh (in private and in the company of his fellows) at its antics. There is quite a lot of fun to be got out of belonging to the lower grades of a graded hierarchy—and, in spite of all this talk of a classless society that I hear, I do not see it anywhere around me. I quoted the lines above, from treacherous memory, because the verse goes on to mention the miserable, in-between middle-class which is nowhere in the gay picture—and I just cannot recall those lines!

Sri L. P. K. Ramanathan Chettiar's talk on form in Tamil poetry (Kavithai Inbam—Vadivam: Madras, January 31), was an authentic masterpiece. Old Tamil grammar lays down that apart from prosodic conventions and the formal requirements of rhyme and rhythm, there is a quality of excellence in all true

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FIFTH ALL-INDIA HANDLOOM WEEK

PROGRAMME

- 8-2-1958**
6-00 P.M. Opening of the Handloom Exhibition by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, B.A., B.L.
6-15 P.M. Inauguration of the Handloom Week by Justice P. Rajagopalan, I.C.S., Chief Justice, Madras.
Speaker: Srimathi R. Kanthimathi Ammal, M.A., B.L., Headmistress, Presidency Girls' High School, Egmore.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Dance: Srimathi Kamala Laxman.
- 9-2-1958 PUBLIC MEETING**
6-00 P.M. *Chairman:* Sri Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras.
Speakers: Sri D. S. Joshi, I.C.S., Chairman, All-India Handloom Board, Bombay.
Dr. M. Varadarajanar, M.A., M.O.L., Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Drama: T. K. S. Brothers — "Raja Raja Cholan".
- 10-2-1958 PUBLIC MEETING**
Chairman: Sri M. Bhakthavatsalam, B.A., B.L., Home Minister.
Speaker: Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Music: Isai Arasu M. M. Dhandapani Desigar.
- 11-2-1958 PUBLIC MEETING**
6-00 P.M. *Chairman:* Sri K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister.
Speaker: Sri M. R. Perumal, M.A., L.T., Principal, Teachers' College, Saidapet.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Drama: "Lankeswaran" by Sri Manohar & Party.
- 12-2-1958 LADIES' DAY**
6-00 P.M. *Chairman:* Srimathi Tara Cherian, Mayor of Madras.
Speakers: Srimathi Soundaram Kailasam.
Srimathi Raja Sulochana.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Handloom Dress Competition.
Children's Tableaux.
Oriental Dance by Radha Rani, Saroja & Party.
- 13-2-1958 PUBLIC MEETING**
6-00 P.M. *Chairman:* Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.
Speaker: Srilasri Kunrakudi Adigal.
- ENTERTAINMENT**
7-15 P.M. Music: Srimathi K. B. Sundarambal.
- 14-2-1958 STUDENTS' DAY**
5-15 P.M. *Chairman:* Sri C. Subramaniam, B.A., B.L., Finance Minister.
Children's Play Festival.
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poetry which can be only defined as that quality found in the great poetry of the past. A difficult concept to explain or illustrate, especially in a 15-minute radio talk, but Sri Ramanathan Chettiar expounded it quite lucidly. He did not restrict himself to the early classics or even to the period anterior to, say, 10,000 A.D. — he chose for his range the entire body of Tamil poetry, from the Sangam literature to Subramanya Bharathi, and took some of his examples from recent poetry. It was evident from what he said, and even more evident from what he left out, that he was a scholar of considerable discrimination. He mentioned only some of the basic verse-forms of the classical period, and was content to point out the fundamental accents of rhyme and rhythm in those forms; I admired the certainty with which he left out all mention of that peculiarly Tamil convention of erotic poetry, known as *Thinnai*, the ecology of lyric poetry—after all, nowhere is it said that the rather limited conventions of *Thinnai* are essential to true poetry. Instead of explaining such prosodic conventions and detailing the vocabulary of similes, and similar formal flourishes, he expounded the quiddity of true poetry referred to above. Naturally Sri Ramanathan Chettiar had to use a somewhat scholarly diction, but I must say he covered much ground in few words, and did it gracefully and with ease, without making it seem a feat. I look forward to hearing him again.

I must confess to feeling much less enthusiastic about the Tamil short story, *Orumai*, that I heard read out by the author, Sri S. T. Srinivasan, from the Madras Station. May be others liked it better. I am increasingly inclined to the rather surrealist school of thought which holds that in the modern short story there is no such thing as a good or a bad story, and that provided a fairly elementary standard of competence in the writing is there, it is all a question of the reactions and "experience-background" of the reader (or listener).

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Towards the end of January which strangely indicated several other 'ends', the scene in Delhi had a distinct touch of Andhra animation. That was in the wake of the arrival here of two sons of Andhra, the one an eminent judge and the other a prominent politician. The former, Mr. Koka Subba Rao, gravitated to the highest court of justice at the Capital, with a sense of inevitability, and became 'Supreme'. Having graduated from the Arts College, Rajahmundry, about 35 years ago, he qualified himself for the Bar and got married into a family, for long one of legal luminaries and later of renowned judges—and too, of presiding deities. Mr. Justice Subba Rao's distinction is not by mere virtue of association but self-acquired. Whether as a lawyer or as a judge, whether in Madras or Guntur or Hyderabad, he rose to the height of his opportunities and made a name for himself as much by his sturdy sense of independence as by his unimpeachable decorum and dignity. The future will hear yet more of him.

The politician from Andhra who 'arrived' in Delhi, also under the compulsion of events, is Mr. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. His assumption of office as a Secretary of the Congress was forecast in these columns at least six weeks earlier. And, despite subsequent vacillations at one end or the other, the rumour became a fact as there was no one on the other side of the Vindhyas who seemed to be better cast for the role, when command of Hindi was to be allied to political adroitness or individual drive. While yet young (though he sat, or was made to sit, among the elders) Mr. Raju finds himself in the line of (to take the Andhra perspective exclusively) the patriarchal Subba Rao Pantulu, the picturesque Gopalakrishnayya and the resourceful Venkata Rao. For the void he leaves behind him in Andhra Pradesh there will be enough compensation in the excitement over the battle-fronts in

the North that are to come under the Southern command, even as the Southern storm-centres will come under Northern command, according to the new strategy of the Congress in the Dhebar era. To put it differently, if Mr. Shriman Narayan will study the South, Mr. Raju will stride the North. Organisationally, the Congress needs the former's academic objectivity and the latter's political acumen and maybe that between Mr. Shriman Narayan's economic reviews and Mr. Raju's political reports, better solutions to Congress problems will be found. They make a good combination, with experience on one side and energy on the other.

To those who have eyes to see, quite a new picture is emerging out of the mists of January. If Delhi has endured its tensions, Bombay, it is believed, has blasted all pretensions. Under February skies, it is no longer a question of whispering galleries or idle rumours. Now it is all loud talk and free comment. All speculation is at an end; things are taken for granted. One fancies the other telling a trifle triumphantly: "I told you so",—so much so that too many find it easy to claim the discovery that

*Yea, the First Morning of
Creation wrote
What the Last Day of reckoning
shall read*

Retribution brings in its wake strange revenges indeed. And nothing can be more revengeful than an infuriated public, stunned by startling revelations.

Junius realises that he must dispense with allegories however alluring and reckon with the actualities that stare him in the face. Cabinet casualties are everybody's affair in an enlightened democracy (to flatter ourselves for a change). Exits, whether voluntary though sometimes belated, or unavoidable though delayed, leave a trail behind. With Parliament about to re-assemble and too with a budget session to open, no Government can have an

easy time, if the Exchequer needs a new custodian. The search for Mr. Krishnamachari's successor has begun. There are some who are inclined to think that recent developments may even lead to the reconstitution of the whole Cabinet. Perhaps it is asking for too much. Blessed are they who have no expectations for they shall never be disappointed. Of two things, however, one can be certain. A new Finance Minister will present the next Budget—and he will not be a mere caretaker.

Questions are raised: Will one of the senior colleagues take up Finance and part with his present portfolio for another? Will some new one be discovered to cope with a most difficult legacy? Or will one be brought back who knew his job—and his mind, and who evoked, in all quarters, both respect and confidence? The first is not as easy as it seems, if only because of rivals contending for the same place. The second is unlikely, particularly for want of sufficient time, while an ambassador who has made himself agreeable everywhere may be taken into Cabinet for a portfolio other than Finance. The third is not improbable though irksome. Whatever he may ultimately do, the Prime Minister will stand up like a man—and face the issue.

Post-script: In China, Ministers not wanted are just dismissed; in Russia they are degraded; in India—such is our democratic way of life—they are but given a send-off, if the departure is at all public!

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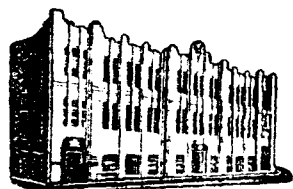
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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Censors are in the news again. While commenting on M.G.M.'s 'Tea and Sympathy' released this week, every critic has pointed out that the Censors have ruined the picture and mutilated it. One critic says "It is really a shame that so beautiful and sensitive a film should have been so mutilated". Another critic who had seen the original play in Paris and is aware of the fact that London Censors had refused it permission for general exhibition — though it was shown to members — and is still being shown in London — feels that one can understand a total ban on the picture, but once it was given 'A' certificate, where was the necessity to mutilate it in such a drastic manner that it would make no sense for even the most adult among our adult picture-goers?

The vagaries and the prudery of the Censors are creating a lot of trouble for Indian producers.

The Censor Code and regulations should be more explicit. Each time action is taken against any particular incident the Censors should explain their viewpoint to the press as well as the producers so that other producers would not commit the same mistake again.

After the creation of Pakistan, the so-called Muslim socialists have become a rarity. 'Mehendi' produced by Pushpa Pictures is such a rarity. It deals with a by-gone era of Lucknow of the Nawabs, who have either migrated to Pakistan or become modern capitalists!

The story is said to have been based on the life of Umrao Jan Ada, the poetess; but it is a formula screenplay with some of the episodes taken from real life. Surprisingly enough, the picture does not include a single original poem of Umrao Jan. Whether the screen story has thus any factual basis or not, the screenplay is quite interesting and is presented with the right atmosphere of feudal grandeur and pomp.

The daughter of a judge is kid-

napped by robbers and given to a prostitute, who brings her up as her own ward teaching her to sing and dance. The girl is re-christened Umrao Jan. She is fond of writing poems and interested in mushairas, which brings her into contact with a Nawab whom she marries secretly. After the marriage a son is born to her, but she gives him away to the Nawab's elder wife. The woman, who feels that in Umrao's marriage she has lost a gold-mine, hatches a plot and succeeds in creating misunderstanding between the two.

But the plot misfires. For Umrao does not return to the old place, she goes away with her 'Ustad' to Fyzabad in search of her mother whom she meets after a dramatic encounter with her son and elder Begum. Her mother accepts her; but her brother, who has seen her sing and dance in Lucknow refuses to accept her until the repentant Nawab with his mother, first wife and son arrives to claim her as the lawfully wedded wife.

A rather old-fashioned story, it is none the less interesting and is significant for sympathetic approach to the plight of fallen women. In particular the two poems — the description of 'Bazare-Husna' by the Nawab and Umrao's spirited reply — are the highlights though the style and wording are very much reminiscent of a similar poem in 'Pyaasa'. The music may not be novel or inspiring, but it is certainly in keeping with the character and the atmosphere of the story. The lyrics are apt. The dialogue by Kamal Rashid gives purport and life to the story in no small measure.

While production values are more than adequate, S. M. Yusuf's direction is orthodox but competent. He has been able to recreate the Lucknow of the Nawabs, the mushairas and dancing girls, quite vividly. Jayashree gives a very sympathetic and sincere portrayal as Umrao Jan and proves her mettle as an artiste. She looks also quite fetching with her domi-

nating eyes so attractive. Ajit as Nawab and Kumar as Ustad contribute excellent cameos. Veena is dignified as the Begum while Lalita Pawar is too loud in emotional scenes. The rest of the support is adequate.

Nimmi has managed to hoodwink the gossip-column writers and keep her romance and marriage secret all these days. The lucky bridegroom whom she married recently is the handsome, promising young screenplay writer, S. Ali Raza.

Nimmi who hails from Agra is the daughter of Wahidanbai. She came to Bombay almost at the same time as Ali Raza did from Lucknow. The first producer Nimmi knew was Mehboob; it was while visiting the sets of 'Andaz' that Raj got interested in her and signed her for 'Barsaat' and gave her her screen-name, Nimmi. The first producer Ali Raza met was also Mehboob; he was introduced by Agha Jani Kashmiri, Ali Raza's relation, and the first assignment of Ali Raza was 'Andaz'. It was as the dialogue writer of 'Andaz' that he came into the limelight. Since then Ali Raza has written the scripts of almost all Mehboob pictures. In 'Mother India' also, he shares the credit for dialogue along with Vajahat Mirza.

Ali Raza was a brilliant student in Lucknow; and though he comes from the land of Nawabs, far from being feudal and aristocratic and reserved, he is most unassuming and amiable with no false sense of pride.

Ali Raza is toying with the idea of launching an independent picture of his own and he has already got a very thought-provoking story with a provocative title 'Ram Mohmad D'Souza'. One wishes him happiness in his matrimonial alliance with 'the unkissed girl' of the Indian screen, Nimmi, the talented star.

Lekhraj Bhakri performed the muharat of his new picture, 'Sahara' starring Meena Kumari, Pradeep Kumar, Daisy Irani, and Kuldip Kaur with music by Hemant Kumar, on Sunday 2nd February at Ranjit Studios.

PUBLISHERS IN THE DOLDRUMS

By V. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA

Publishers of books have all along been bearing the brunt of enlightening the masses. The State has been only providing the scaffolding by way of provision of libraries or schools. The real furnishing inside by way of provision of suitable books has been the work of publishers. If only the State had chosen to take a realistic view of things, it would have subsidised publishers of books as they do some industries; had this been done, books in quite appreciable numbers would have gone to the public even in the remotest villages and have materially helped in the problem of the removal of illiteracy.

The position today is that the State is unable to fulfil in due time its objective of rooting out illiteracy. It has not been able to open enough schools or even to man existing ones with enough teachers. And yet, it is at this critical stage that the publishing industry is being crippled by severe restrictions. The import of printing paper has been stopped; much of the production of Indian mills is commandeered for State use; what little is left for public consumption is subject to the whims and fancies of the dealers who control the trade. Newsprint which publishers have been relying upon for the production of cheap editions, has become costly, and its supply has dwindled, and its use for production of books

has been prohibited. Indian newsprint, the product of Nepa Mills, is poor in performance, unattractive in colour or appearance and certainly not cheap in cost. One can easily understand how the production of books for the people, as distinct from text books and other costly technical books, is being seriously handicapped. The quality of the books will fall, the quantity will decrease and the cost will go up, with the consequence that fewer books will reach our countrymen in remoter parts than formerly.

With ununderstandable alacrity the Postal department has been increasing the cost of cards and envelopes and that of its service by way of registration, V.P.P., etc. Increase in postal rates, which boosts up the demand of the postal employees for more emoluments which in turn leads to the increase of rates and so on, has become an ever-repeating and never-ending phenomenon. But let us see how the present high postal rates affect the public by

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detering them from going in for books which they need, by post. The details given below will make every discerning reader see what serious havoc the high rates can do. All publishers unanimously testify to the fact that the sale of books by post has considerably dwindled.

The following statement will show how the current V.P. postal rates are disproportionately heavy:

What a villager has to spend to get a book by V.P.:

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| (ii) Book-post postage on 7½ tolas | 8 nP. |
| (iii) The compulsory registration fee thereon | 50 nP. |
| (iv) Compulsory V.P. fee | 6 nP. |
| (v) Money Order commission collected from the customer for the V.P. packet | 15 nP. |

Total expenditure on postage alone 84 nP.

Therefore, postage on a book costing 25 nP. comes to 84 nP. Thus, the postage alone works out to more than three times the price of the book.

(2) The extra amount by way of (V.P.) postage alone, on books of different weights and prices will be:

- | | Rs. | nP. |
|---|-----|-----|
| (i) On a book priced at 50 nP. (8 as.) and weighing 15 tolas, V.P. postage alone will be: | 0 | 93 |
| Thus, the total cost of the book comes to 50 nP. plus 93 nP. that is | 1 | 43 |
| (ii) On a book priced at 75 nP. (12 as.) and weighing 22½ tolas V.P. postage alone will be: | 1 | 02 |
| Thus the price of the book plus postage comes to: | 1 | 77 |
| (iii) On a book priced at Re. 1 and weighing 30 tolas V.P. postage alone comes to: | 1 | 11 |
| Thus, the price of the book plus extra postage comes to: | 2 | 11 |

- (iv) On a book priced at Rs. 2 and weighing 60 tolas V.P. postage alone comes to: 1 47
Thus, the price of the book plus extra postage comes to: 3 47

It is time that the public woke up to the seriousness of the situation and sent representations to the authorities so that they may know the volume of opinion in this matter and offer reasonable and special redress to the publishing trade which has to grapple with the problem of supplying enough books to an increasing number of readers scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Theatre India

Theatre India: Journal of dance, drama, music, published from 191, South Avenue, New Delhi. Price Re. 1.

A welcome publication is this theatre journal.

The state of the stage in India at the present time can be summed up in a few phrases: Wanted theatres; wanted playwrights; wanted playgoers. But a plethora of counsels and conundrums abound. And, in good measure, arguing in a circle too. (Going round and round a problem is not the way of meeting it.)

Since the days of Kalidasa, the theatre has ceased to be "the only pleasure for people of diverse tastes". In what way can drama regain its lost enthusiasms and recapture the minds of men — of diverse tastes and income-groups?

Theatre India wants that the people should become the 'central force' in the theatre; but would collaboration between the players and the public achieve this consummation? I doubt it. Probably there is no escape from the cliché, the play's the thing.

The first number has a one-act piece, besides informative articles on amateur theatre problems and on the American comedy. May I hope that apart from being a forum for discussion of the problems of the theatre, the journal will prove to be a hunting ground for new dramatic talent.

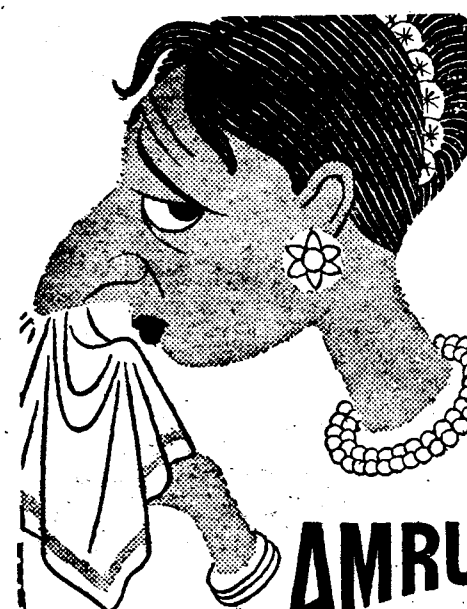
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MAJOR IRRIGATION PROJECTS

By KOUSIK

Hundreds of crores have already been sunk during the first Five-Year Plan and some more are proposed to be spent in the second Plan with the belief that these outlays on major projects will meet food shortage, that they have advantage over medium ones, that they are more economical and that they stave off famine conditions. Over 15 million acres of additional irrigation was assessed from about two dozen projects costing over Rs. 120 crores from the first Plan. Similarly 37 million acres are anticipated in the second Plan.

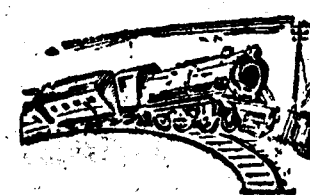
It is well known that the result of the first Five-Year Plan has not justified the hopes and the food situation is as bad as before. If a specific project like the Tungabhadra project is considered, it will be found that major projects mean major problems and headaches with comparatively insignificant results. The reservoir is getting filled for the last four years but the development of the ayacut

has not been effected as per targets. Minor or medium irrigation projects with smaller outlays will bear quick results and the difficulties involved in obtaining foreign exchange, cement, steel and other equipment necessary for major projects can be obviated. There have been scores of cases in which medium and minor irrigation projects have produced adequate results with less cost. No major project has so far been completed within time and within the original sanctioned estimate. Thus the expected return on borrowed capital has not been realized. An examination of capital and revenue accounts, if maintained as they should be, will open the picture to the public at large.

It is high time that further outlay on major projects is forthwith stopped, particularly in view of shortage in funds and foreign exchange and other restrictions due to import control. In the meanwhile, the actual expenditure in-

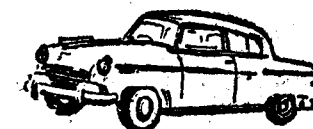
curred on many projects may be scrutinised by a high power commission to make sure that every rupee has been usefully spent and not frittered away. As time is the crux of the food problem a switch over to medium schemes will give results in two or three years, thus avoiding food imports. The oft-quoted plea that time is required for the development of major projects can also be met. If arrangements for the development are made side by side with the execution of the project, on a phased programme, irrigation and food production will follow the expenditure as day follows night. Failure to produce early results has given rise to double loss: payment of interest on the borrowed capital and purchase of food grains at heavy cost. The expected aids and loans from abroad will be no solution to the problem. They will only increase our troubles. Money obtained will be freely spent and interest commitment will also increase. So the available capital outlay should be suitably allocated among major, medium and minor projects. Only thus we can solve our food problem soon.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RAJAJI AND D. M. K.

Sir, — As a staunch supporter of Rajaji's stand in the raging language issue, I am very much perturbed to find him making common cause with Sri Annadurai, the apostle of a sovereign Dravida Nadu. By this alliance, Rajaji is unwittingly weakening our cause. There is no point in enlisting the dubious support of a party which opposes the unity of India, lock, stock and barrel and denounces the North with bell, book and candle. They have got their own chestnuts to draw. To them the unity of India is a myth. But it is not so with Rajaji. He stands for a united India and he will not do anything that will jeopardise that unity. In these circumstances, let us carry on our campaign, mobilising the support of parties that believe in the unity of the country and not admit a Trojan horse into it now and regret later.

Madras

R. S. MANI

AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

Sir,—The resolution adopted by the Language Convention held in Madras that English should continue to be the official language of India for ever is as impossible as the date line (1965) fixed by the

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K. MAHADEVAN,

82-A, Royapettah High Road,
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Constitution for Hindi to assume that status. The views expressed at the Madras Convention are extreme and not in consonance with the cherished wishes of the people at large.

That Hindi, if and when it attains the merits of English and becomes widely learnt and understood, should become the official language of India, even Rajaji should concede. With this in view, compulsory teaching of Hindi in schools should begin from now on.

Meanwhile, the Constitution may be amended, more or less on the lines indicated below, so that the present generation may not be put to undue hardship in learning an immature language hurriedly and the future generation may have the satisfaction of deciding the issue by itself rather than be confronted with a decision arrived at now.

(i) English should continue to be the Union official language, say till 1980 or till the sixth general elections.

(ii) If the newly elected Parliament and the legislatures of the non-Hindi States after that appointed date, decide, say by two-thirds majority, in favour of Hindi, then that language shall become the official language of the Indian Union five years from the date of such an expressed desire.

It is time we stop all quarrels on this issue which is fraught with grave consequences and divert attention to the paramount need of increasing the country's production unitedly.

Bangalore S. P. VASUDEVAN

FALLACIES OF HINDI
PROTAGONISTS

Sir, — Certain considerations which seem to have escaped attention deserve particular emphasis.

(1) No one seems to have bothered about the interests of the large mass of Hindi-speaking people. The protagonists of Hindi glibly talk of 'developing' the language artificially by simplifying its grammar, adding tens of thousands of new technical words, and modernising the language every way. The percentage of literacy is about the lowest in the Hindi areas, and my fear is that the Hindi people will not be able to understand this newly concocted and inflated official language. I therefore urge that Hindi should be saved for the Hindi people.

(2) It is taken too readily for granted that 42% of the people in Bharat speak Hindi. This 42% business is asserted with so much gusto that one sometimes suspects whether our Hindi friends are not happy that the non-Hindi areas of West and East Pakistan have broken away from India, for had there been no partition, the Hindi-speaking people would have been hardly more than 25% of the population. Besides, some of the so-called Hindi dialectical variations are more than mere variations. Maithili, for example, is spoken by several millions in Bihar and its environs. If Hindi can claim a Tulsidas, Maithili can claim a Vidyapati,—and it has thus its own individuality and rich traditions. The P. E. N. India Centre has long recognised Maithili as one of the Indian languages. Yet the A.I.R. refuses to treat Maithili as a separate language, though even Kashmiri is accorded such recognition. The reason is that by forcibly merging Maithili with Hindi, the latter's supposed vogue would be unreasonably inflated.

(3) While talking of majority votes, it is forgotten that it is for the non-Hindi people to decide whether they will opt for Hindi or not as the official language. The whole thing was vitiated at the very beginning, when the Congress party, with the bulk votes of the Hindi members, voted for Hindi by the narrowest of margins, and then carried the motion through the Constituent Assembly.

(4) Again, the argument of mere numbers is fallacious. No one today speaks the language of Homer or Valmiki: yet classical Greek and Sanskrit are studied with reverent care by tens of thousands of scholars all over the world because these literatures are veritable treasure houses of

thought and culture. Though billions and billions of mosquitoes drone, who bothers to study their language or music? To force a strange language on a people is about as sensible as forcing an unwanted husband on an unwilling bride.

(5) That English is seemingly more foreign than Hindi to us is but one aspect of the truth. After all, Hindi, English, Sanskrit, all belong to the Indo-Germanic family of languages, while the South Indian languages belong to the Dravidian group. For us in the South, English is easier to learn than Hindi because, not only have we been used to it for over 100 years, but English has also a simpler script, an easier grammar, and especially a far more rational gender than Hindi. Only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches: and it is not right that the Hindi people should make the language issue an occasion to preach pseudo-patriotism to the non-Hindi peoples.

Waltair

S. AMBIRAJAN

DESECRATION OF MADRAS
MARINA

Sir,—It is becoming increasingly clear that the number of citizens who really love Madras City is gradually on the decrease. When numerous civic offences are being perpetrated daily by insanitation, brazen commission of nuisance in public, petty vandalism towards public properties (with sporadic major ones like setting fire to Government buses), head-splitting noise created by amplifiers during weddings and so on, it can only mean that people who hate Madras are on the increase! Surely deep hatred for this beautiful and cultured city impels citizens to act in such an uncivic manner?

With sorrow we saw in the papers recently that three or four "attacks" have been launched against the beautiful foreshore of Madras, famous all over the world. Two years ago the Port Trust insisted on expanding up to Fort St. George and the Secretariat buildings, even though, as the present Lady Mayor pointed out recently, the harbour could have been expanded to the north with more advantage. Now the Port

Trust is reported to be again demanding more of the foreshore up to the War Memorial. They have yet one more expansion in the offing, it seems, up to Kannappa Nagar or beyond it! But, not content with this, an All-India authority interested in seamen has decided to put up a big Seamen's Hostel opposite to the new Reserve Bank buildings. Next, a perpetual eye sore is the one hundred and odd hutments put up by fishermen in the main beach under the very nose of the P.W.D. Chief Office which is in control of the Marina. It is said that these huts are temporary, only to enable fishermen to keep their nets, but, very often we find families living in them, and rendering the surroundings insanitary and ugly. Fortunately, last week the Collector of Madras announced that he had begun to shift these people from the prized recreation place which is the common property of all Madrasis, high and low. But, with the present day political influence of illiterate and non-tax-paying voters, how far will the Collector be permitted to proceed? We mere rate-payers can only wish for more power to his elbow.

These civic horrors apart, when I was going along the Marina a few days ago I was shocked to see a score or more dhobies washing clothes simultaneously on the foreshore just opposite the Fort, right under the eyes of the Government. Has this place been regularly set apart as a dhobikhana? Are these dhobies and those who permit them, also haters of Madras City? Are they washing the dirty linen (I mean literally) of the Military or the Secretariat?

It will be a nice idea if all lovers of Madras unite, express their feelings, and take strong and constitutional measures against these desecrations of the Madras Marina, even if it so happens that those who dislike our beautiful city are in a majority!

A LOVER OF MADRAS

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

he was the driving force behind Sri Prakasam. To how many for-

lorn persons he was a kind god-father, taking charge of their very lives, and leading them on to power, position and distinction, cannot be reckoned, for he never spoke of such things or of the good he did to others. He was the least acquisitive of the politicians I have ever known and was wholly free from any love of money or material things or self-seeking. He was a reckless giver and a grand receiver. He got rid of money the moment he got it. He is the last but one of the titans that shaped the Andhras of the Gandhian period, and his life is an illustration of the contemporary neglect and posthumous veneration of their great leaders for which that restless, unsteady, emotional and excitable race is noted.

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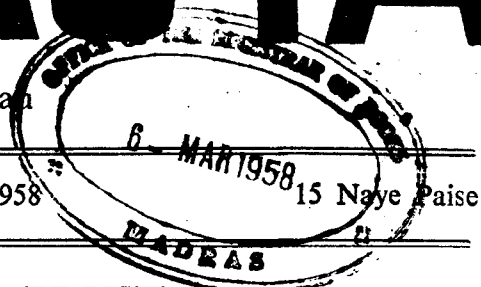
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SWARAJYA

Editor : Khasa Subba Rau

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THE SEED AND THE FRUIT

The British in their time were supposed to be adepts in dividing people in order to rule over them. This was a reputation that belied reality. Actually they threw diversified people together under a common provincial administration with the result that an inter-linguistic identity of interests grew among communities divided by language. It stimulated and nursed among them an ever-increasing intensity of national consciousness.

After the attainment of freedom India's leaders reversed the gear of past policy by establishing linguistic States. Thereby the salutary effects of the slow and laborious process of national consolidation spread over two centuries were shattered in two or three years. Our scheme of States-reorganisation has lent the power of linguistic homogeneity to the service of national disruption, and what is worse, it has spread over it a veil of holy if narrow patriotism. The real seeds of fissiparous movements like the Dravida Kazhagam were sown by Pandit Nehru when he removed from the States of India the balancing restraints of multi-lingual administrative integration. We have the bitter fruit of this sowing now in the new party that has sprung up with the objective of a sovereign Tamil State which is to include also the southern parts of Ceylon where Tamil-speaking people abound.

The newspapers have, as in duty bound, denounced the new party. So they did, when the conception

of Pakistan was first bruited. Our newspapers like our Prime Minister have a way of shifting their convictions in the light of calculated probabilities, ending by lending their active support to just the things they had previously condemned. The inexorable results of unwisdom cannot be undone this way. India is being split up, with the cementing function of English destroyed, and the regional languages set up as so many ramparts on the body politic to cut off inter-communication and accentuate the alienness of one region to another; and the effect of this is the promotion of a psychology and political trends favouring potentially the forma-

tion of separate, linguistic sovereign States. What is happening in Tamil Nadu today may happen elsewhere tomorrow. Linguistic States and national unity cannot go together. This truth is already written in unmistakable terms in the history of the past two or three years. But India's rulers are unable to see the writing on the wall, or translate the teaching of the accumulating experience of their particular brand of States-reorganisation into sane changes and revisions of policy, paralysed as they are by power politics and its banal practice of playing to the gallery, casting the larger interests of the nation to the winds.

Mid-East Dynamite

Syria and Egypt have no common border and in many ways their constitutions are dissimilar. Their merger now into the United Arab State is not the result of positive congenial circumstances. It is the aftermath of the impulsion to unity created among Arabs by their dispersion into artificially created separate States after the first world war by the British and French statesmen who made the peace settlement. From that time on, the Arabs, who had dreamed of an independent Arab State and nation, began to feel that the West was keenly interested in keeping them divided. The Russians were not slow to take advantage of this feeling. Russian exploitation of Arab discontent with the West over Anglo-French diplomacy after the

first world war explains to some extent the enormous influence acquired so quickly in so short a time by the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

The vision of a united Arab nation is the drive behind the union of Syria and Egypt now accomplished. It is significant that in his speech in the Assembly announcing the event, President Nasser made an adroit appeal to this basic factor of Arab psychology. He referred to the new United Arab State as a harbinger of the hour of dawn when Arabs would witness "the triumph of the oncoming light over the darkness of a long pitch-black night."

The terms of amalgamation of the two States are vague and there are many gaps to be filled, but one thing is clear : all execu-

AMERICANS URGED TO A SENSE OF MISSION

COLOSSAL SPENDING ABROAD

tive power is to be vested in the President and the right of appointment of Ministers belongs solely in him. There will thus be no limit to the authority of President Nasser in the new republic. He would gain enormously in prestige, and with that gain the drive towards Arab unity would gain further momentum. *The Manchester Guardian* holds that sooner or later the West will have to come to terms with this drive towards unity, "for it will win in the end". The immediate future however is not likely to be peaceful in the refugee-filled areas of the Middle East, and already fearful prognostications have been printed of a possible dramatic move about Gaza, sweeping it without qualification into the new republic. This latest feat of President Nasser is viewed with more apprehension than welcome by the Western powers who evidently regard it as potential dynamite with incalculable explosive possibilities. Pandit Nehru has of course greeted it with effusive enthusiasm. But the origin of his own emergence to power with partition of his own country as its basis is not yet forgotten. It cannot fail to give an ironic significance to his well-meant greetings.

The Servants of India Society

The Servants of India Society started by Gopala Krishna Gokhale was conceived as more a study group than an active political party. Its members were expected not to lead any battle in politics but to do constructive work in the interest of political reform and the evolution of Indian liberty. In latter days the Society, although it adopted liberal politics in the tradition of Gokhale and Sastriar, did not function as a party organisation. It is needless to point out that it never interfered nor was expected to interfere with the individual views of its members so long as they did not offend the fundamental creed and principles of the Society. In fact the Society encouraged study and independent thinking. We are therefore sur-

New York: A call for Americans to return to "the simple virtues—hard work, frugality, personal charity, the exercise of self-discipline and self control—" was urged by Secretary of State Dulles in a statement appearing in the current issue of *Life* magazine. The Secretary said these urgent times demand a renewed sense of mission on the part of Americans.

Elsewhere in the same issue of *Life*—an issue devoted to the single theme: "America's World Abroad" were spelled out the enormous dimensions of the current U. S. commitment abroad.

Here are some highlights of that material and personal involvement:

One in every 300 Americans (580,000) is today a civilian resident of a country outside the U. S. This total breaks down as follows:

Government employees	98,700
Business and professional	136,800
Educators and students	65,400
Others	279,000

Of these the largest number are in Canada (121,300), followed by Europe (78,600), Latin America (52,200), Asia (21,500), Australia and New Zealand (3,700) and Africa (1,700).

U. S. military personnel outside U. S. A. currently total 681,000; their dependents, another 307,000.

In addition, Americans in 1957 will have made 6,504,300 trips to other countries and spent \$1,373,000,000 in the course of their business and pleasure travel.

Of this number and amount, Canada accounts for 4,600,000 trips

and \$341 million; Europe, 915,000 trips and \$588 million; Latin America, 928,000 trips and \$400 million; Asia, 49,500 trips and \$40 million; Australia and New Zealand, 6,300 trips and \$2 million; and Africa, 5,500 trips and \$2 million.

U. S. military spending in other countries for the period 1948-1957 is given as \$36.4 billion, non-military governmental spending \$28.3 billion. Of total government spending of \$64.7 billion during these years, roughly two-thirds, or \$42 billion went to Europe and its dependencies. Asia received \$18.3 billion.

Cumulative balance of loans and investments during 1948-1957 totals \$19.9 billion. Of this \$14.6 billion represents private loans and investments, \$5.3 billion government. Canada (\$5.2 billion) and Latin America (\$4.1 billion) led in receipt of private investments. Europe (\$3 billion) and Asia (\$1.4 billion) in receipt of U. S. government loans and investments.

During 1948-1957 U. S. exports totalled \$208 billion, imports \$127 billion.

Life concludes that while in general Americans have been a success outside their own country, "Their success has not been commensurate to the need."

"The American needs to think of himself not only as a citizen of his own country but as a man with a responsibility in the world," the magazine says. — P. G. Krishnayya's Service.

prised to be told that Mr. P. Kodanda Rao has been asked not to express any views contrary to or conflicting with the resolution adopted by the Society in support of Hindi as official language of the Union. He and Mr. S. R. Venkataraman are the two South Indian members of the Society. Both of them took active part in the Union Language Convention held in Madras. They are both now put out of action by the mandate of the Central Committee of the Servants

of India Society. This is unfortunate. We do not expect any member of the Society to change his considered opinion on any issue merely because a different view is held by the Central Committee, nor can Mr. Kunzru the President of the Society expect such a surrender of independent judgment from his fellow members. The pity of it is that freedom of thought and expression which is one of the cardinal principles of liberal doctrine has suffered a casualty.



Sotto Voce

Atomic Ambitions

The President's address, which was generally keyed to the measured optimism that is the Prime Minister's native element, rose at one point to a positive blitheness. The penultimate paragraph declared that, while others might irresponsibly monkey with atomic weapons, we for our part should never, never do anything so foolish—though, mark you,—"we could, if we so decided, unwisely, produce atomic weapons with the resources and skills that we have and can develop." That 'could' and that 'can' reminded me of Wordsworth's modest claim that he could write like Shakespeare "if he had a mind to." And Charles Lamb's devastating stut-ter, "Ah! William, you could—if you had the mind!"

We are too high-minded to indulge in the anti-social game of bomb-building. But (with British know-how) we propose to build one or more atomic power stations during the current Plan period. Substantial sums have already been placed at the disposal of Dr. Bhabha and his collaborators, and it is now clear that far more money will go the same way. This development may or may not help in securing our long-range economic objectives; but can we afford it? If atomic energy is expected to supersede conventional methods of producing power, has this been taken into account in framing the programme for the latter type of projects?

A country so highly advanced industrially as Britain, one, too, which the intensive exploitation of two centuries has practically denuded of its coal supplies, may have very practical reasons for spending on the exploration of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Such expenditure has, indeed, already given Britain a

positive lead in this field. It is natural that she should seek to maintain that lead, especially as she has philosophically accepted her relegation to a back seat, so far as the bomb competition is concerned. But our proposal to produce atomic power, though we are far from having abolished illiteracy, is merely inspired by the ambition to keep up with the Joneses.

National vanity can be terribly expensive when it goes hand in hand with contempt for the pedantic prudence of the accountant. Why has nobody calculated the total waste in the past decade on the grandiose follies that megalomania has erected for its own monument and the scandals which the Public Accounts Committee has with monotonous regularity reported? Meanwhile the Government are inclined to take credit not only for "the severe restrictions on imports"—restrictions as severely unreasoning, in fact, as the original extravagance—but also for "the greater employment of domestic resources and skills and their development which this has necessitated." But that is not the whole of the story. One would like to know how much of the savings in foreign exchange has been spent on import of machinery for the manufacture of consumer goods, and what kind of consumer goods production has thus been favoured?

The increase of agricultural production and of internal savings is described in the Presidential address as indispensable for saving the core of the Plan. But, in spite of past experience, the Government are as ready as ever to greet the false dawn. Thus, we are told that the agricultural output of 1956-57 "almost reached the peak level reached in 1953-

-54." In other words our main triumphs are still in the retrospect. And they were not exactly such as to write home about, for in the peak year we were very far from self-sufficiency. And in the past four years more mouths have come into existence and demand to be fed.

The authorities take credit for a good monsoon. And they conscientiously do their best to cancel out such fortuitous advantages by doggedly following their doctrinaire policies to their logical conclusion, in the face of clear proof that they are suicidal. Here is the Madras Government come out with one of its favourite interim remedies. (It seems to think that Trisanku Swargam is the best of all possible 'swargas'.) Having already imposed an interim limit on personal cultivation and an interim ban on the eviction of tenants it proposes to follow up with an interim ceiling on land owning. The avowed object is to prevent "further complications" (save the mark!)

For five years now men who owned so little land that no rational scheme of ceiling on holdings could refuse exemption to them, have had their exiguous income reduced by half or more. Their only fault was that they had in a particular year let in a tenant at will. The giving of retrospective effect to this unjust law has in thousands of cases resulted in dispossessing one set of tenants for another, causing endless unsettlement and heart-burning. The imposition of an interim ceiling on owning will cause more uncertainty, more panic and more political intrigue and chicanery. Thus every channel that has immemorially pumped initiative and enterprise into agriculture is being systematically blocked up. Could the people have a greater object lesson on the folly of prudence and thrift? And yet Mr. Nehru's Government hopefully speaks of stimulating internal savings to swell into a flood.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

I wish I had not, ever, to write anything likely to provoke sentiment along sectional lines, communal, linguistic or regional, and exacerbate it, adding to our already abundant stock of acerbities and animosities. But a journalist has no choice when he fails to get a wrong righted by means of private entreaty and persuasion. It becomes then his duty to resort to publicity to secure the redress which, without it, he could not get.

Over a month ago I had a telephone call from one who announced himself as an officer in the railway. He said his daughter, studying in the 1st form now, had joined the Government Girls High School, Egmore, in 1953. Till now she has not been given a proper seat. He added that all other Telugu pupils in the school are treated similarly, they are made to sit on the floor, while non-Telugu girls are provided with benches or chairs. I asked him to send me a letter setting forth the particulars of his complaint, which he did. His letter is with me. Years ago, in the very first month of my joining a newspaper office, I had a phone message announcing the death of the headmaster of a well known school. Taking the message in good faith I had the news published in the day's paper. It was revealed next morning that the headmaster was very much alive! A resentful pupil not selected for the public examination had taken his revenge by duping a raw and inexperienced sub-editor into publicising the alleged death of the living head of the school. Since then I have learned to seek and wait for other support to confirm the substance of telephonic communications especially when they convey news of sensational import.

In the present instance, not wishing to rush to print straightaway, I apprised the Minister of the state of affairs in the school, confident that he would act at once to rectify it. In my letter to him I wrote :

I have received a letter from a correspondent to the effect that Telugu pupils in the Government Girls High School, Egmore, are not given proper seats. It would appear that they are made to sit on the floor while all other pupils are provided with benches and desks.

It was his wish that I should take up the matter in SWARAJYA but before doing so I thought it advisable to bring the fact to your notice with a request that you give your attention to it and take proper steps.

I shall be grateful to have your reply.

A couple of days later, a reply came signed by Sri R. Venkataraman, the Minister's Personal Clerk. It stated:

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 25th January addressed to the Minister for Finance, Madras, and to state that the concerned department has been asked to look into the matter.

I was sorely disappointed, and after waiting a week to see the extent of the "looking into the matter" that "the concerned department" might show itself to be capable of, I addressed the Minister once again. I quote below my letter to him in extenso.

I have to tender grateful thanks for the gracious acknowledgement by your Personal Clerk of my letter to you dated 25th January 1958. He was also kind enough to state "that the concerned department has been asked to look into the matter."

My letter to you was about Telugu pupils in the Government Girls High School, Egmore. They are made to sit on the floor while all other pupils are provided with benches and desks. I had requested your attention to this matter.

Of course there is nothing wrong in sitting on the floor. I do it most of the time in my house. The objectionable thing is the discrimination involved, the difference in treatment between one category of girls and another in the same school.

The gentleman who was my informant had phoned to the Deputy Director of Public Instruction some days ago requesting that his daughter, a pupil in the school, may not continue to be discriminated against. But that high official who, I take it, is a fairly authoritative representative of the Department of Education, ticked the complaining parent off in a casual way asking him to refer the matter to the Inspector of Girls Schools.

In these circumstances, you will pardon me if your Personal Clerk's

intimation that "the concerned department has been asked to look into the matter" gives me little comfort. If the concerned department had looked into the matter when it was brought to the notice of one of its great dignitaries, there would have been no occasion at all for me to write to you to look into the matter. You have just referred the subject to an authority that defaulted in its duty and your Personal Clerk conveyed that information to me as though the matter had been most satisfactorily settled and nothing more need be done.

I know the tremendous pressure of work and other strains you are subjected to especially now. Ordinarily I would not have taken your time. But in this matter I thought the conditions in the school offended the very content of culture which it is the mission of education to sustain and enrich. What sort of humanity can the girls attain, what type of citizens will they evolve into, when on the ground of language some of them are treated as under-privileged, and the others are made to look on as if it is the most natural thing in the world? What sort of teaching in the real sense of the word can be expected from the teachers in such a school? What hope can anyone have from a department tolerating if not initiating the deplorable condition of affairs I had brought to your notice?

I expected that I had only to mention to you what was going on for you to realise at once the gravity of the position and act promptly to rectify the evil. But now I am forced to conclude that you too are merely a part of the system responsible for the perversity of outlook and behaviour under cover of education that I complained to you against. Perhaps I made a mistake in writing to you at all in expectation of redress.

The innocence of children is proverbial. Our Prime Minister is never tired of seeking joy, comfort and happiness in their company. Are they to be made the victims of the poisonous politics of chauvinists in authority in the very name of education in the schools to which they are sent by their hopeful parents for cultivating character and good behaviour? I do hope Tamil leaders of public opinion will feel it to be their duty to bring the official heads of our education to their senses and see to it that the shameful treatment given to Telugu girls as a class in a premier government school in the city is forthwith put an end to.

SAKA

PANCH - MAAYA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

All the reasons that have been advanced to retain English as the Official Language of the Union and not to seek to replace it by Hindi —and they are substantial reasons —have been left unanswered, but two arguments are repeatedly advanced by the Hindi protagonists. One is that English is a language of foreign origin and not one of the Indian languages and therefore it would be derogatory to national prestige to allow it to continue as the medium of official work in India.

Our national prestige has not suffered during these ten years after Independence and it is not going to be adversely affected if we make no change but go on indefinitely with English. Those whose mother-tongue is Hindi and who expected it to be made the official language not only in their own State Governments but also at the Union level, may feel disappointed and even angry that they have had to yield to the protests of Non-Hindi people, but this, far from lowering will enhance the prestige of Indian democracy and strengthen confidence in India itself.

English no doubt entered India as the language of the foreign people whom we allowed to take possession of India. But the secret of its strong entrenchment where it was placed, even though it was foreign soil, is that it has been to us the gateway of all modern knowledge and modern progress. It is erroneous to suppose that it has struck root in India by reason of official patronage. That we stuck to it even after Independence was not due to any pressure from abroad or force of habit only. It was due to our appreciation of its utility in more than one respect. All our hopes in the material plane are centered round the advancement of modern knowledge and the English language cannot but be associated intimately with those hopes. It is the vast new knowledge that it brought and has yet to bring that is the secret of the widespread attachment in India to

the English Language. The claims of mere patriotic sentiment must recognise and yield to this.

The other argument advanced for doing away with English in favour of Hindi is a doctrinal one. In a democracy, it is argued, there should be identity of medium between Government and people. The language of the people must be the official language, otherwise it would be a failure of democratic integration. I do not deny the force of this argument. But I claim that the doctrine of identity of language between Government and people is fulfilled if every one of the States in the Union functions in the language of the area. There are over a dozen languages in India and millions are the votaries of

each one of them, and they are located in the territories of each linguistic State. If each State functions in the regional language, the doctrine of identity of medium is completely fulfilled. The whole is the sum of its parts, and nothing remains to be done to fulfil the demands of this doctrine. On the other hand, if Hindi is made the language of the Union Government, there will be no identity between that and the language of the people of Bengal or Madras or any other Non-Hindi State. It is not, be it remembered, a matter of consent or protest but a question of identity of language and we can devise no trick by which we can discover a language for the Union Government which will not leave tens of millions and vast tracts outside its vogue. The argument that Hindi will help us to fulfil the doctrine of identity of language between people and Government

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February 15, 1958

SWARAJYA

is based on a delusion, either that consent makes up for a deficiency, or that two-fifths is enough fulfilment. It boils down, if we get rid of the fallacies, to a simple preference for an Indian to a foreign language even though in either case the doctrine of democratic identity with the people's language is not really satisfied. Once again therefore we go back to the sentimental argument against English.

But let us see whether and how far the same doctrine of identity between Government and people is fulfilled in the case of the English language. All the educated people of India in all the States, all the officials of the Union and State Governments all over India, have a very fair acquaintance with and command over the use of English, whereas the same is not the case by any means with Hindi or any variant of it. So then it will be seen that although there are a dozen languages spoken in India, the educated section in any part of India commands a knowledge of English and no other single language has this vogue.

And this will continue to be so, because it is admitted on all hands that a sound knowledge of English is an essential part and will continue to be an essential part of education in India in all the States, whereas a knowledge of Hindi is still only a desideratum in most parts of India and is still a controversial item in certain educational circles. The fact of the matter is that interest in language goes hand in hand with the modern knowledge it brings. The substance of knowledge for which English books serve as medium is the motive power behind the attention to that language. What modern knowledge now or in the future will Hindi bring? Can we be really dependent on translated material, translated not by men eminent in the science or the technology of which the book is an exposition but by mere translators of words. The fact of the matter is that new knowledge brings its own language, the language of the men who have made and are making that science or other branch of modern knowledge. Anything else is second-

hand and we have no time, neither we nor the young people in schools and colleges, to waste on prestige when progress depends on knowledge.

Then there is a third fallacy. We have to discard the *Maya* that Hindi is rich enough and good enough for all our purposes. Government is not an easy or simple affair in the present days. The semi-educated may fancy that his mother-tongue is as good as English and can serve every purpose. The educated may fancy that with a little exertion all deficiencies may be supplied. But language is not a mere collection of symbols made and brought together anyhow and we cannot but go terribly wrong if we think we can make Hindi as rich as English straightaway.

It is a delusion again that Hindi, such as it is, is easy to learn for all the people of India. It is by no means easy for the millions whose languages are not of the same stock. There are fundamental differences that make it difficult. Yet, I know that most Hindi protagonists who have no knowledge whatsoever of the Southern languages honestly believe that it is only laziness or cussedness that prevents Hindi being learnt. Everyone believes that his mother-tongue is the easiest of all languages and those who object to learn it are just unwilling people. The claim made on behalf of Hindi has a subtle illusion behind it. Those who speak Hindi and who find it spoken all around them, believe that it will one day become the mother-tongue of all the peoples of India. I need hardly point out that this fourth delusion is a dangerous and vain notion. The other languages of India will not die, leaving place for Hindi to become the mother-tongue of the people now speaking Tamil, Kannada or Bengali. It is not like the case of a few settler-families adopting the language of the place and forgetting their own mother-tongue. The mass and the distribution of the people speaking languages other than Hindi render any such hope an unthinkable proposition.

Fifthly and lastly, there is the greatest fallacy of all, the notion

that unity is brought about by the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the Union. What is brought about is protest, dissatisfaction and discord, not unity. Hostility can be overcome by political dodging or pressure but that way, not unity, heart-rankling is produced. Where the principle of justice is materially ignored, we cause a wound which will not heal easily. He who points this out is not the offender, but he who inflicts the wound.

I appeal to my brethren and friends in the North to abstain from this plan and to join with me in asking that Part XVII of the Constitution be suspended as an erroneous step taken when thought was not ripe. It would be a gesture of great value for the unity and emotional integration of India. Let no one imagine that I have lost my love for India or my concern for all its parts. Indeed it is greater than ever and it is that, which now makes me talk and write in this unpleasant way. The Hindi speaking people injure themselves in the long run by pressing that their mother tongue should be accepted as the Union Official Language by those who do not speak it. I beg of them to concentrate on their work at State-level and declare the match drawn at the Union level and leave the *status quo* intact with no threats hanging over the heads of people. Let English continue.

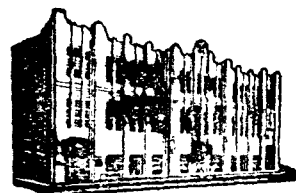
This stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.

So the Psalmist sang: The builders had rejected it as being of curious shape, not rectangular and none of its sides square or oblong. But it became the keystone of the arch and its strange shape was its merit. Not some one of our own languages but this strange one will keep the arch firm and all the languages together. It is the Lord's doing and marvellous in our eyes! So be it.

Intellectual circles cooperate with suicidal zeal in the lie about civilization based on alleged mass needs and brand as heresy any attempt to protect the individual against the oppression of artificial cultural needs.

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RAJAJI IN MADURAI

By Dr. MONICA FELTON

The meeting was to begin at seven. But it was still daylight when I reached Tilak Square. The square is a market place as well as a place of assembly, bordered by narrow streets which divide it from the houses that overlook it on every side and which give to the vast central space the appearance of a potential theatre. In the middle of one side is a small permanent stage, with steps leading up to it from the street behind. A canopy had been erected over the front of the stage, and men were at work arranging a table and chairs, adjusting the loudspeaker equipment and making other preparations for the meeting.

Down below, the business of the day was not yet over. Women in brilliant saris, emerald, scarlet and purple, were strolling along pathways that ran through a multi-coloured carpet of spices and vegetables, pausing now and then to haggle over a bundle of drumsticks, a handful of onions or a few sprigs of herbs. I went down to join them.

"Public affairs," Rajaji had said in his Independence Day broadcast in 1948, "are only the sum total of private lives." I remembered the phrase as I stared at the litter of domesticity and wondered whether the people in Madurai would really see any connexion between their private lives and the question of whether Hindi or English was to be the official language of the Government of India.

Presently I slipped away. I was absent for less than half an hour, but when I came back the square was transformed; neatly and tightly packed from end to end with white-clad, seated figures, and with row upon row standing in the streets behind and filling the upper windows and balconies of the surrounding houses. There was perfect order and perfect silence as the chairman, Mr. P. T. Rajan, began to speak. I had seen crowds as huge and orderly as this in officially organised demonstrations in Moscow and Peking. And I had attended miners' galas in the north of England where La-

bour party leaders made their speeches to the accompaniment of the noise of popping open beer and mineral water bottles and the cracking of peanut shells. But in no democratic country had I ever seen a crowd both as big and as perfectly self-disciplined.

Rajaji spoke in Tamil, and my neighbour whispered a word-for-word translation. It was not an exciting speech. Instead, it was delivered in tones of measured sobriety, as if the stimulus which a great audience offers to a speaker were being resisted, and the temperature of the meeting kept deliberately low. There were very few jokes. The criticisms of the policy of the Madras Government were made with suppressed sarcasm and without the verbal fireworks that people have come to expect. Yet in the whole great audience nobody moved except for an occasional instant when neighbours would turn to nod at each other as if some truth which had been privately agreed between them was now being publicly confirmed. But at the end, when Rajaji had spoken of Mr. Nehru's difficulties, a stir went through the audience as he appealed to the "young tigers" to make their opinions known in all the ways that are open to the citizens of a democracy. They cheered, yet their cheers were as sober as the speech itself had been. I watched young men walking away thoughtfully, their shoulders thrust forward, as if the quiet and personal tone which Rajaji had used throughout his speech had made them feel that their agreement with what he said meant not a release for their emotions but a burden of responsibility which they had now to learn to carry.

"But why," I asked my neighbour when the meeting was over, "do people in a place like this feel so strongly about the language issue?"

"It is not," he replied, repeating a remark which Rajaji himself had made in the course of his speech, "a political question. It is like food control." He went on:

February 15, 1958

"It goes much deeper. If you were to hear someone speak Chaucer's English, do you think you would be able to understand it?"

I answered: "Probably not." He nodded. "But the Tamil language has not changed in the past two thousand years. If Hindi is imposed its influence will inevitably be corrupting."

"But it won't happen," one of the "young tigers" said to me next morning. He had not been at the meeting, and we had got into conversation by accident. He was a slender, small young man and, as we first began to chat, very diffident. He had learned English at school up to matriculation standard, and spoke it accurately and with a good accent. "They will never succeed in imposing Hindi on us. Never!"

I asked: "What makes you so sure?"

He lifted his head, his confidence growing. "It may be three or four years before they give in. But they will in the end. Rajaji always wins."

"Does he?" I asked, perhaps a little doubtfully.

"Of course he does." The young man's smile widened into a reminiscent grin. He paused, and then went on: "I'll tell you something. I threw stones at him."

"At Rajaji?"

"Yes. It must have been in 1942 or 1943. Anyway, it was when he came here to speak against the Congress programme during the war. I was at school then, and we were all very angry with him because we thought he was splitting the country and was disloyal to the Congress. So we went along to the meeting and threw things at him. All the same, he was right and we were wrong, and in the end the Congress came round to his point of view. So they will this time. If you stay long enough you'll see for yourself."

We parted, and I went to talk to other people. Then in the evening I watched a thousand young men and girls who sat in the shaded grounds of Thyagarajar College, listening to Rajaji (who spoke this time in English) with an intense concentration very different from the turbulent welcome with which the students of

SWARAJYA

Presidency College had greeted him a few days earlier. He talked warmly and directly, not from the height which usually divides the old and eminent from the young and unknown, but as if these young people were his equals in everything but experience. Their quiet attentiveness soon broke into laughter, showing a quickness of perception that could hardly have been exceeded if English had been their mother tongue. "I am glad you are understanding so well," Rajaji remarked as chuckles drowned the end of one sentence, and the phrase, or perhaps the note of intimacy on which it was said, produced another gust of laughter.

Yet the speech, despite the gaiety running through it, was profoundly serious, and many people said afterwards that it was perhaps the most important, and almost certainly the most effective, of all the speeches which Rajaji has made on the language issue.

It did not touch on the detailed and personal arguments about the history of the controversy, but dwelt instead on the underlying principles. "Foreign or Indian," Rajaji said, speaking of the objection to English on the ground that it is a foreign language, "is a description that attaches to property. There can be no question of property or sovereignty in language." Then he developed the theme not



A TINY ACORN GROWS INTO A MIGHTY OAK

Since its inception in 1938 with 100 stalls and a capital of Rs. 2/8 started by the Economic Committee of the Osmania Graduates Association, the All-India Industrial Exhibition held annually at Hyderabad has assumed the status of a stupendous undertaking in the 36 acres compound in the heart of the City, accommodating over 1,000 stalls. The average daily attendance during the 40 days Exhibition is 25,000 and on the peak-day it reaches 70,000. The total turn over of sales in all the stalls is computed to be Rs. 75,00,000. A special feature of the Exhibition this year is the U.S.S.R. stall, elegantly decorated.

Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, the Governor of Andhra Pradesh and Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, the Chief Minister, are the Chief Patrons of the Exhibition Society. Besides the Chief Justice and the Judges of Andhra Pradesh all Ministers, the three Vice-Chancellors and the two Mayors of twin cities are Patrons. The list of office-bearers of the Exhibition Society this year includes Dr. B. Gopalareddi, the Finance Minister as President; Mr. Shankarji (Dy. Commissioner, Commercial Taxes) as Vice-President; Mr. Bhavani Rai (Registrar, Board of Revenue) as Hon. Secretary; Mr. B. Jayasena (Accounts Officer, Road Transport Corporation) as Jt. Secretary and Mr. Abdul Jabar Farooqi (Lecturer, Osmania University) as Treasurer. Mr. B. Mohan Reddy (Dy. Managing Director, HACA) is the Convener of the Publicity Sub-Committee.

Glowing tributes to the Exhibition Society were received from, among others, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Republic; Miss Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal; Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Irrigation and Power; Mr. K. Raghu-ramaiah, Dy. Minister for Defence; Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar of Madras; Mr. Manubhai Shah, Minister of State, Minister of Industry, and Sri D. P. Karmarkar, Union Minister for Health.

only in relation to internal affairs in India but also in international politics and in the economic relations between countries.

This time when he spoke of the proportion between Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas he brought out a map to illustrate his point. "There is no significance," he remarked, "as fresh laughter broke out, in the fact that the Hindi-speaking areas are coloured black." He went on to talk of the pilgrimages, traditions, beliefs and qualities which unite India; and suddenly the speech was lifted above the level of current political arguments, and I turned to see the young men behind me, sitting very erect, their faces earnest and thoughtful as they were aroused to a sharpened awareness of their inheritance not only as Tamils, but as Indians. This was Rajaji the teacher talking: not, as his admirers have often said, like Socrates, who drew out the follies of others in order to show the path of wisdom. Rajaji mocked at nobody, and wisdom was offered lightly, as something within the grasp of everyone who chose to understand.

I leaned forward. At the far end of the row sat an old friend of Rajaji's whom I had met earlier in the day. His face was rapt, his attention so fixed that he seemed unaware of his surroundings, or of the cry of the birds which broke now and then across the quietness. "Rajaji," he had said to me, "is one of the great gifts of God, and we have not made full use of him."

But Rajaji, bringing his speech to an end, exploded a mine beneath the feet of his young hero-worshippers. "The future," he said, "means much more to you than it does to us. If you agree with what I have said, then you must make your opinions known. You are just as clever as I am, and just as able to decide what is right and to use your influence to see that the right thing is done."

I turned again to look at the audience, seeing in the faces behind me the future of India. Since I was a foreigner, the language issue was no concern of mine. But everyone who loves India must be concerned with India's future, and as I gazed at the intelligent, eager eyes which watched Rajaji as he

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Seldom has one's name outside the realm of politics in this country—may be by "a concatenation of circumstances"—more tenaciously hung on men's lips than that of Mr. Justice Chagla. Whatever be the upshot of the sensational inquiry it was his privilege to have conducted, he has since commanded not only public attention but popular esteem. Another who has kept pace with him is India's Attorney-General, Mr. Setalvad; by a curious coincidence he shares with Mr. Chagla the same initials, "M. C." As tall intellectually as physically, Mr. Setalvad, worthy son of a worthy father and heir to a great tradition, can, it seems, be described in one word—formidable. He could have himself been a Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court if only he felt so inclined. For, according to his father, the late Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, both the Governor and Chief Justice (Sir John Beaumont), on the latter's retirement, "had sounded my son Motilal sometime in 1941 whether he would accept the Chief Justiceship if it was offered to him." He was reluctant, with the result that no Indian was thought of for the place in the early forties. Setalvad the younger has no regrets—and nothing to regret—having risen to be a General of the Attorneys and a man of consequence.

Mr. Justice Chagla is more than an eminent judge; he is a connoisseur of letters and has, amidst life's strange vicissitudes and stormy blasts, "found ever-sustaining comfort and solace in books." Dickens, Scott and Thackeray, Anatole France and Thomas Hardy, and, of course, Shakespeare, interested him immensely. Among the individual books which influenced him was Morley's Gladstone. Towards the end of 1919—he was then but 18—he decided to

rose and moved slowly out of sight I hoped that what he had said about the coming generation might really be true.

go to Oxford and join Christ Church if only because Gladstone had been there. It so happened that he got admission in Lincoln College instead, but his was the consolation that he could at least join an institution where the large portrait which confronted him in the Hall, though not of Gladstone's, was that of Gladstone's great biographer, Morley. Having qualified himself for the Bar, he returned to India, and deemed it a good fortune to have found himself in Mr. Jinnah's chambers. Mr. Chagla was by Mr. Jinnah's side so long as Mr. Jinnah espoused the Nationalist cause and bade goodbye to politics when he parted company with Mr. Jinnah. A great admirer of Lord Haldane, Mr. Chagla recorded in an admirable essay on the "Books that influenced me" how he came to be deeply moved by Haldane's 'passionate appeal for quality in thought and action.' And it is a certain quality that has marked him out in the public eye.

It is not so much in the books Mr. Justice Chagla reads but in the report he writes on the inquiry he has recently conducted that every active citizen of India is interested. It is not unlikely that by the time this will appear in print the report will have seen the light of day. There is a popular belief that one of the issues arising out of the daylight inquiry will centre round the question of ministerial resignations. Will it be an individual affair or a collective one? It seems that the question is being so posed, less because of the implications, real or hidden, of the findings (whatever they may be) than because of an intense desire on the part of the people to find an almost new Cabinet at work. If public opinion counts in democracy, as indeed it should, the meaning is obvious, namely, that taking advantage of the later-day trends and tensions, the Prime Minister would do well to reconstitute his Cabinet and not merely reshuffle the portfolios. While there is nobody who does

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

not shudder to think of the Government of India not headed by him, there is a widely cherished desire that he should have greater regard for public interests than for personal loyalties and find a better team. Duds, if any, need to be dropped rather than endured; likewise doubtful colleagues of his deserve to be shifted to places where there can be fewer doubts about them. There is also room for finding the right berths for right men—instead of, for instance, wasting fine intellectuals like Mr. Humayun Kabir and Mr. A. K. Chanda on Transport and Housing respectively. As for the Big Three in the Cabinet, they are divided. And the Prime Minister, while conscious of his strength, hardly summons it to his aid. When time is of the essence, the reluctance or refusal to act will but result in situations, uglier and yet more difficult. Philosophic resignation ill goes with revolutionary zeal.

Junius often wonders why Mr. Nehru should have been so indecisive. Only one explanation occurs to his mind. Mr. Nehru once proudly claimed to be more than the Prime Minister of India—and made us all feel proud of him. Yet, instead of asserting himself as a national leader—with none who dares to question his title—he adjusts himself as a party leader. And therein lies the tragedy. The party may move on; it moves on; then, questions arise (to quote Bonar Law's brilliant biographer in a similar context):

But what of the levers, the cog and wheels and pinions, all the intricate mechanism which makes that movement possible; and what of the oil with which the complicated machinery must be greased?

These are difficult questions for any party leader—and Mr. Nehru has his difficulties in reconciling party inadequacies to national aspirations. The remedy lies in rising superior to one's surroundings and remoulding the scheme of things nearer to one's heart. Mr. Nehru should. God save the country if he will let himself be stampeded into a surrender to a soulless party machine, without deriving all his strength from popular support, for timely action.

Bombay: The first convention of Western India Cine Employees held on 1st and 2nd February passed nine resolutions, one of which demanded the application of the Minimum Wages Act and the Provident Fund Act to cine employees and the appointment of an enquiry commission. Though the convention was inaugurated by Shri Shantilal Shah, Bombay's Minister for Labour, no report of the proceedings appeared in the daily press.

The Labour Minister was sympathetic and promised to consider the grievances of cine employees and to adopt suitable legislative measures to help them. The cine employees belong to different categories—those working in studios and laboratories and those working in distribution offices and theatres. Out of these, those working in distribution offices have no union of their own, and as such they were not represented at the convention.

Yet the fact remains that the workers in distribution offices find their lot as insecure as those working in studios. It has been noticed that even the stabilised distributors have been retrenching their staff, and workers, after working for a decade in one concern, have found themselves jobless. Even those who hold high posts are not better off. The untimely death of the manager of a distributing concern created a problem for his family and his friends have collected a fund for the upkeep of the family. There are several such instances. But apparently the convention did not take notice of such tragedies. The theatre staff of various picture-houses have however been alert and successfully fought for their rights. They have been able to get most of their demands sanctioned by the employers.

The problems of studio workers, especially the technical staff working in the make-up, editing, costume, camera and sound departments are manifold. Two of the studios—Eastern Studio and

Famous Studio—have been turned into factories resulting in unemployment for many workers. Mr. Krishna Gopal in his presidential address did not deal with any specific problems confronting the cine employee. He made some general observations. He referred to 'rising unemployment' and to the great difficulty of obtaining payment. For this, it is essential that a cine employee must have a standard contract with his employer to bind him.

The convention was a good beginning; but a concentrated drive is necessary to organise and unite the cine employees in such a manner that no employer will dare to do injustice to them and deprive them of their legitimate dues. One is afraid that Mr. Krishna Gopal's platitudes and Mr. Shantilal Shah's vague assurances would produce no results unless the secretaries of the different unions affiliated to the Federation of Western Cine Employees can activate their members to work unitedly to enforce their decisions.

Meanwhile, it is hoped that the Government of Bombay will not be a mere silent spectator but will take active interest in applying the labour welfare laws to the film industry.

It is also hoped that Mr. Krishna Gopal's disclosure that the workers are made to sign for a bigger amount than they actually get, to help the producer to adjust his accounts—obviously the adjustment is in connection with the black money paid to stars—will be given serious consideration.

With 'Mehendi' Jayashree can be said to have staged a come back. For, most of the critics have eulogised her performance and welcomed her return to the screen after an absence of three years. Her last picture was 'Subah Ka Tara', in which she played the role of a young widow.

After her separation from Shantaram, there were many speculations about her future as

an artiste. But her performance in 'Mehendi' has proved that Jayashree as an artiste has still a good future and that she will continue to act on the screen.

Jayashree began her film career two decades ago. Even before that she was known as a singer and some of her disc records were quite popular. She made her debut in a Marathi historical picture 'Chandrarao More' produced by Shiraz Ali Hakim; she made her debut on the Hindi screen in Dhaibar's 'Nand Kumar'. Later she went to Poona and acted in Saraswati's social picture 'My Beloved' and Prabhat's 'Shejari' (Marathi version of 'Padosi'). During the making of this picture she married Shantaram and in the next ten years gave remarkable performances in 'Shakuntala', 'Dr. Kotnis', 'Dahez' and 'Parchhain'. Then after 'Subah Ka Tara', came the tragic separation from Shantaram and Jayashree has now launched on her independent career with 'Mehendi'.

Mother of three children—one of whom has already made her screen debut, Jayashree is now in her thirties and her future as an artiste will depend on her versatility to adapt herself to the changing conditions with growing age.

V. Shantaram started regular shooting of 'Nav Rang' on Tuesday at Raj Kamal Studio. Sandhya, Mahipal, Baburao Pendharkar and K. Date play the principal roles in G. D. Madgulkar's story, which V. Shantaram is producing in Technicolour.

B. R. Chopra gave a dinner party at Taj on Thursday night to celebrate the silver jubilee of 'Naya Daur'. The party was attended by over 400 guests. Rafi, Manmohan and Prem Dhawan sang songs, while Sahir recited his famous poem 'Parchhain' which is being transcribed to the screen by B. R. Chopra in a two-reeler feature. Trophies were presented to Dilip Kumar, Vyjayantimala and

others. Three months' bonus was announced for B. R. Films staff. But for O. P. Nayyar, who had gone the same day to Delhi, almost everybody was present.

D. D. Kashyap performed the *muhurat* of Light of Asia Films' maiden offering 'Maya' based on his own screenplay. Dev Anand and Mala Sinha are playing the stellar roles. Rajinder Singh Bedi is writing the dialogue, Rajinder Malone is cranking the camera. Kanu Desai is designing the sets while Shankar Jaikishen will give music for lyrics composed by Shailendra. The cast includes Pran, Lalita Pawar, Mubarak, Niranjan Sharma, Sudesh Kumar and Agha.

Meena Kumari and Uttam Kumar are expected to be starred in a picture which Nitin Bose will direct for Ajit Chakrabarty. Benoy Chatterji is writing the screenplay.

Santoshi is writing and directing a picture which Baburao Pai will make for Famous Films.



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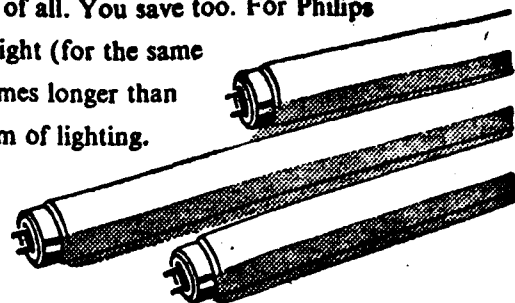
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PRATIRAJASUYAM

BOOK REVIEW

This is a Samskrit drama in seven Acts. It was written twenty-five years ago in connection with a competition held by the Madras Samskrit Academy for the best play in Samskrit and awarded the prize for its exceptional merit.

The plot is based on two well known episodes in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata, the rescue of Duryodhana from the Gandharva King Chithratha by Bhima and the miraculous escape of the Pandavas from the wrath of the sage Durvasa, thanks to Sri Krishna's grace. These happenings, and other minor incidents occur at different periods in the epic and are unrelated to one another. In the play they are so organised as to subserve the main theme, the frustrated resolve of Duryodhana to perform a Rajasuya yaga after he had contrived by stratagem to send the Pandava brothers into exile. In the epic Duryodhana, though he contemplated performing the Rajasuya, was dissuaded from that provocative course, and contented himself with another rare sacrifice, the Vaishnava. Our dramatist represents him as persisting in his original intention under the instigation of his evil advisers, Karna and Sakuni, who expected an easy victory over Yudhistira as Arjuna was away in the Himalayas performing tapas and Bhima had gone in quest of the *saugandhika* flower which Draupadi fancied.

The play opens with a scene in which Duryodhana pours into the sympathetic ears of Karna and Sakuni his discontents. The Pandavas, though in exile, might stage a come-back, thanks to the vacillation of the blind king his father and the machinations of Vidura, Bhishma etc. Sakuni points out that, given the Pandavas' unshakable allegiance to

Dharma, this was not probable and in any case there was no point in meeting trouble half-way. He ought, on the other hand, (says Sakuni) to make the best use of the fourteen-year interval to win the people over by conciliatory and astute statecraft. (This is what Bharavi in his poem actually represents Duryodhana as having attempted.) Duryodhana is impressed, and wants to know how exactly the Pandavas had won the affections of the people, so that he could follow the same line. Ironically, the idea of emulating them, not by self-control and virtuous rule, but by performing the Rajasuya is suggested to his mind by the maldroit enthusiasm of Dhritarashtra's *Purohita*, who realises too late that he has sown the seed of evil ambition in an unworthy breast.

The Duryodhana of this drama, unlike Bharavi's, never succeeds in securing the respect of the reader. He is a boaster and a bully. He and his henchmen have a fine opportunity of baiting poor Draupadi once again when, alone and unaided, she comes upon them in the forest. The dramatic interest of the play is very well sustained, indeed the reader feels slightly breathless—Providence intervening (as it seems) to weight the scales against the Pandavas by a series of fortuitous coincidences. According to the conventions of Samskrit dramaturgy, however, much of the action happens off the stage, the connecting links being supplied by a number of prefatory and explanatory interludes.

The depiction of the major characters, with the notable exception of Sakuni, and of Draupadi to some extent, is orthodox rather than arresting. Their thoughts and dispositions have the dreamy moon-lit quality of the traditional court drama. With heroes and villains so strongly fixed in the racial memory as Yudhistira and Duryodhana, it would not be possible for a modern playwright, unless he was vowed to icono-

clasm, to strike out a distinctly original line for himself. Sakuni is a brilliant exception. With a few deft strokes he is made to come alive on the page—suave, ironic, an accomplished man of the world, utterly heartless and a cynic, but a consummate politician. Other minor characters such as the orator Sudarsana, Sahadeva's friend, Koukkutayana, Durvasa's scape-grace disciple — are vividly portrayed. The prose dialogue is lively and supple, and there is throughout a genial undercurrent of humour; only rarely does it break out into broad farce.

But Mr. Mahalingam is primarily a poet, and this is a play written under the intoxicating influence of matchless Kalidasa. So it is in the numerous verses (there are nearly three hundred) that the reader will find his chief delight. They are generally of a high order of excellence; occasionally one comes upon that large utterance—at once simple and profound — which marks the classic. I may refer the reader to a few examples; verse 9 on p. 26 describing the dancing effect of the early morning sun's rays on the leaves of the sarala tree; Sakuni's brilliant sketch of the all-conquering dice (pages 31-32) and his devastating comparison of the boasting of fools to the day-dreams of the sterile woman (p. 80, verse 37); the *purohita's* description of patient service of the people — *prajaa-hrdabja-prahasana-hetu kritiva-tantram* — as the only means of firmly securing fickle fortune; Sudarsana's fine tirade against the exaltation of the unworthy (verse 24 on p. 71); and Draupadi's prayer (p. 150, verse 8).

Not the least interesting side of the drama is its topical overtones—as in the scenes describing popular protest against tyranny. The drama abundantly shows that Samskrit can still be a splendid medium of creative art in capable hands.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer contributes an appreciative Foreword and the author has furnished a synopsis of the story in English.

N. RAGHUNATHAN

Pratirajasuyam: By Y. Mahalinga Sastri (Samskrit). Published by Sahitya Chandra Sala, Tiruvalangadu P.O., (via Narasingampet, Southern Railway — Rs. 5).

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FREEDOM OF VOTE TO LEGISLATORS

Sir,—The speech delivered by Rajaji on Thursday, 23rd January, was an epoch-making one. He suggested that the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly should be given freedom of voting on the language question and further stated that if a resolution is passed urging the retention of English as the official language of the Union it will give confidence and courage to other States to follow suit. This suggestion is worth considering by the Congress leaders of all States who are really interested in the unity of the country and the efficiency of the administration. It is only the great personality of Rajaji and his relentless campaign against making Hindi the official language of the Union that has made the Hindi protagonists in the North recognise the opposition in the South. It will be a great pity if we fail to utilise this opportunity to consolidate our position, being misguided by the Gauhati resolution which is nothing but an elaboration of Article 343 of the Constitution. I hope that the leaders of all the political parties and public men in the South will give their whole-hearted support to Rajaji.

CLOAK AND DAGGER METHODS

Sir,—The recent A. I. C. C. session put up a poor show by indulging in what Rajaji pointed out to be an elaborate reiteration of Article 343 of the Constitution. There was an acrimonious debate over the deletion of the word 'acrimony' in the resolution. The 'youngish' wisdom of Shri Morarji Desai was abundantly in evidence during the proceedings until Shri Subramaniam raised the voice of Tamilnad. Our revered Premier was mildly 'hysterical' when Shri Hanumanthiah tried to play the naughty boy of the House by his 'uncomfortable' speech in favour of retaining the 'status quo' on the language issue. It is a pity that our North Indian brothers refuse to see reason even when Panditji is at the helm of affairs.

I feel that a democratic government should eschew cloak and dagger methods making Hindi infiltrate through money order forms, A. I. C. C. resolutions or the so-called "all party formula" and instead leave it to the people to decide for themselves by a referendum or bye-election anywhere in Tamilnad. Let it be contested by any candidate chosen by Shri Kamaraj, T. T. K. or Nehru himself with "Hindi as official language" for election manifesto.

Madras A. S. VENKATARAMAN

LANGUAGE ISSUE AND ANDHRA LEADERS

Sir,—The language problem is now being debated all over. One wishes that public men of States other than Madras also awaken to the important bearing the language question has. The politicians of Andhra Pradesh, in particular, seem to have lost all foresight and are betraying utter indifference. I quote from a letter of a South Indian friend of mine now residing in North India: "Sometimes the Andhra politicians are 'out-doing the Hindi-wallahs in their professions of enthusiasm for Hindi. The way they try to brand the anti-Hindi agitation reactionary is nauseating in the extreme. I feel they are ashamed of the fact that their language too is of Dravidian origin and try to forget it by identifying themselves with the Hindi cause." Will the Andhra leaders shed their fear complex and come out boldly with their support for what undoubtedly is a just demand affecting our vital interests?

Vijayawada

SURYA

NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT PLEA

Sir,—There is too much of a tendency on the part of supporters of Hindi to make the official language issue a matter of national self-respect. It is argued that English being a foreign tongue, it is shameful to keep it as the official language any more.

The position concerning the adoption of an official language for India is closely analogous to the situation obtaining in the matter of food grains. There is a certain deficit in the food requirements and it has got to be bridged ultimately by our own efforts. But can any one seriously maintain, as is being done in the case of the official language, that to import, or accept as a loan, food grains from foreign countries even till we attain complete self-sufficiency in food is a shameful thing to the nation?

Similarly, there is an admitted deficiency in the proposed language, i.e. Hindi, for official use immediately and this is not denied, even by the supporters of Hindi. So it is only reasonable to continue utilizing the well established and inherently versatile English, at least as long as it is essential. At least now, one and all should agree unequivocally on the ultimate adoption of Hindi for official purposes when, with dedicated efforts and continued popularization over a few decades, Hindi attains that state of maturity which will enable it to replace English. Any irrational plumping for change-over, in excessive haste, deluding ourselves that everything would be just dandy would be exaggerated optimism, born of mere sentiment. The worth of water is known only when the well is dry. Only a gradual and smooth transition by a persuasive winning over of all sections of opinion can save us from the dire dislocation in public life, which a hasty change-over will lead to.

New Delhi

DANTURTY

NATIONALISATION OF TEXT BOOKS

Sir,—The Press and public of South India deserve all praise for the correct stand they have taken in condemning the proposal of the Madras Government to nationalise the publication of text books. The Madras Government also were prudent enough to reconsider their decision and postpone the matter until 1961. It is regrettable that the Press in Andhra Pradesh (which is not very strong) and the public at large are not taking

proper cognisance of the dangers of nationalisation of text books.

Pandit Nehru announced on 9th January that "a body of experts from all over India, and from abroad if necessary, should be constituted to draw up a blue print for the preparation of text books for children... There should not be any regimentation in the preparation of text books for children."

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, in their letter dated 6th January addressed to the Andhra Publishers Association state that "the matter (nationalisation of text books) concerns State Governments, who may experiment in this field in their own way, subject to the local conditions prevailing provided the main purpose of providing quality books at cheap rates is kept in view."

It is strange that the Andhra Pradesh Government, which does not command at present the necessary facilities for doing the work, should think it proper to nationalise the publication of text books from June 1958. In view of the statement of Pandit Nehru and the huge unsold stocks remaining with the publishers which run to several lakhs of rupees and the meagre facilities that exist at present at the disposal of the Government and the very little time before them to bring out really good books and in time, it is earnestly hoped that the Andhra Pradesh Government would revise their opinion and postpone the issue for at least three years.

BHAVARAJU NARASIMHA RAO

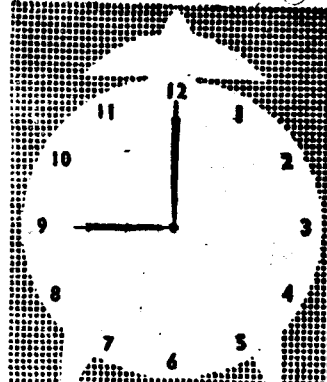
Jt. Secretary, Andhra Publishers Association, Masulipatam.

MASTERLY ANALYSIS

Sir,—Rajaji's masterly analysis of the language issue has worked a wonder. It has impressed the public as well as persons in authority. The unanimous resolution of the three States, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Mysore, insisting on English being the official language even after 1965, may be noted in this connection.

Let us pray that this great man may have many more years to

devote to the good of the people.
D. GANESWARA RAO
Visakhapatnam



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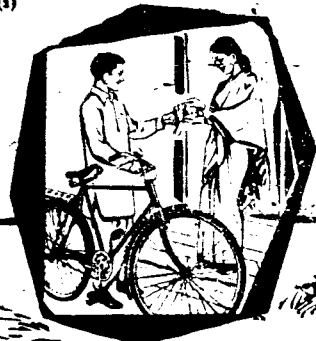
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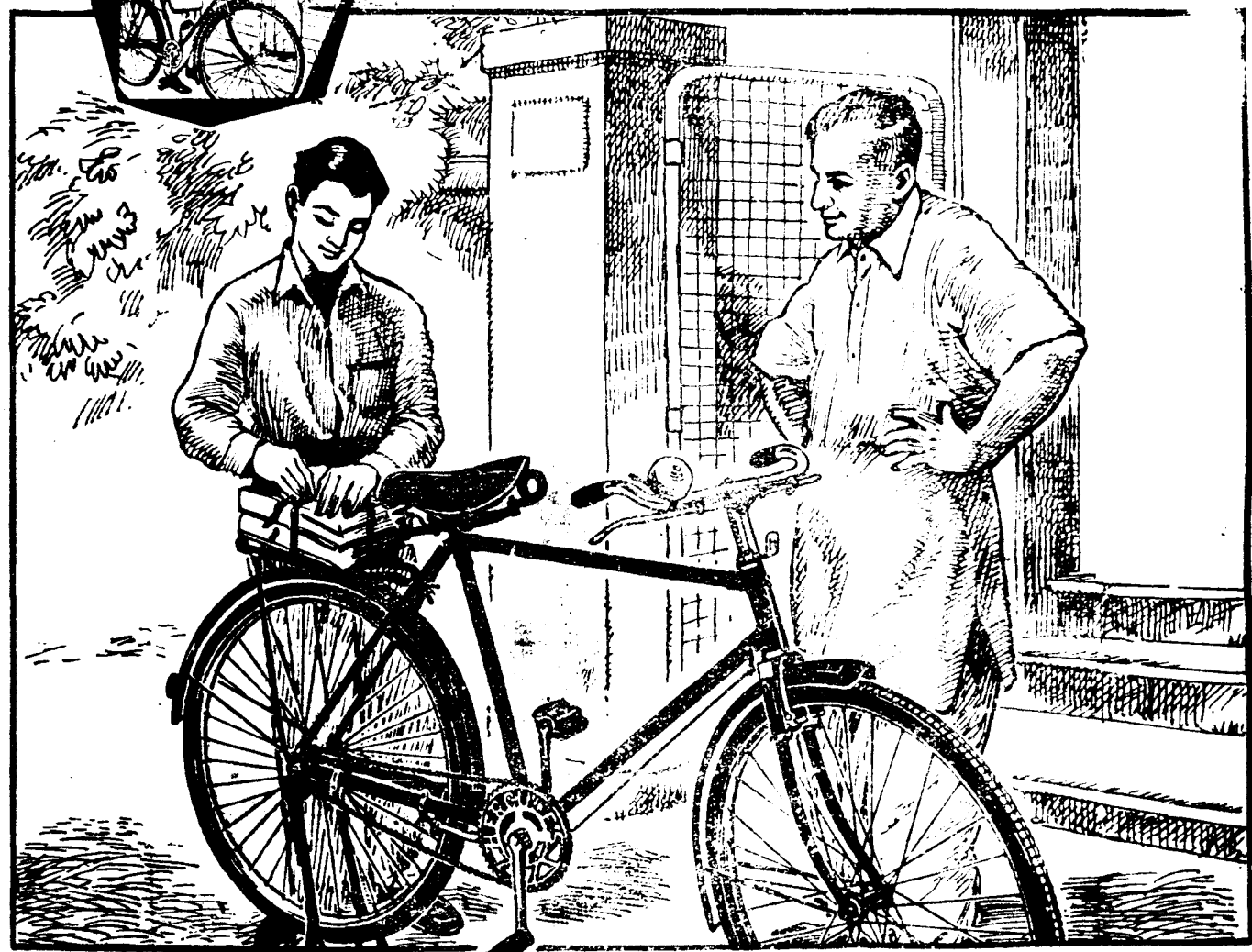
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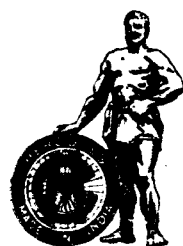
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SWARAJYA

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T. T. K. AND THE P. M.

In the past ten years of freedom India has had abler Finance Ministers with a greater basic repute for independence and integrity than Sri T. T. Krishnamachari. When they left, the Prime Minister did not waste a tear over their departure. He let them go without fuss. But Sri Krishnamachari's exit was heralded by encomiums from the Prime Minister the like of which have not been heard in the nation's laudatory literature in recent years. The remarkable fact about these plaudits from Olympus is their total incompatibility with popular opinion. No Finance Minister of Free India was so unpopular as T. T. K. nor was the retirement of any of them greeted with so much relief and jubilation from ordinary people. It is not merely on account of the heavy taxation that he introduced that Sri Krishnamachari is disliked. Taxation is no doubt unpopular, but people in general have a horse sense about when it is justified. They will willingly and cheerfully submit to exactions when precept and example do not differ on the part of those in authority imposing such exactions. In the case of Sri Krishnamachari nobody took his Socialist professions seriously. When he spoke of elevating the poor and pulling down the estates of the wealthy, the terrific retort always went forth from bitter critics that the phenomenal rapidity with which the firm bearing his name shot into wealth and fortune in his period of office has had few parallels in the annals of business acquisition in India.

With the fabulous exploits of this tiger progeny of his that has tasted monopolies, and is still roaming the business world, supplying the staple of sensational gossip in India's bazars, T. T. K.'s melodramatic warning about another tiger of his fancy, having tasted human flesh, going in search of fresh prey of the same variety—"Beware, the man-eater is at large!"—will be hailed by none with grateful acknowledgement: it will only enliven the country with its dramatic irony, the more uproariously on account of its insufferable air of insolence and superiority. Sri Krishnamachari has always pleaded that he has now nothing to do with T. T. K. & Sons or the official favours showered on it, but these pleadings carry no conviction, and have had in fact the effect of a deadly boomerang. They are taken to be a mask of clever contrivance to shut off from public view the real quality of a not very creditable reality.

It is not surprising therefore that T. T. K.'s Socialism should have provoked derision in the country. When he in tones of patriotic righteousness called upon taxpayers to tighten their belts, the appeal registered no sympathetic response. Bluntly among themselves they asked each other to what extent he had ever tightened his own belt. Nothing has destroyed the atmosphere for the Socialistic pattern of the Prime Minister's dream so much as the cumulative force of this question, which has, as it were, drawn

within its mischief the whole economic planning of the Government. Apart from correspondents and newspapers with their own axes to grind, T. T. K.'s fall after the Mundhra scandal is seen by the unsophisticated millions as an example of inexorable retribution brought about in Providence's mysterious and unpredictable way.

Pandit Nehru's tributes to his late Finance Minister, while the Chagla enquiry was still going on, therefore fell completely flat and produced a result just the opposite of what he had evidently desired. With his ill-timed praise of the Finance Minister he produced the impression of seeking to influence the Chagla Commission in a particular way. All honour to Justice Chagla that he set a very high standard of judicial probity by ignoring altogether the gratuitous advertisement of the Finance Minister's greatness by his august Chief the Prime Minister to the calculated disturbance of the enquiry. But that does not dispose of the impropriety of the head of the Government indulging in a questionable intervention that looks dangerously like offending the provisions of the law relating to sub judice.

The stage seems to be set for pressure tactics to exonerate the Ex-Finance Minister against the finding of the Chagla Commission, and rumours are being set afloat that T. T. K. has been let down by some of his senior colleagues. A full probe is called for to discover whether there is any truth behind these complaints. Perhaps the

THE BHAGAVAT GITA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The scriptures of the great religions of the world are timeless books intended for generations of mankind and not meant only for the particular time when they were written. Not every line that is found in the Bhagavat Gita or in the other great scriptures must be taken as valid for all time and pitted against science and modern knowledge. Many things said therein may give place to growing material knowledge. But the spiritual content of these books is valid for all time. The story of creation and the date given for it in the Old Testament may yield to modern geological and biological knowledge. The miracles wrought by Moses or Jesus may be questioned. So also many things said in the Hindu scriptures may conflict with and yield to the better and fuller material knowledge of modern times. But so far as the kernel of the teaching in the Bible or the Gita goes it stands for ever, as valid today as when the teaching was given. Love thy neighbour, and do unto others as you would that others do unto you, the law of returning good for evil, the hope of grace from God upon repentance and surrender, these and all else that Jesus taught stand for ever and require only to be properly placed in the changing context of the times for their validity to be demonstrated. Likewise, the teaching of the Gita holds what is beyond doubt what is good and valid for our times.

quickest way to clear the matter up would be to find out if party election funds were benefitted by subscriptions from Mundhra or his concerns.

With his now patently demonstrated lack of objective impartiality and regard for judicial judgment in his desperate attempt to re-instate his discredited Finance Minister, Pandit Nehru has gone in for extravagant eulogy of T. T. K.'s diplomatic prowess in securing U. S. aid for India. It is forgotten that American politics have been by aid to India, and a certain amount of aid was a fore-

The synthesis of work, worship and renunciation stands out as the unrivalled lesson of the Gita. All work is worthy of being done well, be it hard or easy, pleasant or unpleasant, profitable or unprofitable to the individual, if it be good and necessary for the welfare of the community. Do it and do it well and with every care, said Krishna, without caring for the fruit that you derive therefrom, without craving for what you may get out of it to your own advantage. You need not reject the wages you earn. Life in the body is not possible without work. But you must do the work for the good it does to the community. Take the wages earned, but do not hanker for what you gain by your work. The detachment exercised in not caring for the advantage that accrues to you from the work, is renunciation. You need not practise other austerities. If you work in a spirit of detachment you are a *sanyasi*. Regard the work that you do as work that you do for God and it becomes worship without rites or ceremonies.

This synthesis of *Karma*, *Bhakti* and *Sanyas*—of work, worship and renunciation, is the wellknown teaching of the Gita. It is easy to grasp this in the intellect. But what is essential and not so easy as intellectual grasp, is the daily and hourly practice of it and converting the attitude into a second nature. Life must become one un-

gone conclusion, whether anyone asked for it or not and whoever pleaded for it. We have got no



broken stream of disciplined, detached and dedicated service. It is this that is called "yoga". It is this that calls for and therefore also develops self-discipline, contemplation of God in some form or other, tranquility of mind, love of fellow-beings and all else that are set forth fully in the Gita and emphasised in various ways.

He who practises the Gita teaching and does not merely study it as a book of interest will see the connection between all its parts. It is an ancient book, but it is up to date and as valid today as three thousand years ago. Human psychology is the same today as when the Gita was given, whatever be the changed face of civilization and life, and there is no book that keeps the deep secrets of the human mind in view and gives its great lessons as the Gita does. What is wanted is a true interpretation of the divine word in its application to our life and our problems, and on each one of the occasions when we are perplexed or tempted. We shall find peace, strength and happiness if we find the living meaning of it. If we on the other hand ignore the spiritual teachings of our religions and get lost in disputation or believe in nothing but material advantage, we shall find no happiness. Instead of a lighted path, we shall find life meaningless and the way will be all dark. To deny the soul is to kill it and you die before you reach physical death and life becomes a darkness.

*Asuryaanaama te lokaa
andhena tamasaavrtah
taanste pretyaabhigachchhanti
yeke chaatmahano janaah.*

more than the aid we would have got in any case, and the origins of it lie not in any vain assumptions of dialectic experts on the part of this advocate or that, but in the international situation and the necessities of American domestic politics. The ramifications of the Mundhra affair are far-flung territorially and in their political and economic interlocking. It is the Prime Minister's leadership that is now on trial and a wrong turn by him may throw it, already on the brink, irretrievably down into decline.



Sotto Voce

'Man-eater' on the prowl, beware!

The Prime Minister, as I pointed out last week, had passed judgment on the Chagla Report even before it was drafted. So one is not surprised to find him assuring his departing colleague that the enquiry was "neither judicial nor capable otherwise of eliciting all the facts" and that "there was a one-sided presentation of facts". What will surprise people is that his unsatisfactory enquiry should have sufficed to convince Mr. Nehru that Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's part in this matter was of the smallest and that he 'did not even know much that was done'. On what evidence does he base this unassailable conviction?

In his evidence before the Commission Mr. Krishnamachari said that Mr. Patel had mentioned to him in Bombay that Mr. Mundhra had offered to sell shares to the L. I. C. "The only companies mentioned to me", Mr. Krishnamachari went on, "were Jessops, Richardson & Cruddas and the B. I. C. I said, 'You can look into the matter and these are good companies'. I said the share scrips handled by the particular individual were subject to various rumours and that caution was necessary". Thus the Minister had no objection in principle to buying shares from Mr. Mundhra or buying shares of these companies.

Curiously enough the Minister agreed with the Commission that the Government should have nothing to do with persons of doubtful reputation. And he admitted that he knew Mr. Mundhra's antecedents. Indeed his cautioning Mr. Patel against buying spurious scrips clearly shows that Mr. Mundhra's unsavoury reputation was very much present to his mind, even when he gave the "line clear" signal to Mr. Patel. As for the three companies which he certified 'good', expert evidence at

the enquiry was practically unanimous that while Jessops was good, Richardson & Cruddas was of dubious quality and B. I. C. positively bad.

But, as the Minister himself told the Commission, he had clearly meant that "the shares could be purchased"; can Mr. Patel be now blamed for construing his words as amounting to "general approval", especially after that voluntary testimony to "the good companies"? Asked by the Commission whether it could be taken that he did not give any directive to Mr. Patel in regard to these purchases, Mr. Krishnamachari said, "That would be a correct inference". But he muted the force of that unqualified statement by adding, "I did not discuss details". That is surely not incompatible with Mr. Patel's contention that he had the Minister's general approval.

The Commission, in an effort to pin the Minister down to a positive statement, asked, "Whatever Mr. Patel has done is on his own responsibility?" Mr. Krishnamachari, instead of simply saying 'yes', indulged in a marvel of circumlocutory vagueness. "I will not be able to say anything categorically except that I did not give any particular instruction". Mr. Patel, let us remember, pleaded not 'particular instruction' but 'general approval'. And his plea is supported by the zest with which Mr. Krishnamachari, in his evidence, took what may be described as the "Patel line" in defending the investments.

He propounded the thesis that while Mr. Mundhra might be bad the companies he controlled were not. He argued that as the Government had given huge contracts to Jessops and Richardson & Cruddas it had an interest in seeing that they function-

ed. He maintained that the B.I.C. purchases were not bad because the break-up value of the firm was good. He even sought to persuade the Commission that supporting the market by purchasing Mundhra's shares was not inconsistent with the best interests of policy-holders. After all this one reads with some astonishment that he told Parliament that he had been totally incurious about the Mundhra deal both at the time and afterwards and that his officials had badly let him down.

All the tight-rope dancing can be explained only on the supposition that the Minister was in such jitters over the probable catastrophic consequences of his neo-Kaldorian taxation on the share markets that he was prepared to clutch at any straw—even the purchase of Mundhra's shares at the policy-holders' expense. Mr. Patel may have taken the lead in this pathetic adventure. When Parliament kicked up a row the Minister was momentarily rattled. He professed total ignorance and appointed the Commission. But on second thoughts he began carefully hedging before the Commission.

Meanwhile Mr. Patel, finding that he might be made the scapegoat, discarded diplomatic discretion, engaged his own counsel and asserted unequivocally that he had merely carried out the wishes and policies of his boss. Thereupon the Minister, who had been fluent with theories as to the motives that might have influenced Patel when he threw his weight about, got alarmed for his own safety and instructed Mr. Chaudhri to say that he completely disowned responsibility for the Mundhra deal. In the face of all this it is amusing to find the Minister representing himself as the first victim of the Capitalist 'man-eater' on the prowl. But is it not tragic that Mr. Nehru, in his tearful chagrin at having to shed a sympathetic and serviceable colleague, should have made wild allegations against all and sundry and dealt a grievous blow to the tradition of respect for the Judiciary, the ark of the Constitution?

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

The State Finance Minister, Sri C. Subramaniam, to whom I had sent an advance proof of last week's *Sidelights*, wrote back promptly, the same day, saying :

"I have your letter of 13th February with the enclosure. I think a communication has already been sent to you explaining the true state of affairs. In fairness, I hope, you would publish that letter also in your paper."

The communication referred to by the Minister was seen by me at the same time as his letter. It purported to come from Sri V. Ramaswami, Deputy Secretary to the Madras Government and was signed for him by someone illegible. It stated :

"With reference to your letter I am directed to state that owing to shortage of furniture in the Government Girls High School, Egmore, pupils of the lower classes (Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam sections) are obliged to sit on the floor in the school while taking lessons. This lack of comfort is experienced by Telugu pupils in common with others. Steps are being taken to supply the school with adequate furniture."

Of all witnesses in the world children are the most reliable, as the cooking of evidence is a feat beyond their powers. The source of the following particulars is one such child who spoke from her own experience and not hearsay

or second-hand reports, of conditions still prevailing in the school under present reference. According to her :

Telugu girls upto and including 2nd form are not provided even mats, they are made to sit on the floor.

Malayalam girls upto and including 5th class are likewise given no mats to sit on. They too have to sit on the floor.

Mats are given for Tamil girls upto 2nd class. Benches are provided for Tamil girls of 3rd class and above.

Having learned by experience how often there is a gap in official administration between propaganda and reality, I repeat here the information that has come to me, as it were from the mouth of a babe, a source that cannot be bettered for innocence, purity and faithfulness to truth. It is for the Minister to probe into the veracity of the two versions and reach if he can the actuality. In any case the assurance that steps are being taken to supply the school with adequate furniture is welcome. If these steps materialise, the discrimination complained of will cease, and there will certainly be room for hope that what has been got rid of as undesirable will not be reintroduced in some other form later on. Thereby my pur-

pose in drawing public attention to this rather unsavoury detail of official policy in a renowned educational institution in the city will have been more than served.

The close connection between political power and academic honour is being increasingly revealed these days. Sri B. Gopala Reddi when he was wielding a sort of power received an honorary degree from the Andhra University. It is now the turn of Sri Sanjiva Reddi on whom was conferred last week the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of Sri Venkateswara University. Sri Sanjiva Reddi is an important figure in Andhra public life who rose to be Chief Minister by a combination of good character and favourable circumstances. But in the world of scholarship he has won no spurs. Nor has he established any reputation worth mentioning as a jurist or student of law. On the occasion of conferring the degree, Sri Govindarajulu, the Vice Chancellor, confessed to a certain amount of embarrassment in speaking of Sri Sanjiva Reddi, but spiritedly in the style of a man performing a duty, he claimed to have regarded it as a weakness and overcome it. It would have been more creditable if he had felt the embarrassment on the ground of the propriety of the honour, especially as he disclosed that the University looked to him for many favours to come in the future. In Andhra Pradesh there are giants in the literary field and in historical research (like Sri Soma-sekhara Sarma and Viswanatha Satyanarayana) whom the universities have passed over in their search of distinguished scholars to honour. The admission of political considerations in the award of academic titles is the surest way of destroying the reputation of the university concerned as a centre of learning and culture. It is gratifying that Sri Kamara Nadar at least has not gone in so far for any intellectual crown to match his political power. Imagine what a shattering effect it would have on the body politic if he had to be addressed as Dr. Kamara, D.C.L.

SARA

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

SLEEP

I have always felt surprised that in a language so rich in sensuous passages as English, so minutely and precisely detailed in its accounts of physical experience, there should be no adequate description of the sensation of falling asleep. May be there are such descriptions and I have missed them, but those who know the literature better have not been able to locate them either—in fact, when I have asked them, they have only come out with passages well known to me, things one can find by looking through the index of any collection of familiar quotations. Moreover, they have insisted on misunderstanding me. I am not writing of any just summing up of the refreshing and restorative qualities of sleep, or of dreams, or of the postures of relaxation—only of the brink of sleep. There, just before one drops off, for an interval that may be seconds or minutes or only a moment, on that thin rim around unconsciousness, are some of the most exquisite sensations that life has to offer—and who has written of them?

The immortal Shakespeare redeems many fulsome and even sententious lines on sleep with the one line in *Macbeth*, "Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care"—but note that it refers to the balm of sleep, not to the prelude to sleep. To my mind the stanza in *The Ancient Mariner* is the finest tribute to sleep in the English language, though its simplicity is contrived.

I can tell you that I write about the brink of sleep, but will I be able to get across to you the very sensations I have in mind? It is not a question of words: I can find the words all right, but unless there has been community of experience, the words can only be verbose. And to have the experience one must not be so fatigued or spent that one falls instantly into a slumber—in fact, it is on the occasions when I have



been able to afford a siesta that I have been acutely aware of the insidious creeping up of sleep, of the refinement and transmutation of the senses that precedes sleep so naturally and easily, so blissfully. At night I often stay up till I fall asleep too quickly, without enjoying it fully, but even at night there is this delightful edge to sleep.

But it is during the day, even when I am tired, even when I am in pain, that sleep comes to me slowly and I have the time to experience and mark this transmutation of the senses, a curious veiling combined with the sudden and opposed sharpening of the perceptions. The sounds that are usual to one's wakefulness fade out, however insistent and loud they may be, and one is aware at once of fainter and more remote sounds. I no longer hear people discussing something stridently in the next room, or the passage of heavy vehicles along the road, but I can hear crows cawing a furlong away and surprisingly there is no raucous quality to their cawing. At night I can hear the far-off sea, or the distant barking of dogs in a village a mile away. And it is not only one's hearing that is so baffled and rendered more acute simultaneously, every sense, bar sight, is so refined. The pain in my bones, a throbbing, insistent pain, fades out and I can sense an ant crawling across my shirt. And I know this rim to sleep is all around it, because I can sense it when I awake, provided the awakening is not too abrupt.

One of the most blissful experiences I have ever had is of such

an awakening. I was with a party of shikaris then, trying to beat pig out of hillside cover in the afternoon. It was summer and the heat was intense. Moreover, I was tired out, having climbed a hill with the beaters instead of staying comfortably with the guns, in ignorance of the fact that my hill-climbing days were over. The beats had all been blank, but it was decided to try a final beat, at another hill. I stayed in a jeep with one of the guns, a rather careless man, at the foot of the hill and under a noble mango. Presently I felt a delightful drowsiness overtaking me, and I climbed into the rear seat and curled up in it. I must have fallen asleep almost at once. And while I slept my companion did something he should never have done—he left the jeep and climbed up a bush-shaded boulder some twenty yards behind me, so that he could shoot from a higher elevation if the pig emerged on the trail towards which the nose of the jeep was pointing.

I was jerked violently out of my slumber, by something I could not place but which I knew was violent. In a split second I had taken in my companion's absence and rightly guessed that what had awoken me was a bullet from his rifle, aimed at the pig from some elevated stance behind me. I was aware then of the risk to which I was exposed—an excited and excitable man, shooting at a quarry that had at last exposed itself to him, and with no thought of his friend sleeping in a jeep directly in the line of fire, could

(Continued on Page 15)

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: What a Capital this is for comments — and commentaries! And yet how few there are that dare to share with the public what they assert in private! To suppress what is uppermost in one's mind, or to stifle one's own voice, is less a sign of restraint than a proof of weakness. It is an irony that even those who clamour for freedom of expression, far from seeking to exercise it, deny it to themselves. And worse, indeed, is the plight of politicians who, having roared like lions at party meetings, bleat like lambs when the 'whips' are within sight! And how unutterably sad, and wholly inexplicable, it is to find democratic leadership insensitive to popular feeling and impervious to weighty opinion on vital questions. And nothing can be worse than that the very men who are asked to look into some of the affairs of State should be virtually told that they have either overlooked certain factors, or not overlooked certain others. Unravelling tangled knots is always a thankless job. But how uncharitable—and unhelpful—it is for anyone, however mighty, to be overcome by emotional strains or serious doubts when things take their course—or should. A truce to these reflections! It is a probe that is called for.

No heavens fall if a Minister goes — willingly or unwillingly. Much bigger men than T. T. K. have fallen from Olympus like thistle down. It is but the occasion for one's going that matters. From the point of view of the legendary 'common man', Mr. Krishnamachari has gone unwept — for all the tears that have been demonstrably shed by his friends. It may well be his lasting consolation that his great Chief felt overpowered to part with him and could hardly contain himself. The regret is doubtless sincere. That it is so only makes the story almost a mystery; for, the Prime Minister stands almost isolated from the party for once. It is

difficult to resist the conclusion that he had to persuade himself to bow to the inevitable and that he simply could not defy majority opinion or withstand the pressure of events. Congress opinion has yet to get crystallised. The party as a whole is in trouble. The middle of February found the central organisation very much unsettled, with the President not yet completely recovered from influenza, the First General Secretary convalescing in Juhu and the second lying in a nursing home. The younger members in the Congress Parliamentary Party are less agitated over the future of the Government or the Congress than over their own individual future, because of the possibility of a ministerial re-shuffle sooner or later, sooner than later as they fondly wish. They are busy queuing up before the 'king-makers' and pressing their respective claims for preferment. What has become an obsession with them is the idea that the Prime Minister should rather re-organise the whole Cabinet as well as the ministerial set-up minus Cabinet rank, and give a chance to some new men by dropping those who have either become too aged or proved their incompetence or ineffectiveness. It is clear that the Prime Minister's reluctance or hesitation to re-organise his team will cause more disappointment to the partymen than to the country. And what he will do or not, is anybody's guess.

To revert to the immediate issue, the ex-Finance Minister wound up his letter of the fifth lamenting over sundered colleagueship while in his reply the Prime Minister coupled his regret at the parting with the hope that there are other avenues of colleagueship open outside the arcadia of the Cabinet. Nothing of course prevents the Prime Minister from making use of TTK's services elsewhere — and maybe for even more alluring positions. History is not without such instances. There was the case of

Rufus Isaacs—and Isaacs was an honourable man. He was involved in the 'famous' Marconi scandal. He had a bad time during the inquiry. Not much later he was made Lord High Chancellor by Mr. Asquith (later Lord Oxford) and promoted to the second biggest place in the judicial hierarchy. But it is worth recalling what a biographer of one of Asquith's successors recorded about the transaction. He wondered how anacastic it was of Mr. Asquith to have offered, and how impervious it was of Sir Rufus Isaacs to have accepted the place. Here in India it has become fashionable to talk of setting up conventions peculiar to our own political climate. What kind of convention was it to have rewarded some of those who were rejected by the electorate. It seems that here in India we can have unconventional conventions.

With the exit of TTK from the Ministry, if one melancholy chapter has ended, another may be said to have begun. The issues arising out of his resignation are still clouded. The Chagla inquiry, admittedly limited in its scope, left vast areas of dispute as dark as ever. They talk of other methods and some other machinery for getting a view of the whole picture in all its nakedness. The inquiry having been over, they want an inquisition now. It is open talk that a few devoted heads are marked as targets for sharp arrows from the serried ranks of the Opposition. It is none too gratifying to find the Budget held as a posthumous child—and a situation not unforeseen, left wholly neglected. No big political party can ask for applause if it cannot find in its ranks enough men to fill a void. That the Prime Minister should try to answer such situations by taking too much upon himself is hardly adequate for the present and much less safe for the future. Junius recalls to his mind what Lord Fisher once wrote to Mr. Bonar Law about Mr. Asquith who, in his day, showed an amazing capacity for indecision: "Anyhow he is Prime Minister, and there's the end of it".

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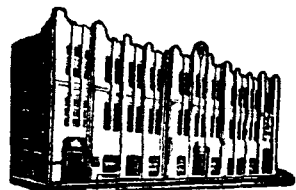
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HINDI VERSUS ENGLISH

By Dr. D. D. KARVE, M. L. C.

(Dr. D. D. Karve, former Principal, Fergusson College, Poona,
is the son of Bharat Ratna Karve.)

In the current controversy about the official language, one often fails to find any calm and dispassionate consideration of the issues involved. People appear to fly into a rage the moment somebody makes a statement contrary to their own conviction. This is particularly true of the protagonists of Hindi, and any person, who advocates the use of English as the official language of the Union, is branded as guilty of high treason. Any utterance in favour of English rouses feelings of consternation and horror and is attacked with the same desperate ferocity as in the case of say an insult to the national flag or the defiling of a place of worship. These developments are, in my opinion, a bad omen for our young democracy. Differences of opinion should be thrashed out in public in a calm atmosphere, with the help of logical arguments for and against, without passion or anger. Shri C. Rajagopalachari or his associates like Shri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer are good sons of India — as patriotic as anybody else and as ardently desirous of the progress of our country as the most enthusiastic member of any of the political parties. One may criticise them, argue the case for Hindi as forcefully as one likes. But to impute motives and accuse Rajaji of desiring to bring about the partition of India is not only not justified but definitely anti-democratic.

The whole controversy has been marked by great confusion of thought. The basic fact of the situation is that India has 12 regional languages which, along with Sanskrit and Urdu, have been enumerated in the Constitution. The number speaking each language runs into crores. The case of India cannot therefore be compared with England, France, Germany, China, Japan or other one-language countries which use their single language for all purposes. In the statistical information published by the Government of India, several languages allied to Hindi like Urdu, Panjabi and Hindustani are grouped together and the percentage of persons speaking all these languages is given as 46.3 p.c. (India 1957, p. 14). But this is very unrealistic. Rajastani, which apparently is included in this percentage is quite a distinct language. The Biharis recently put forward the plea that "Maithili" should be separately mentioned as a regional language. The agitation by the Hindi-speaking people of the Panjab against compulsory study of Panjabi is well-known. Under the circumstances, the percentage of Hindi-speaking persons in India is very much smaller than 46.3.

It is quite obvious therefore that to assume that Hindi is the language of the whole of India and to cite the examples of other uni-lingual countries is fundamentally wrong. Those that wilfully put forward this kind of argument are actually trying to suppress the other regional languages and people in the Southern States who speak other languages—especially the Dravidian languages—would be justified in thinking that this is a move for the domination of the "North" over the "South".

Many times Hindi is referred to as the "national" language. Now what exactly does the word "national" denote in this context? Does it denote the whole of India? Then Hindi is definitely not the language of the whole of India. The fact is that there is no national language in that sense. If the word "nation" is used for the different linguistic regions, then at least a dozen languages will have to be called "national" languages. If, of course, the word "national" is defined as the "official language of the Union Government," then English will have to be called the "national" language until it is replaced by Hindi. So, the expression "national language" has really no significance and must not be used. In fact it leads to a number of avoidable misunderstandings and raises the suspicion in the minds of many people that those who call Hindi the "national" language are planning to make Hindi the language of the whole country. Thus Hindi is opposed not only by those who do not desire the replacement of English as the official language of the Union, but also by ardent protagonists of the regional languages. Many supporters of Hindi and even many officials do not observe scrupulously the functions which the official language is expected to fulfil. The fear that it will gradually encroach upon the regional languages and occupy, even in non-Hindi regions, a privileged position, is, I think, quite justified. Especially in the Bombay State, which unfortunately remains a bilingual State, the indications are already there. Thus at the time of the last Republic Day, the Divisional Officer of Poona issued invitations for official functions in Hindi—although even the official Congress policy is for all business in the States to be carried on in the regional languages. But in the Bombay State, the idea seems to be to use Hindi in place of Marathi and Gujarati. The sign boards in the Sachivalaya (Secretariat), which one would expect to be in Marathi and Gujarati, the two languages of the State, are

in Hindi. Although these may be supposed to be minor items, they are the straws which show which way the wind is blowing. For Marathi, there is a special danger because it has the same script, viz. Devanagari as Hindi. Bengali, Gujarati and Udiya, even though derived from Sanskrit like Hindi have all different scripts. Thus the usual practice of writing the names of railway stations in three languages—the regional language, Hindi and English is modified in the case of many stations in Maharashtra, so that only the Hindi and English versions are given. But because Hindi does not have some of the letters commonly used in Marathi, the Hindi versions, which are supposed to be doing duty for the Marathi versions, are distortions of the current Marathi names e.g. Thana, Lonavala etc. It will thus become quite clear to an unbiased observer that Hindi-enthusiasts, both official and non-official, want to go very much beyond making Hindi the "official language of the Union". This fear of Hindi dominating the regional languages is quite justified, particularly because Hindi is an Indian language.

Now what actually are the arguments against the use of English as the official language of the Union? The only argument that is persistently used is that English is a "foreign" language. Although I consider this argument as utterly silly, it has to be dealt with in detail because with most people it is the only argument they are able to put forward. Now, what is a "foreign language"? How can a language which is spoken and understood by a few million people all over the country, which is used as the medium for the most widely read newspapers, which is the almost exclusive vehicle for all higher work in all branches of knowledge in India, which is the language of business and the language of communication between educated people in the whole country—how can such a language be called a "foreign" language? Of course it cannot be denied that we took this language from foreigners and also that the majority of the speakers of this language in the world are foreigners. But that is entirely beside the point. Which then are the native languages? The Sanskrit, the Dravidian or the Mundari? How long must a language be used before it ceases to be "foreign"? From our penultimate conquerors, the people from West Asia, we have taken a number of things — architecture, music, dress, language, religion, art. They have now become part and parcel of the "Indian" heritage. From the British we have taken so much that there does not appear to be any valid objection to the English language being used in India. Parliamentary democracy and all that goes with it, many forms of official and private behaviour are all directly taken from the British and the Indian scene can

only be thought of as the result of British—and to a lesser extent European and American influence. If on other grounds we find it more convenient to use English for certain purposes in India, its being "foreign" is utterly irrelevant.

English has the advantage of not being confined to any particular region in India. All those who have taken education in secondary schools in all States will be able to use English to a greater or smaller degree. Knowledge of Hindi, on the other hand, would be confined to certain regions of India only and if Hindi becomes the official language of India, the people of the Hindi regions are bound to become predominant in Central affairs. Many people, when they think of the administration of the Union Government, think only of the higher officials like the members of the I.A.S., I.P.S., etc. They in effect say that there should be no objection to these few to learn Hindi. But it must be recognised that the administration of the country is not carried out by these few hundred officers. There are literally hundreds of thousands of subordinate officials, clerks, typists, etc. who constitute the personnel of Government administration. Also the Union Government is not confined to New Delhi. It is spread all over the country in the shape of departments dealing with post and telegraph, telephones, railways, excise, import-export, income-tax, the Government owned factories manufacturing steel, railway engines, manure, telephones, air-craft and machine-tools. Every one of these will

have to carry on all its business in Hindi and non-Hindi people, even when they may be good at their jobs, will be definitely handicapped. Untold energies, which today can ill be spared, will be wasted in the change-over—all for what? for the sentimentality of a few?

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mental nonsense of driving out a "foreign" language.

We talk glibly of "emotional integration". Emotional integration can only be brought about if all Indians have the feeling that they are getting the same opportunity to better their lot as everybody else. If the non-Hindi regions get a feeling that the speakers of Hindi are being favoured, there can be no emotional integration. There will only be bitterness, envy and ultimately hatred. English not being a regional language, everyone has to learn it; everyone has the same difficulty in mastering it and so, there is no jealousy about any favoured region. With English as the official language of the Union, every Indian who reaches the high school stage will be bilingual. His own language will be useful to him in his region and English for inter-State contacts and for the affairs of the Union. If Hindi takes the place of English, people outside the Hindi region will have to learn three languages, for they still cannot do without English which is the language that gives them access to modern knowledge. The people in the Hindi region will however be able to do only with two languages—Hindi and English. Thus the handicap for the non-Hindi citizens of India will always be there.

If we can use one and the same language for the affairs of the Union, for international contacts, for inter-State communications and for higher work in all branches of knowledge, what earthly objection can there be to such an arrangement? In our second five year plan, we want thousands of scientific and technical experts. Obviously they must all be able to use English and use it well enough to understand advanced books and research journals and to write their report and research contributions in a language understood by the learned world. Our universities must produce research workers who will finally put India on the map of scientific achievement. This they certainly cannot do if they are expected to use Hindi as the vehicle of their thought. It will be impossible to translate all the important books and reference journals in all branches of knowledge from English into Hindi or, worse still, all the Indian languages. And, the standard of English necessary for its use in scientific and technical work has got to be very high. During the last few years, even when English is still the official language of the Union, the standard of English has become deplorably low. It is bound to go down still further if Hindi becomes the official language of the Union. We must guard against this danger because it will seriously jeopardise our chances of becoming a progressive and modern country.

Another argument sometimes brought forward in favour of Hindi is that it will promote unity in India. This argument again is totally fallacious.

In the first place, Hindi is not going to be the language of all people of India. It is, at best, going to be the official language of the Union and the vast majority of persons in the non-Hindi regions will still continue to be ignorant of Hindi. So obviously, Hindi cannot exercise this supposedly unifying influence. But more than that, a feeling of unity is not dependent on or a natural consequence of identity of language. One could quote the examples of West Bengal and East Pakistan, Formosa and Communist China and the different Arab countries to show that language is not the determining factor in political or emotional unity. On the other hand, the French and English Canadians; the French, German and Italian speaking Swiss are politically and emotionally united in spite of differences in language. A feeling of community of interest, of being treated impartially by the Central and State Governments, of having the same opportunities as anybody else is of much more importance for generating of oneness than identity of languages. But, even if that were not so, and even if identity of language were the determining factor, how is the adoption of Hindi as the official language relevant in this context? Or is the proposal the first stage for making Hindi the language of all people of India?

Hindi is not among the older or more developed languages in India. Tamil and Marathi have a very much longer record of written literature. Neither has Hindi any particularly valuable treasure of books in history, philosophy, poetry, religion or the modern sciences. What then would be the attraction for non-Hindi people to learn Hindi? And moreover, the Hindi-speaking people have the lowest proportion of literates as will be seen from the following official figures. (India 1957, p. 84)

	Men	Women	Population
Bombay State	31.70	10.99	21.84
Kerala State	50.37	31.65	40.88
W. Bengal State	34.23	12.21	24.02
Andhra Pradesh	19.67	6.84	13.12
Uttar Pradesh	17.38	3.56	10.80
Madhya Pradesh	16.22	3.22	9.83
Rajasthan	14.44	3.00	8.95
Bihar	20.46	3.76	12.15

So, the supporters of Hindi have therefore to fall back upon Hindi as the language of the largest number of people in India, although very few of them can read and write that language.

One other matter must be considered. At present the English text of all laws passed by the Union and State Governments is taken as the authoritative text and all the terms used, along with their special legal connotation peculiar to each Act are in English. Suits and points of interpretation go from the lower courts to the high courts in the States and finally to the Supreme Court. If Hindi becomes the official language of the

Union, all Central Acts will naturally be in Hindi. The courts of law in the States including the high courts will thus have to interpret these Hindi laws. Further it would be but natural to expect that very soon it will be expected that State laws will also be in Hindi because the Supreme Court will, in many cases, have to interpret these also. Thus all advocates and judges will be expected to master Hindi. Use of Hindi in legal education will only be one step further and the regional languages will

be pushed out.

The use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, although not desirable at the university stage on several grounds, can at least be defended on educational grounds as the most natural thing. The use of English, particularly at the university stage, can be defended on the ground that English at once opens the door to all modern knowledge and makes communication with the world of learning very easy. But the use of Hindi cannot be defended at all.

Hindi is neither the mother tongue of all Indians nor has it any claim to be a door to modern knowledge. From every point of view, therefore, the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the Union is undesirable and insistence on it will create great feeling of bitterness and resentment in the minds of non-Hindi Indians. Hindi-enthusiasts should bear in mind that it is they who will endanger the possibility of emotional integration and not those who are opposing the adoption of Hindi.

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.

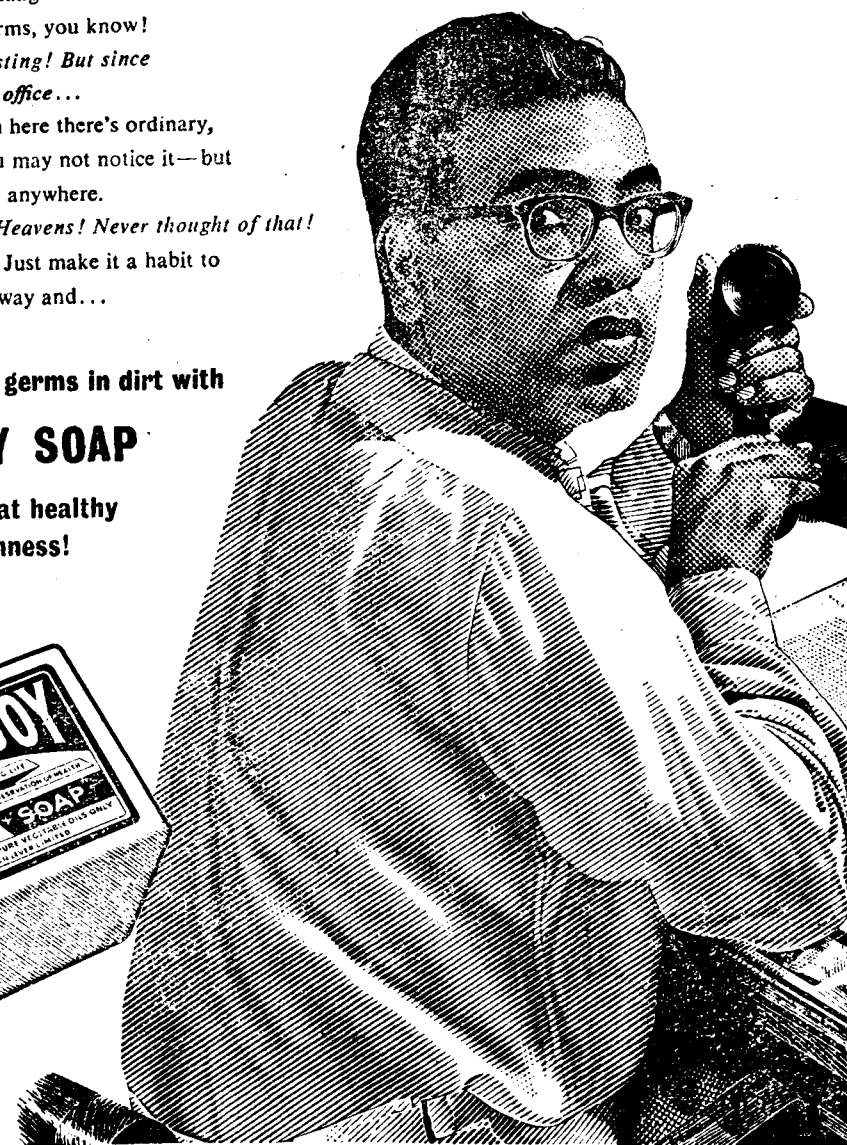
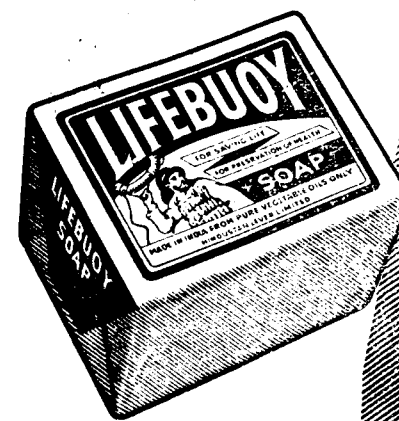
The Boss: Good Heavens! Never thought of that!

We: Don't panic! Just make it a habit to bathe the healthy way and...

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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: In a statement in the Lok Sabha, Shri Morarji Desai is reported to have said "I do not know whether films enhance culture. We have to be very careful about what we export".

This view expressed by Shri Morarji Desai came as a surprise to many film people. For, no other Minister is perhaps more acquainted with the film world than Shri Morarji Desai, who has on numerous occasions proclaimed himself as the friend of the film industry. Not only that, he has been called upon to give awards to the films that enhance culture and as a matter of fact in his speeches at such award functions he has strongly advocated the use of the powerful medium of films for education and spread of culture.

Had Shri Morarji Desai said that only such films as have artistic or cultural merit should be exported, it would have been understandable. But his statement that he was doubtful whether Indian films enhance culture was rather surprising.

While 'Jagte Raho' won the Grand Prix at Karlovy Vary, a Hollywood picture 'Twelve Angry Men' won the prize at Berlin. 'Twelve Angry Men' is a very engrossing human drama which grips you for over ninety minutes. Just before the titles, we hear a judge asking the jury to pronounce the verdict on an eighteen year old boy charged with murder. As the jurors leave the court room, the titles begin. The jury is expected to bring a unanimous verdict.

The characters of the twelve jurors constitute the most interesting part of the picture. Most of them have no interest in the case. One of the jurors, who is an advertising agent is more interested in his new slogan than in the life of the poor boy; another juror is more keen to watch a baseball game than worry about the boy's fate. One of the jurors believes that a boy brought up in slums must be naturally guilty; another juror, who is the last to be con-

vinced, has made up his mind that the boy must be punished somehow. The analysis of the working of the minds of the jurors and the issues of democracy, justice and human life raised during the discussion raise the status of the picture from an ordinary crime thriller to an unforgettable human document.

'Twelve Angry Men' is a most unusual and at the same time a really great motion picture with heart-warming human appeal. One hopes that those interested in good quality motion pictures and also in justice (lawyers, judges and jurors) will not miss this picture.

Thanks to the last minute cancellation in shooting schedule Anjali Devi, the busiest star in the South found time to sneak a short holiday in Bombay last week. During the holiday while her husband was busy with the work of 'Suvarna Sundari', she found time for shopping and seeing pictures like 'Ten Commandments'.

At an informal meeting with a few journalists, Anjali Devi divulged the fact that during the last eleven or twelve years she has completed 78 pictures and currently she is working in 28 pictures (Tamil and Telugu). That means six or seven pictures a year.

Anjali Devi has played all kinds of roles. She is an accomplished dancer but is better known to Hindi audiences for her emotional roles in 'Ladki', 'Devta' and 'Naya Aadmi'. She played the same role which Meena Kumari played in 'Sharada', in the original Telugu version 'Illavelpu'. She was the heroine of the original Telugu picture on which 'Insaniyat' was based.

During the talk it was revealed that Raghavaiya who is directing 'Suvarna Sundari' in Hindi is also a busy person directing nine pictures at the moment. He directed Telugu 'Devdas' which proved a hit. Nageshwar Rao who will appear for the first time in a Hindi picture in 'Suvarna Sun-

dari' had played 'Devdas' and is hailed as the Dilip Kumar of the South.

It is worth noting that almost all the leading female stars working in Tamil pictures today do not have Tamil as their mother-

tongue. Anjali Devi hails from Andhra.

Arabind Sen, producer-director, is launching 'Jaal Saaz' under the banner of Lalit Kala Mandir at Filmistan Studios.

Kamal Amrohi is writing the

screenplay for Pancholi's next picture. Meanwhile 'Farishta' is receiving finishing touches.

K. K. Kapur, the renowned distributor, returned on Friday 14th evening after an extensive tour of Europe, U. K. and the Middle East.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TALKING OF GANDHIJI: AUTHOR'S REPLY TO REVIEW IN SWARAJYA

Sir,—I must thank you for the generous space accorded in your issue of October 19th, 1957 (a copy of which has only just reached me) to the book *Talking of Gandhiji*, in which Messrs. Orient Longmans have brought together the four BBC scripts on Mahatma Gandhi in which Maurice Brown and I collaborated.

I am sorry that your reviewer, Monica Felton, was unable to hear the broadcasts themselves, for it is just possible that they might have resolved some of her doubts. But she had a book to review, and I am not quarrelling with her criticism. I must, however, put in a defence against the very serious imputation that "scissors were used to change the meaning of a tape-record."

Whether Mrs. Felton can believe me or no, this is emphatically not the case. The instance which she cites as causing her to doubt the honesty with which the broadcasts were compiled concerns a statement made to us by Mr. Rajagopalachari in the course

of a long and friendly talk at his home in Madras on March 14, 1955. This statement seems to Mrs. Felton to be "wholly out of keeping with his character, and phrased with an incoherent clumsiness." I do not agree, but the fact is that he made it, and in the broadcast Mrs. Felton could have heard him making it. Moreover it was no mere slip of the tongue or unintended phrase. Had it been so we should not have used it, for (again whether Mrs. Felton be convinced or no) we were after the truth. The cut that we made in an extended exposition of his views by Mr. Rajagopalachari was made solely from the necessity of shortening it. It did not change the sense or intention by a breath.

To make good my contention, I give here the relevant part of my long recorded conversation with Mr. Rajagopalachari, with the words actually used in the broadcast and in the book italicised. After saying that he wished to talk only about politics, not about untouchability and social matters, Rajaji described the Indian scene as he remembered it at Gandhi's entry upon activity, in which it had been found that "sporadic force was of no use."

RAJAJI: The more intelligent among the moderate section also knew that Britain could not be moved beyond a certain point by all those gestures of the reasoning mind. Now at that stage came Gandhiji, saying: 'If I work in the way of non-co-operation and satyagraha, it will be a force that will move and can move the British mind.' That was the new thing, so far as politics were concerned. So that his first campaign was much more against—in regard to—the people who believed in violence and were therefore in a desperate mood. He said violence is not necessary and we have another weapon to make up for that absence of force in us. Therefore we can win without being able to fight it out in

the violent way. That was the new ray of hope that he brought, and that was the attraction also.

INTERVIEWER: A new technique?

RAJAJI: Yes. A new technique, that was the attraction. His sainthood and his good quality was an incident to that technique. It wasn't by itself a superstitious focus for attraction. It was merely an incident, because it was a necessary incident in any operation with the new technique. You want a good man to use that new technique, and here he was. But that was not the point of attention. The point of attention in the intelligentsia's mind in India was that here was a man who had practised it more or less successfully in South Africa, who had practised it against the plantation people in Champaran, and therefore — and he now came forward, saying, 'I shall be able to do it with respect to politics also.' And he was not simply an expositor. He said 'I will do it,' and he took it up, he organised things for it. So he came, so to say, like a man with — for the first time who came with a wireless machine.

INTERVIEWER: And were there not times....?

RAJAJI: And that was my attraction also, personally, I can say. That was what made me—because I had lost hope in the moderate programme, I had completely lost hope in the programme with the Congress so far as the moderates went, and I was an extremist. But I was also convinced that sporadic violence would produce no good results, and I—as to organised violence, it was an impossibility. Therefore I thought, here is a man—and I imagined this: that Gandhiji would be able to lead India on, even from 1910 or '9, because he had met the revolutionaries in London when he came to London from South Africa, and I had news of his talk with them and all that, and I knew he would go on. But that's a subject—about me, now, Gandhiji's technique was the thing that he brought new.

February 22, 1958

The words italicised in the above conversation are the words which Mrs. Felton complains Rajaji was cunningly "made to say." They are the words he said, faithfully recorded on tape—which account for the conversational and slightly unliterary construction of which Mrs. Felton also complains. It will be observed by any fair-minded person that the words used for the broadcast give exactly and without distortion the essence of the whole passage. Mr. Rajagopalachari was at pains to make his attitude clear, and it was different from that of Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Both are admirable men, but by their own clear statements what attracted them to work with Gandhiji was different in each case. I thought this difference interesting and illustrative of the extraordinary power (emphasised by Mr. Nehru) whereby Gandhiji drew to himself and to the national movement very different people. I accordingly allowed the script to express it.

With due respect to Mr. Rajagopalachari, the statement which Mrs. Felton says he made to her cannot be said to affect the issue one way or the other. Mrs. Felton must not accuse people of dishonesty without better evidence.

London

FRANCIS WATSON

Photographer's Diary

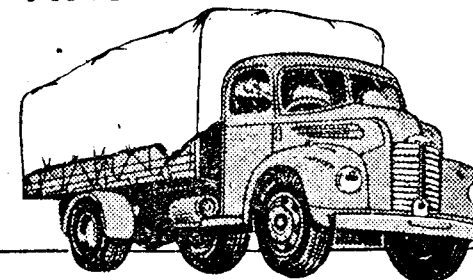
(Continued from Page 5)

certainly be dangerous. But along with the knowledge of this risk there came to me an awareness of an iora calling flutily to its mate in a tree half-way up the hill, of the barely perceptible daytime scent of wild jasmine, all the more exquisite for its faint delicacy, and the touch of a cool breeze on my skin. I slid down from the rear seat on to the rug below, and for a minute continued to live in a finer world, till my companion's second shot whistling past woke me up irretrievably, and I realised that the sheet-metal of modern automobiles is probably not much of a protection against a bullet from a high-velocity rifle. I yelled to

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25 MAR 1958 Naye Paise

WELFARE STATE ANOMALIES

Budget-framing underwent a revolutionary change when the conception of the Welfare State came to the fore before the end of the last world war. The canons of orthodox finance, which laid great store on solvency, were challenged and upset by the Welfare State. Under its impetus it came to be recognised that borrowing, heavy taxation and deficit financing (that is, the printing of paper currency to cover deficits) had a mighty constructive potency and the ability to exploit this potency was the true mark of the progressive financial administrator, distinguishing him from the retrograde and the incompetent of his class.

One basic condition was attached to this liberty for heavy exaction of funds that the Welfare State conceded to the makers of its budgets. They had to take man-power as the datum of their calculations and with their manipulations provide employment and income to all people within their territory adequate for a decent and comfortable standard of life. India under Pandit Nehru drew abundant inspiration from foreign models, particularly the British, illustrating the working of the Welfare State, but unfortunately in the process of imitation, the essential foundation on which it rested, the elimination of privation from the lives of people, was either ignored or proved to be beyond the capacity of the imitators. We have all the ornamental appurtenances of the Welfare State, all its powers of exaction, we are qualifying for the distinc-

tion of being (relative to paying capacity) the heaviest-taxed nation on earth, but no change worth mentioning has been registered in the incomes of people, the quantum of employment open to them or the level of their material comfort and prosperity.

Millions of under-employed and over-starved people in India have for ages been performing the difficult feat of physical survival with the aid of benefaction from their better-placed fellowmen. Under the ancient tradition that wealth is a social trust, the springs of charity, philanthropy and humanity, have, despite the fashion of close-fisted greed nursed by the aberrations of our modern materialist times, been well enough fed to provide some sort of wherewithal for the indigent in the land poised precariously on famine conditions. These springs are being dried up by the almost predatory intensity that the Indian tax system has developed under cover of the Welfare State. The Chief Minister of Bengal lamented recently that worthwhile institutions that used to receive generous support from public-spirited industrial magnates have lost it now. The donors apparently are being hard put to meet the tax-collector's bills.

Thus the Welfare State in India has meant the diversion into official hands of a great deal of wealth that used to go into social benefaction under the religious and charitable impulses of individuals. It has meant the drying up of a source of good to people that has lasted from time imme-

morable without anything correspondingly serviceable taking its place in the newly created public sector of charity.

A writer in *Manas* quoted by *Bhoodan* says: "And when you have the funds, what then? Usually, the funds dictate the policy of the good-doing. They are the power and the glory and not the good, which is only a derived and secondary reality. The good-doing tends to be compromised at the very outset by the requirements of fund-raising." This is what has happened and is happening to our Prime Minister and to India consigned to his care by the inscrutable decree of Providence.

When he speaks of integrating the tax structure with imitation levies from other countries, not to speak of brain waves of his own imposing new and original burdens not found anywhere else on earth, he forgets that employment in our midst is as fractional as unemployment is in those societies. In the general volume of misery rampant in the country there is no justification for the bureaucratisation of social good, especially in the light of the corruption and waste permeating official projects and the stories of fabulous fortune-making attributed in the newspapers to Ministers and their favourites.

Reckless folly in expenditure does not conduce to public good, and while such folly persists, the present level of over-heavy taxation is not a thing to be mildly acquiesced in. What greater example can there be of the veritable squandering of the nation's

resources in ashes than the multiplication of the military budget to more than one half of the civil expenditure? Nuclear weapons have reduced conventional military forces into inconsequence for the purpose of offence and defence in any major war, and all the crores thrown by the Government of India into the purchase of arms and equipment will bring no more than an ornamental facade to decorate spectacular military parades on ceremonial occasions. And yet there is no disposition to revise governmental spending on the military in accordance with the acknowledged and well-known realities of twentieth century warfare.

To the architects of India's destiny facts and people matter less and less, their engrossment is with how to put the thing and the show they make. May we present them, with all respect, a little of wisdom which, after experience of a more efficient and much better balanced type of Socialism than the one on which our Prime Minister has embarked, Western observers of the Welfare State seem to have arrived at? Writing a fortnight ago in *The Times* under the caption "Marked Lowering in Public Tone" Lord Radcliffe has summed up in a nutshell the whole aftermath of the Welfare State adventure:

"Constitutional forms and legal systems are very well in their way, but they are the costumes for the men who wear them. Their sober shapes can be seen performing the strangest antics unless the people inside them have a real grasp of the civil ideas which they are designed to express. And those ideas are conceived in terms of human character and its relationship to a spiritual universe that lies beyond."

Then again:

"It does very greatly matter that each individual should be both enabled and encouraged to make the best of all the good that is within him. But it does not by any means so greatly matter that society should be so organised as to produce the maximum sum of material wealth at any one period. It does not matter at all that people should become more and more comfortable or that they should travel faster and faster, or that they should visit more and more places."

India's planners have taken the bit in their mouths, and their

B. C. G.

There can be no more indefensible quackery, or persistent waste of money besides indiscriminate injury to the health of many poor victims than what is being done under the name of B.C.G. As if that were not enough, a further programme of waste is being, we are told, contemplated to try what is no good for tuberculosis for leprosy — like betting on two horses where one does not promise profit.

My oath that this programme is an injurious gamble and has no scientific or social value may not be accepted. But I wish our Prime Minister should invite Dr. J. A. Myers, M.D. of Minnesota, Dr. M. Beddow Bayley, M.R.C.P., L.R.C.P. of Camberley, Surrey, Dr. Charles M. Steward of Ipswich, U.K., and Prof. Arvid Wallgren to come to New Delhi and give their considered views, and decide whether this programme around the B.C.G. vaccine should be continued any longer. But Dr. Benjamin's advice seems to be just enough and everything for the Ministry of Health in India. A change of Ministers in the Health department does not seem to have made any change. It is unfortunate that there is no one to look into this matter with power enough to stop this quackery and criminal waste.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

planning runs in advance of the resources in character and capacity necessary to make it worthwhile. Most of it goes down the drain. It only means the diversion of the nation's assets from traditional repositories where they had been more carefully employed and conserved to greater social good to the control of greedy power-mongers of the pattern illustrated in the Mundhra affair. People are fed up with this sort

of Socialism and Welfare State which only means the concentration of more power and more of control over other people's income and property in wrong hands. But the Prime Minister, with his head in the sands, is unable to see the writing on the wall.

Impartial

Dr. G. G. Coulton was long a Cambridge authority on the Middle Ages, a scholar with glint of battle in deep-sunk eyes as he fought, in public and against other historians, for principles of historical fidelity and of controversy even on contentious topics.

"The question of Impartiality", he wrote in his Autobiography, *Fourscore Years*, "is often treated with a pedantry which exaggerates healthy reverence into idolatry."

"The exaggerated stress which is laid upon this word *impartial*, while the thing itself is, in many cases, notoriously impossible of attainment, is apt to confuse the real issue. It renders men more afraid of the criticism 'You are biased', than of ignoring vital points in awkward historical questions."

"As G. M. Trevelyan says: 'Dispassionateness — nil admirari — may betray the most gifted historian into missing some vital truth in his subject'."

"Rather than the word *impartial*, then, should we not use *judicial*, which is far more exactly correspondent with realities? The historian, like the judge, should begin with as little bias as is humanly possible: but gradually, as the evidence unfolds itself, he forms a hypothesis more favourable to one of the contending parties than to the other."

Dr. Coulton's range of vision is the medieval scene: but politics in modern India, the rise and decline of nations overseas, and journalism itself, are not beyond the wisdom of those fourscore years. 'The censorious spirit' we must warn ourselves against; but all observation, in Darwin's words quoted earlier by Dr. Coulton, must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service.

JOHN E. FRAZER



Sotto Voce

Bureaucrats in Business

Everybody has remarked on the extraordinary casualness with which the Mundhra deal was put through by the L.I.C. Making allowance for the special sense of urgency which Mr. Justice Chagla felt behind the transaction without being able to account for it, there is not the slightest doubt that every phase of this singular business betrayed a totally unbusinesslike approach. The decision to buy was taken by the Principal Financial Secretary who had no *locus standi* in the matter. It was accepted by the Chairman of the L.I.C. who was content to play second fiddle to his senior confrere in the I.C.S. And if Mr. Kamath had no knowledge on which to found judgment, Mr. Vaidyanathan, the Managing Director, has frankly said that he abdicated his judgment, because he felt that "Government" had ordered the purchase and his duty was not to reason why.

Mr. Patel, having got the L.I.C. to accept Mundhra's offer of shares with sundry changes, promptly forgot all about it. He did not concern himself with the pedestrian question of prices beyond saying in an offhand way that "market prices" would be paid. "Market prices", it was later found, meant to different persons quite different things. In leaving the precise settlement of prices to the officials, he may have acted according to the accepted mode of doing things in Government departments which function in water-tight compartments. But no businessman can afford to take so limited a view of his obligations if he wishes to avoid a crash.

The Prime Minister, who was in a mood to score debating points, contended that efficiency was not a monopoly of big business. The fact that high Government officials were much in demand for managing positions in commerce and

industry, he suggested, abundantly established the truth of the proposition. He is too tough an idealist to accept the prosaic explanation that they are prized not for what they have done but for what they are expected to do — to function as good 'contact men' ('waglers' is the vulgar equivalent). That apart, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. And the bureaucracy, when it plays at business, is not put to the proof at all.

Nobody will maintain that all businessmen are efficient any more than that all officials are honest. But if a man understands that he must justify his existence in a hard competitive world if at all he is to keep his job he will not treat business as a light interlude between serious pre-occupations with protocol and strenuous jaunts abroad or take casual decisions, applying only half his mind to the matter in hand. That is where private enterprise with its profit motive has a decided pull. You must get on or get out. You simply cannot afford to be easygoing in dealing with other people's money.

One need not impute any dishonourable motive to the officials who engineered the Mundhra deal. But Mr. Nehru will find few to agree with him that if they acted in good faith there was really little more to be said about it and there was no justification for throwing stones at nationalisation. An administrator, who has to deal with imponderables and has often to make hard choices in a hurry to fend off chaos, may legitimately claim immunity for action taken in good faith. But the conduct of business requires the exercise of prudence and specialised skill and the fact that a man has passed a competitive examination is no proof that he possesses these attributes. And yet nationalised industries are being run as if every I.C.S. or I.A.S. was a Henry Ford.

Handling millions of money is an intoxicating business. But the most inveterate gambler on the 'Change is sobered by visions of the flinty face of his banker when he last tried to wheedle him into conceding a bigger overdraft. The Government, however, has a bottomless purse. And, though luckless underlings might be surcharged for buying a water pot in mid-summer without due sanction, no nationalised undertaking warns its executives that if they are found to have failed in exercising due care and caution they will have to recoup it for its losses by having to part with their entire possessions if need be.

Parliamentary scrutiny can bring up irregular and improper transactions to public notice. That is what the Public Accounts Committee has been doing with praiseworthy zeal year after year. But what is the net result of it all? The warning of Hirakud has been so little heeded that Bhakra-Nangal has already yielded a nice crop of 'scandals'. Departmental enquiries may lead to the dismissal of some small fry, but the big fish always escape, because the net is obviously opened wide for them on the plea that the paramount necessities of the Five Year Plan must be served.

The Chagla Commission heard a good deal about the Government's proposals to put the L.I.C.'s investment powers in safe and competitive hands. The present Investment Committee, an advisory body with a minority of businessmen on it, was not very effective. But, at least occasionally uncomfortable questions were asked, as for example by Mr. Parikh. If it is to be substituted, as was proposed by the Minister at one stage, by a small body of top-ranking officials (who would zealously maintain their amateur status), on the ground that a larger mixed body would be endlessly debating while every day ten lakhs of rupees cried out to be invested, we now know enough to guess what will happen. Come to think of it, are not all the troubles of the L.I.C. due to the fact that this monolithic organisation

(Continued on Page 4)

SIDELIGHTS ::

The formal position of a Minister vis-a-vis his departmental secretary was stated in the British House of Commons by the Home Secretary in what is known as the Crichton Down affair :

1. Where a civil servant carries out an explicit order by a Minister, the Minister must protect the civil servant concerned.

2. Where a civil servant acts properly in accordance with the policy laid down by the Minister, the Minister must equally protect and defend him.

3. When a civil servant makes a mistake or causes some delay, but not on an important issue of policy and not where a claim to individual rights is seriously involved, the Minister acknowledges the mistake and he accepts responsibility, although he is not personally involved. He states he will take corrective action in the department.

4. Where action has been taken by a civil servant of which the Minister disapproves and has no prior knowledge, and the conduct of the official is reprehensible, then there is no obligation on the Minister to endorse what he believes to be wrong, or to defend what are clearly shown to be errors of his officers.

In the Mundhra affair, on the basis of the evidence published so far, paragraph (1) above will apply if for the word *order*, *approval* is substituted. There can be no doubt that paragraph (2) will certainly apply. Under the British convention which we claim to be following in our parliamentary democracy, the Minister was bound to defend and protect his Secretary. The uniqueness of the parting statement T. T. K. made in Parliament at the time of his resignation lies in the fact that he resiled from this responsibility. Contrary to the impression earlier given by him as a witness before the Chagla Commission, he there assumed an attitude of ignorance as to what had been going on, until long after the deal had been sealed. The Secretary was, by the Minister's action, converted from the position of an executant of the Minister's desire or at any rate an approved collaborator, to that of a victim thrown up for punishment. Unwittingly perhaps the Prime Minister also and partly the Home Minister became partici-

pants in a grave injustice to a top-ranking civil servant.

Something of the reaction caused by these happenings on unbiased minds may be gauged from Sri B. Shiva Rao's speech in the Rajya Sabha. He said : "A friend of mine, a non-Indian who called on me a few days ago said to me with reference to this episode : 'What sort of a democracy are you building up in this country? You attack your civil servants in Parliament but you don't give them a forum in which they can defend themselves.' We now hear of police and other enquiries to get at the truth. But what chance is there of the truth coming out after the P. M. has oracularly blessed the Minister saying that his part in the transaction was of the smallest and the Home Minister has already given an inkling to the police of his own conclusion in the matter."

Some parliamentarians distinguished themselves in the debate with outright demands for immediate dismissal of the Secretary. How sadistically reckless! How undemocratic and reprehensible it is to tar with downright condemnation an officer turned down by his Minister without even giving him a chance to defend himself? I am reminded of a story I read years ago. It was about the headmaster of a famous public school in England. It would appear that the King visited the school and the headmaster kept his hat on throughout the visit. Angry questions were raised in the House of Commons about this disloyal headmaster who did not know how to receive His Majesty with becoming respect. There were cries demanding his instantaneous dismissal. But one member rose up to say that it was not the British practice to punish a man unheard. A committee of enquiry was thereupon appointed.

The arraigned headmaster deposed that in the precincts of his school he was the supreme authority and he recognised no other

sovereign. This was an inviolable condition on which he insisted if he was to retain his office and do justice to it, and to symbolise it he had not taken his hat off while His Majesty was in the school, but did so the moment the King crossed its boundary. The explanation was at once appreciated and censure turned to commendation. In this hour of the degradation of our educational system when there is a conspiracy of illiterate power-holders to reduce heads of educational institutions to zero status, the main cause of the greatness of British public schools as illustrated in the story narrated above, deserves to be understood and pondered over by our educationists no less than by our politicians.

The Prime Minister's position is none too enviable, surrounded as he is by colleagues whose affair need a lot of concealing if their credit is to be sustained. How long will he carry on in this fashion? His resignation from the Congress Parliamentary Board is a fatal example of the adverse reactions evoked even by innocent acts of renunciation. Sri Dheba as President is individually helpless that he cannot hold a single meeting not attended by the Prime Minister. What the P. M. has lost by resignation comes back to him by continuous special invitation. His withdrawal has only meant the introduction of another member of the family into the control of our parliamentary affairs. This sort of withdrawal has no reality about it. It is much better for the Prime Minister to openly assume power and face the problem of excessive concentration of it in his hand squarely, than indulge in nominal delegations of it that only blur and confuse the factual state of our politics.

SAN

Sotto Voce

(Continued from Page 3)

has to find suitable investment for ten lakhs of rupees every day and little urge in the shape of competition to sharpen its wits the kind of competition that the private insurers on their too

VIGNESWARA

THISTLES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Katta Bommur was a chieftain in South India in the days of the East India Company. He refused to pay tribute to the Company which claimed it by right of purchase of sovereignty from the Nabob of Arcot, a Viceroy of the Moghul Emperor in Delhi. The Indian chief's fort was besieged and he was finally forced to flee incognito to find assistance from his brother chieftains in the South. He was received by one of them and given harbour in his palace but only to be betrayed to the English Company's officers. He was seized and 'tried' for his offence. The Company's officer sentenced him to be hanged. Katta Bommur pleaded he had never paid tribute to any one and that he was an independent chief in his own right. All the same, sentence of death was passed and he was hanged at once by the neck on a road-side tamarind tree within an hour after the 'sentence'. This was on 16th October 1799. On 16th October last year the 158th anniversary of the martyr's death was celebrated all over South India.

Tippu Sultan of Mysore refused to yield to the British Company and died sword in hand fighting at the breach which the Company's forces had made in the Seringapatam Fort in the month of May of the same year, 1799. Katta Bommur when he walked up to the place where the rope had been made ready for him, regretted that he had left his fort seeking external assistance instead of dying sword in hand as Tippu did. The story of Katta Bommur has been reconstructed out of old records and written in a little Tamil book which I was reading last October, the same time as I was absorbed reading Leo Tolstoy's story of the Caucasian chief Hadji Murad. The English merchants' gradual occupation of Katta Bommur's province was very much like the Russian story of reducing the mountain tribes to submission taking advantage of the intestine feuds among them. Tolstoy introduces the story of Hadji

Murad by relating how one day he was walking home by the fields and he saw the land was tilled and nowhere was a blade of grass to be seen or any kind of plant. "Ah, what a destructive creature is man, thought I", he writes. "In front of me to the right I saw some kind of little clump and drawing nearer I found it was a kind of thistle, the same as I had vainly plucked and thrown away a few minutes before. One stalk of the plant was broken and stuck out like the stump of a mutilated arm. Each of the other two

bore a flower once beautifully red but now blackened. Yet it stood firm and did not surrender to man who had destroyed all its brothers around it. What vitality, I thought, man has conquered everything and destroyed millions of plants, yet this one won't succumb. And I remembered a Caucasian episode of years ago". This is how Tolstoy introduces and tells the moving story of Hadji Murad. KATTA BOMMUR was such another stubborn thistle. Such also was Tippu Sultan. There have been many such thistles in the march of 'civilisation'. Gandhi was looked upon too as such a thistle by the Viceroys of India, until he succeeded and became an admired saint and hero of all lands.

BOOK REVIEW

ON EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONISTS

Of the many subjects wherein politicians assume mentorship, one of the easiest is education. Their knowledge or rather prejudices against what was considered a foreign imposed hand-out tars many an opinion which is fruitful of misdirection in a field of lasting consequence. Sri Srinivasa Iyengar in this compendium of his speeches and contributions to journals dating from as far back as the early twenties of the century poses all the various questions connected with education and discusses most of the aspects connected with them from general themes like co-education, religious instruction and language in education to such technical subjects as training of teachers, basic and secondary education, citizenship training and extra-curricular activities. Where his direct experience either by observation or experiment through new ways in extra and intra-mural activities gives him authority as a moulder of the personality of the young, his findings are expressed in clear and unmistakable terms. On the relationship between teachers and management and the necessity for full freedom for the profession both in pedagogic work as well as in the arena of general polity there is a distressful exposition of their

still trammelled position. He says that "Even the headmaster in most institutions cannot entertain the thought of initiating even small reforms for the administration of schools.... There are managements which dictate even in matters relating to promotion or selection of pupils...." And yet the qualities that make for and are required of a good teacher are the most rare and difficult ones: "The teacher should have experienced an inner integration of mind and heart and an outer integration of experience and the two should be further integrated with one another!"

On secondary education the author differs emphatically from Gandhiji and says that it is not an extension of the primary education and the two cannot be combined as advocated in the Wardha scheme as they stand on entirely different footings: difference in degrees of intellect, economic ideals, mental culture, etc. He sees in the super high aims of Basic education an indirect opponent to the much more imperative universal primary educa-

On Education and Educationists:
By R. Srinivasa Iyengar,
Principal, Srinivasa Tutorial,
Coimbatore. Price : Rs. 4.50.

tion. Of English language as a medium of instruction, he is all for it at the university level, but would limit it to language subjects in the high school, and considers it essential "if we are to function at the highest, intellectual and culturally in educational and inter-national spheres." He quotes extensively, however, from Rabindranath Tagore for the opposite view: "Foreign language will hamper indigenous growth of culture and destroy

individuality of judgment and perfect freedom of self-expression."

On co-education the author gives weight to the great authority of Lala Lajpat Rai and (Continued on page 15)

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi : It seems to be a very trying year. January had its jolts and February its fatalities. March threatens to be no less menacing. There is little hope of things settling down, with the public mind (not alone) unhinged by the rumblings beneath the surface. Brave appearances are a poor mask for agitated beings. Delayed decisions, if anything, only confirm popular doubts about the state of affairs — and the ship of the State. Is the vessel seaworthy? What about the foul weather, the angry waves, the rocks ahead? Everything seems to depend on the pilot, the only one we have. But these days he looks a trifle tired and much worried. It is so vital that he should not lose his grip or sense of command. It is more vital that he should be sure of his crew, individually no less than collectively. Mr. Nehru can ill afford to take any risks at this crucial hour; especially when he acts on his own. Maybe for that very reason he is in no mood — and that is indeed his normal mood — to hustle himself or be hustled by others. He will take some more time to make up his mind; he may even await the next financial year which is not far off. Under April skies a clearer picture will definitely emerge. But how blow the winds of March!

There is, alas, something very freakish about this season, with speculation and suspense keeping pace with one another. The stark fact is that it all seems to be one man's affair — and nobody on earth knows, or can know, what is passing in his mind, particularly in his new 'desolation', except that he himself is groping, though not exactly in the dark. Nor is the Prime Minister, as a political strategist, so innocent as he looks. He would rather let the pressmen do the customary kite-flying, the politicians canvass, and the aspirants manoeuvre. It is all but part of the game. He will not show his hand in a hurry, nor allow others to read it. Yet there

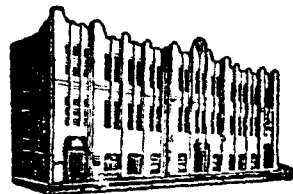
can be no Cabinet construction or reconstruction without previous comment on the basis of anticipations. Many considerations prevail in making a choice. Our Prime Minister has in the past not made a happy choice, or been lucky in his choice, for while some have not proved themselves worthy of Cabinet rank, not all have shown, since the days of Sardar Patel, a marked capacity for team-work either. And where cohesion is lacking, unity of purpose suffers.

Many even inside the Congress party, not to speak of many more outside, strongly feel that it is time Mr. Nehru dropped the men whom he should not have taken at all, much less retained. Here and now, they say, is an opportunity for him to go about the business of Cabinet re-making, more warily and wisely. One should, however, sympathise with Mr. Nehru in his difficulty. It is neither easy to cast his net beyond the party nor to angle successfully from within. Between two such stalwarts as Mr. Pant and Morarji, what can he do but resist the former's Sampurnanand and the latter's Jivaraj Mehta? Nor can he easily import Shri G. L. Mehta for Finance while leaving Commerce and Industry in the hands of Morarji — and making it all a Gujarati affair. Problems are only multiplied when those who are already Cabinet Ministers want to grasp portfolios other than they hold (as in the case of a few) or refuse to part with portfolios that they hold (as in the case of a few others). With Mr. Pant and Morarji not available, as they say, for Finance and with both Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. Ashoke Sen eager, not merely willing, to grasp it, the Prime Minister will, in all probability, favour Mr. Menon and 'bung in' Mr. Menon's favourite, Mr. S. K. Patil, for Defence. This is just quite on the cards, on the assumption that the Finance portfolio will be assigned to someone inside the present Cabinet. Regional claims

notwithstanding, Finance Ministers of States, past or present, are not likely to arrive in Delhi.

The position regarding Education is basically different, though not less difficult. There is no warrant for the facile assumption that the Maulana's place will fall to any co-religionist of his. It would be extremely hard even for Mr. Nehru to discount the strong feeling in Parliament and outside that for a whole decade the Ministry of Education has remained a communal enclave in a secular State. The Indian Cabinet will include a Muslim as, indeed, it should. Anyone of Maulana's stature cannot be found in a day but the country is not without men in the Muslim community who can, in course of time, rise to 'grey eminence'. One like Mr. Humayun Kabir will lend distinction to any Cabinet. Normally, he would be an ideal choice as Minister for Education. But in the peculiar circumstances that have obtained for one full decade, he who is now in charge of Transport may well be transported to other higher realms. As for Education, it is hardly surprising that people have instinctively turned to Dr. Radhakrishnan though, in their zeal for the best, they have overlooked certain compelling factors like rank and precedence which are his as the Vice-President. It is most tempting to think of him for, apart from his unsurpassed eminence in the field of Education, he alone, among those in the saddle, can bring to Mr. Nehru a new strength and to the Cabinet an unknown prestige. But he cannot, for obvious reasons, join the Cabinet except on an elevated basis. Will Mr. Nehru share power and glory? If he will not go so far, he must at least make bold to overcome smaller considerations and send for Shri C. D. Deshmukh who re-appeared on the scene under Maulana's auspices and has been the guardian angel of the universities. Nobody's reputation is higher today in public life than that of Mr. Krishnamachari's predecessor. Not being 'little-minded', Mr. Nehru may not willingly forego the opportunity of harnessing the right men to right places.

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PARLIAMENTARY PAGEANTRY: THE HOUSE OF LORDS

By ARTHUR BAKER

Former Chief of the Times (London)
Parliamentary Staff

The Upper House of the British Parliament — the House of Lords — which is forgotten sometimes in favour of the Commons, has come into the limelight with the Government's promise of new legislation for its reform. In this article Mr. Baker describes the present functions and procedures of this ancient Upper House.

When one speaks of the British Parliament one is often apt to think only of the House of Commons, and to forget that there is another House, the House of Lords. Parliament consists of three elements; the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. Every Bill, to become an Act of Parliament, must pass the two Houses, and receive the Royal Assent. Until this has taken place, it cannot become the law of the land.

Though the Commons is said to interpret more correctly the will of the people, the Lords is by far the more ornate and colourful of the two Houses. It is much larger than the Commons Chamber. It glows in gold and colours and the hues of the superb decorations are blended with great artistic skill. I have always felt, when entering the Lords, as if I were going into a cathedral. But I have been told by peers who have taken part in important debates there, that they have sometimes felt as if they were speaking in a refrigerator, so cold and unemotional is the atmosphere.

The benches in the Lords Chamber, in contrast to the sombre green of the Commons, are upholstered in vivid crimson leather. At one end is the Throne, used by the Queen when she opens each new session. Immediately in front of the Throne is the Woolsack—a large crimson lounge or ottoman,

But one cannot be too sure. Junius is reminded of a passage in Morley's luminous pages:

Mr. Gladstone was fond of saying that the politician is the most incomprehensible of all human beings, to which some added the wicked tag that he was himself the most incomprehensible of politicians. So is our own Prime Minister.

stuffed with wool, a survival of ancient times when wool was the staple trade of England. The Lord Chancellor, who presides over the proceedings, sits on the Woolsack. Like the Speaker of the House of Commons, he wears a big wig, the ample wings of which fall down below his shoulders, and a loose, flowing black gown, beneath which can be seen his knee-breeches, black silk hose, and low shoes with silver buckles.

I have often been puzzled at the contrast between the entry of the Speaker into the Commons and the entry of the Lord Chancellor into the Lords. Though the Commons is the democratically elected assembly, the Speaker enters the Chamber with great ceremony at the head of an imposing procession. The Lord Chancellor, on the other hand, seems to slip into the gilded Lords Chamber almost unnoticed from the robing-rooms immediately behind the Throne. The only ceremony is that he is attended by the Macebearer; by "Black Rod", the Lords messenger to the Commons; and by the Pursebearer, who carries in his hand the Satchel of the Great Seal of England. This is a richly embroidered satchel or purse, which is supposed to contain the Great Seal of England. As a matter of fact, it does not.

The Great Seal is the stamp, or sign, of final approval by the Sovereign of treaties with foreign powers, Royal proclamations, and other important State documents. It is now actually kept in a strong room in the House of Lords. But as the Lord Chancellor is responsible for its safety the Satchel never leaves his personal possession. When he sits on the Wool-

March 8, 1958

sack, it is placed behind him, as is also the Mace, which indicates that the House is sitting.

I have heard many amusing stories about the extraordinary care taken by Lord Chancellors to safeguard the Great Seal. One of the best, though I cannot vouch for its accuracy, is that a very worried Lord Chancellor, fearing that the Seal might be damaged when his house caught fire, buried the precious object in his garden. When the fire had been extinguished, he forgot where he had hidden it, so he and his family joined in a long and anxious search. Happily, this eventually proved successful.

In the Commons, the Speaker is the judge of all questions of order, but in the Lords, all peers are equal as legislators. No one of them can be vested with authority over the others, and, therefore, when a point of order is involved, it is the whole House, and not the Lord Chancellor, that must decide. I remember so well when an unfortunate peer had his interminable speech brought to an abrupt conclusion by the Leader of the House moving, "That the noble Lord be no longer heard". And the House agreed.

Another important difference in the procedure of the two Houses is that, in the Commons, when a member rises to speak he addresses "Mr. Speaker". In the Lords it is not the Lord Chancellor who is addressed, but the whole House, and every speech begins with the words: "My Lords".

It is a mistake to think that the House of Lords is composed entirely of hereditary peers. Leaders in Church and State, captains of industry, and law lords sit on the crimson benches. Debates in the Upper House reach an exceptionally high level because those taking part in them invariably have a first-hand knowledge of their subject. The total membership is bigger than that of the Commons—more than 800 peers compared with 630 M.P.s. But not all the 800 are ever present at one sitting; a daily attendance of 50 to 100 is a fair average. On big occasions that number may be trebled.

SWARAJYA

The delaying power of the Lords, though now curtailed to one year, is still of real value in preventing legislation being rushed through Parliament by the political party in power. Public opinion has a chance of making itself felt. The House of Lords also fulfils a vital function as a revising Chamber, and is freely used by all Governments for this purpose. Legislation can be initiated in the Upper House, as well as in the Lower.

There is one aspect of the Lords with which the public, generally speaking, is not familiar, and that is when the House sits as the Supreme Court of Appeal from the Courts of Justice of the United Kingdom. The House of Lords is the ultimate resort of the suitor who feels that an injustice has been done him by the decision of any of the law courts. In such a matter its judgment is final and irrevocable.

There is one other big difference between the two Houses which I should mention; while the Commons includes women among its members the Upper House is composed entirely of 'noble Lords'. Or at any rate, it has been up to now. The Government's plan for reform of the Upper House, announced

recently, includes a provision for the introduction of women members—an innovation which should, in every way, bring still more colour into this ancient assembly.



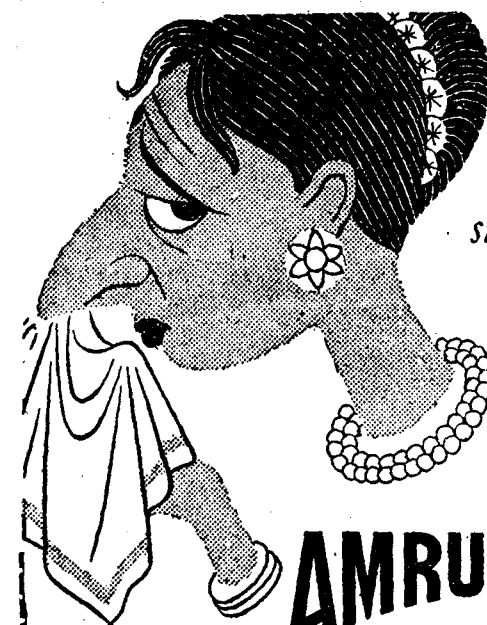
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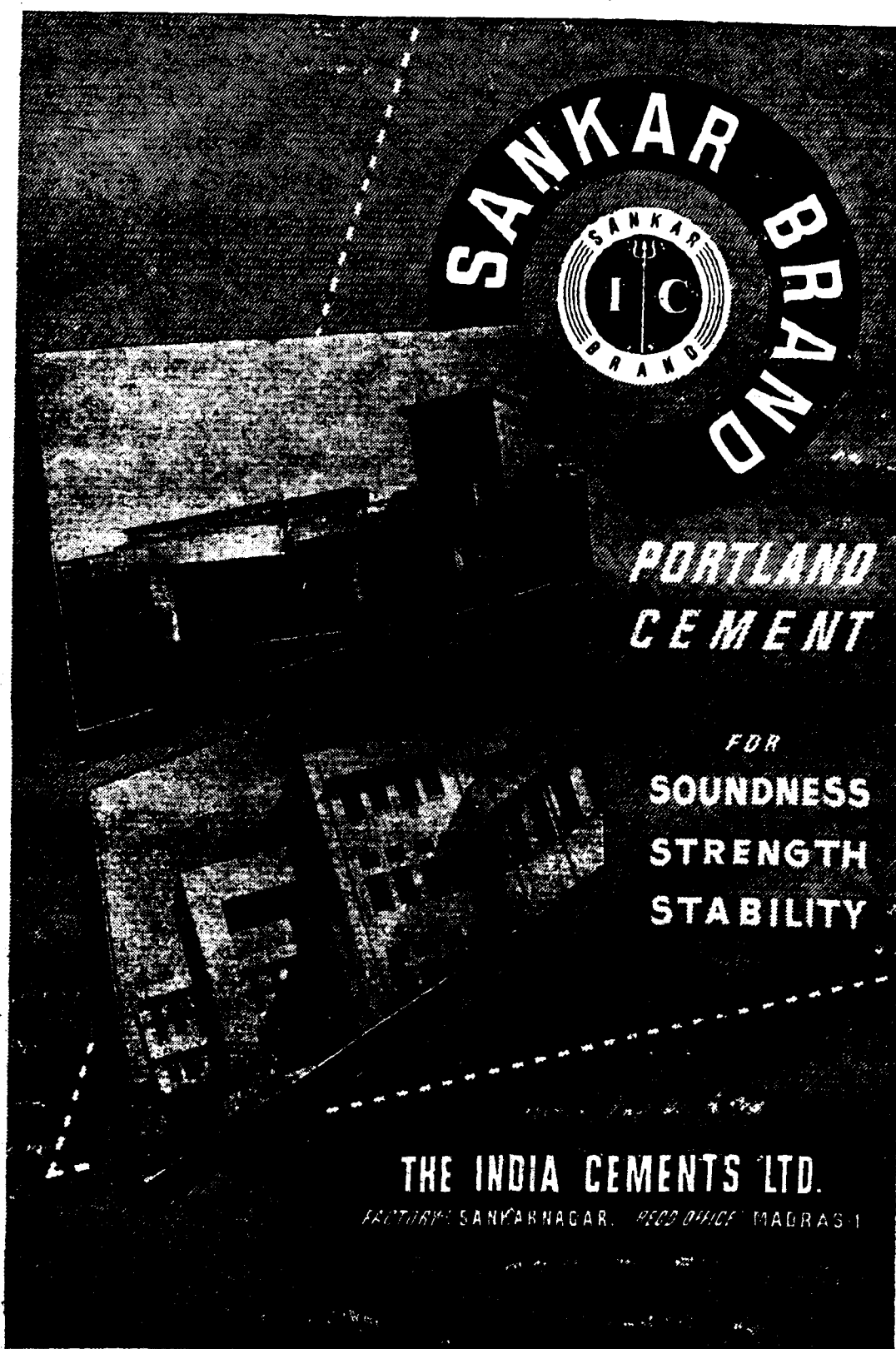
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LONGFELLOW, A UNIVERSAL POET

By T. D. MANICKAM

Longfellow has been known as America's first national poet. As an explorer of continental languages, he was the first figure in American letters to translate some of the foremost writers of Italy, Germany, France, Denmark, Sweden and Spain.

Being a universalist, Longfellow believed that "all that is best in the great poets of all countries is not what is national in them but what is universal."

He once recorded in his journals: "A national literature is the expression of national character. We have, or shall have, a composite one, embracing French, Spanish, Irish, English, Scandinavian and German peculiarities. Whosoever has within himself most of these is our truly national writer."

Longfellow, the second among a family of eight children, was born on February 27, 1807. His father was a prominent lawyer and state legislator, and his mother being an admirer of music, poetry and painting, added strength to her son's aspirations.

At the age of 13, Longfellow's first poem appeared in *Portland Gazette*, and was followed by many others during his college years. Still in college, he wrote to his father: "I most eagerly aspire for future eminence in literature. My whole soul burns most ardently for it and every earthly thought centres in it."

With his life devoted to poetry, Longfellow began a three and a half years travel through the continent to fulfil his desire for the learning of more languages.

Back home in 1829, he became a teacher of modern languages at Bowdoin College, and it was only six years later that his first book of poems, "Voice of the Night" came in print. While at this college, the poet was married to a Portland beauty Mary Potter in 1831.

The finest teachings of Longfellow were reputedly at Harvard. Another study tour of Europe

would have terminated happily but for the death of his wife in Switzerland. Longfellow returned to Harvard in 1836. Seven years later he married the heroine of his novel *Hyperion*—Miss Francis Elizabeth Appleton.

Longfellow was a lover of children, and he was a father of five. Writing of children he said:

"For what are all our contrivings,

And the wisdom of our books,
When compared with your caresses

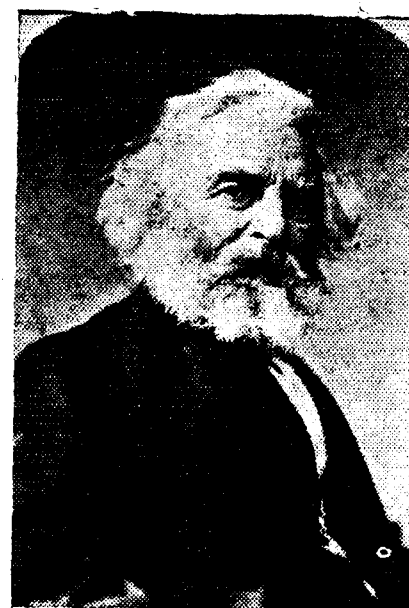
And the gladness of your looks?"

As his fame grew it was inevitable that he came to know closely the literary coterie known as New Englanders which included Lowell, Hawthorne and Emerson among so many others. Along with fame came prosperity through the sales of his poems like "The Skeleton in Armor" and "The Hanging of the Crane."

When everything around him seemed sound, tragedy hit his home; his wife set fire to her dress accidentally while lighting a match to melt a sealing-wax and was burned to death. With his motherless children to be cared for, Longfellow tried to lose himself in the mechanical pursuit of translation. His conscientious, though too literal version of Dante's "Divine Comedy" was the fruit of his first years after 1861.

The year 1868 took Longfellow on his last pilgrimage to Europe. This time he was honoured by both Cambridge and Oxford. Every English and continental celebrity was delighted to have Longfellow's acquaintance. His poems such as "The Courtship of Miles Standish" and "Poems on Slaves" were translated into a score of languages.

During his last 15 years, he published several books of short poems, ballads and sonnets, two short plays in verse and one major work — "Christus: A Mystery."



Longfellow is described as "short in stature but good-looking and graceful, quiet and modest in manner but not unduly reticent, very careful in matters of dress, laughter-loving and with plenty of humour though not much wit, highly appreciative of creature comfort, and sociably inclined."

When he died in 1882 even his severest critics had to admit that no American poet had ever been loved by more people, and that his poetry would live forever. Two years later his bust was placed in Poet's Corner at Westminster Abbey, and he is the only American ever to be thus honored.

Walt Whitman wrote of Longfellow: "He is the poet of mellow twilight of the past; . . . poet of all sympathetic gentleness, . . . a universal poet."

SWARAJYA

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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The stars' personal life is and should be their private affair. But as the stars are so much in the limelight, their fans have almost a morbid curiosity in their affairs and this curiosity is fanned and encouraged by the stars themselves.

So, it is not surprising that considerable space is devoted to gossip and scandals about stars and hardly any space is devoted to any discussion of the merits of their performance and acting. With so much stress laid on personality rather than acting, it is rather inevitable that along with good boost, the stars should get bad publicity also by way of scandals, most of which are based on hearsay and not truth. The latest victims of such scandals are Guru Dutt and Kishore Kumar, whose homes are reported to have been wrecked by gossip-mongers. Little did the gossip-mongers know that while they were spreading reports about the separation between Guru Dutt and Geeta Roy, the latter was lying in the hospital and Guru Dutt flew from Simla to meet her. Similarly, while the

gossip-mongers had given currency to the report that Ruma, Kishore's wife had run away from her husband, both were seen together at a number of functions. As it is, even the report of Nimmi's marriage, which was reproduced in these columns in good faith, appears to be premature. Nimmi has averred that she will not marry secretly but let the whole film world know when she weds the right man.

Ever since films began to talk, the errant husband and devoted wife have been the mainstay of our social pictures. In fact the very first social talkie picture 'Daulat Ka Nasha' recounted the story of a good man led astray by his friends, who takes to wine and women and ultimately repents while his wife is made to suffer. Since then scores of pictures on the same theme have been made during the last 25 years; and yet, the theme does not seem to have become obsolete as is evident from Tasviristan's 'Fashion', released in Bombay last week.

A picture of the same name produced by S. F. Hasnain also dealt with a similar theme. Lekhraj Bhakri's story of 'Fashion' thus follows the familiar lines. The husband is fed with of his unglamorous wife, falls for an actress, takes to drinking and drives out his wife because of the flimsy suspicion about her created by his friend and brings the actress home as the mistress. So far the pattern is old; but from here it takes a new turn. The wife who suffers is not too docile; driven out, she kills the friend who ruined her home and goes to jail.

Meanwhile, the husband is deserted by the actress for no reason and he also repents, and finds himself faced with a new problem in the shape of his grown-up daughter who is obviously a teenage rebel. When the wife is released from jail and comes home without revealing her true identity, the parents jointly

face the problem but are unable to solve it. It is only when the daughter marries the man of her choice and finds him a gold-digger that she realizes her folly. On the tragic note of the arrest of her husband, the picture ends.

The problems of an ultra-modern grown-up daughter could provide good story material; but Lekhraj Bhakri has not cared to go deep into them, he has just tried to please orthodoxy by showing how fashionable girls end up by marrying the wrong sort of youth. Jabeen and Chandrashekar, as the young girl and boy, have failed to impart life to their roles. Comparatively both Mala Sinha and Pradeep Kumar have given commendable performances. Pradeep is specially impressive in the latter half while Mala Sinha is excellent throughout. The character of the actress played nonchalantly by Kammo is also not well defined; the manner in which she walks out on the hero for the love of stage and fame leaves one in complete amazement. In spite of her vamp's role, Kammo is likable as an actress. The dances are nothing to rave about; but the songs by Bharat Vyas are good and a couple of tunes by Hemant Kumar have a lilt worth remembering.

Lekhraj Bhakri's direction is adequate and so are production values. The outdoors of Agra and Delhi are well exploited; but for the refreshing note in the second half, 'Fashion' is rather an old-fashioned movie.

Madhubala has issued an appeal to all those engaged in film production to help the film workers by working free in one picture every year to be produced by the Film Workers Welfare Association of India. Instead of working free, she would have done better to appeal to the stars to contribute the income of one of their pictures.

The film workers are not in a happy position and they need help, especially those who are disabled and jobless. And even the film artistes need help. So any move to help them is welcome; but such a move should not involve any of the risks inherent in film production.

A REPLY TO ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

By A. SUBBIAH

There are other ways of contributing to film workers' welfare as was shown by some of the film artistes recently in Bombay. Kusum Deshpande, a veteran stage and screen artiste who had appeared in many Hindi Pictures during the forties, is today not known. She has almost gone into obscurity, and what is worse, she has neither wealth nor health. Her old friends from the stage and film world including her sister Ranjana, Sumati Gupte, Dhupal, Vasant Joglekar and others staged P. K. Atre's play 'Lagnachi Bedi' and gave the proceeds to her at a reception organised along with the performance of the stage play. Atre presided over the occasion which was attended among others by veteran artistes like David and Leela Chitnis. A cheque of Rs. 3,100 was presented to her. Later Kusum Deshpande underwent an eye-operation.

That is the practical way of helping an artiste in distress. If only the stars who earn a fortune every year contribute the income of one picture for the welfare of the disabled and impoverished artistes, instead of drawing fantastic schemes for the welfare of film workers, they will help the artiste clan in a practical manner.

Mehboob Khan left for U.K. via Baghdad on Wednesday, 26th February. He will go to Hollywood with a print from U.K. of 'Mother India' which is nominated for the Academy award for foreign films.

The Government of Bombay has enhanced the entertainment tax in all cities with a population of over a lakh of people and brought it on a par with the tax levied in Bombay city. At the same time the Government has announced its decision to exempt all stage plays from the entertainment tax the burden of which will now be entirely borne by the film trade.

Guru Dutt returned from Simla after completing the outdoor shooting of 'Production No. 5' and began the indoor shooting of 'Kagaz Ke Phool' at Central Studios; S. D. Burman is giving music for both the pictures.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the great Bhoodan leader, has long been looked upon in this country as the moral and spiritual heir to Mahatma Gandhi, somewhat in the nature of an ascetic free from the passions and prejudices of leaders who hanker after political power. The extracts published in the press from his article on the role of English in Bhoodan will cause shock and pain to many because it bristles with inaccuracies and untenable arguments. A statement coming from such a distinguished leader calls, however, for a detailed and objective reply.

Acharya seems to ignore the fact that the views of Tamil Nad on this issue are shared by non-Hindi speaking people in many other States, particularly Bengal where, if anything, the movement is even more well organised.

'English cannot continue to occupy the position of omnipotence after freedom' says Acharya. No one wants it to do so. Apart from English being a 'gateway to modern knowledge' which Acharya rightly does not underrate, it is generally accepted that English should be replaced by the national language of each State for purposes of State administration and as medium of instruction at all levels of education. The area of controversy is therefore restricted to one issue, viz., whether English should continue as the official language of the Indian Union or should be replaced by Hindi. From the point of view of non-Hindi people particularly in Tamil Nad, Hindi is as much foreign to them as English, with this difference that a study of English has for many years been an unavoidable necessity, and will continue to be so in the future, on the admitted ground that it is a 'gateway to knowledge'; the non-Hindi people cannot therefore welcome the imposition of a third and otherwise unnecessary language like Hindi, when Eng-

lish has served and will serve the purposes in view equally well.

Acharya then describes "as a fallacy the argument that the administration cannot be carried on in Indian languages because they were undeveloped". With the unanimous support of all parties, Tamil Nad has already made Tamil the official language of the State. Actually, it is some supporters of Hindi who bring out this argument of undeveloped languages in support of their stand for postponement of the introduction of Hindi but Tamil Nad's objection to Hindi is on other and more fundamental grounds as explained above. Acharya's further question 'if our languages were really undeveloped for public administration, why did we ask the British to quit India' may be good rhetoric but as an argument it is unworthy of the great leader. Our independence and administration during the past ten years have certainly not collapsed because we retained English.

Whether the "world is much too large for English" or not has no relevancy to the issue whether English or Hindi should be the official language of the Union. "We will have to study Chinese, Russian, Japanese, Arabic and

WHAT IS SCIENCE?

By

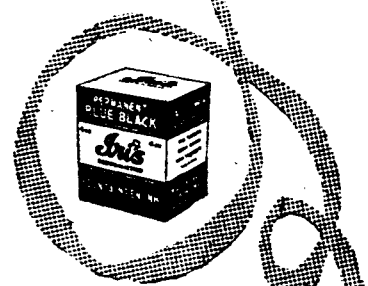
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other languages of the countries which are our neighbours" says Acharya. By all means let us do so to the extent we can but this again has no bearing on the official language issue.

"I do not wish to drive English from India, but at the same time I will definitely not allow it to become the master of my mind". This argument may have had some validity when English permeated all spheres of activity during the British rule, but with its now severely restricted functions of our own choice, English will in future be the tool, not the master, of independent India.

"It is the height of stupidity to maintain that we can know and keep contact with the outside world through English". In many countries English may not be useful for keeping contact, it may be good argument for learning other languages in addition to English but it is no argument for dispensing with English which is spoken in more countries than any other language.

While dealing with a number of subsidiary issues mostly unrelated to the problem of the official language of the Indian Union, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has failed to answer the main objections of Tamil Nad to the replacement of English by Hindi, viz.,

(a) As all educated Tamilians will have to acquire proficiency in Tamil (mother tongue) and English (gateway to knowledge), the acquiring of proficiency in a third unrelated language like Hindi with an unfamiliar and difficult script will place on them an unduly heavy burden, which can be avoided by the retention of English as the Union language.

(b) The adoption of Hindi as the language will further be an act of unjust and permanent discrimination against the non-Hindi peoples and in favour of those whose mother tongue is Hindi or closely allied languages.

Without choosing to deal with these two objections which are essentially moral in content, the saintly leader was "constrained to say that persons responsible for it (the language controversy in Tamil Nad) were narrow-minded and short sighted". Is this language in keeping with the moral stature which one associates with the great Bhoodan leader?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TALKING OF GANDHIJI: REVIEWER'S REPLY TO AUTHOR

Sir, — Mr. Francis Watson charges me (SWARAJYA, Feb. 22) with accusing him of dishonesty because I expressed doubts as to whether the excerpts from his conversation with Mr. Rajagopalachari gave an accurate impression of what was said. In providing your readers with the text of the tape-recording, Mr. Watson remarks that "it will be observed by any fair-minded person that the words used for the broadcast give exactly and without distortion the essence of the whole passage." I am sorry that I cannot agree, and since the matter is of some public importance I shall be grateful if you will allow me to explain why.

In the passage in the script which proceeds that quoted by Mr. Watson, Mr. Kaka Kalelkar describes his first meeting with Gandhiji, whom he quotes as saying: "Stay with me, see how I work, and if non-violence appeals to you, you may take it, otherwise you're free to leave me." Mr. Kaka Kalelkar himself adds: "So I thought: 'Here is a man who can guide me aright'—and the more I talked to him and the more I saw his life—the first thing that influenced me was the spiritual urge within."

At this point the narrator comments: "But not for a man like Mr. Rajagopalachari." Then follow the extracts which I criticized and which seemed to me to give the impression that Rajaji's acquaintanceship with the doctrine of non-violence dated only from his meeting with Gandhiji, that his acceptance of the doctrine was based merely on political expediency, and that he regarded Gandhi as a good man for the job rather than as a big man in himself. The full text shows that none of these conclusions is borne out by what Rajaji actually said. My main criticism of the book—namely, that the facts which could have contributed to a real understanding of Gandhiji's beliefs and teachings were eliminated as a matter of course—is

confirmed by the fact that we now learn from Mr. Watson that Rajaji gave him an exposition of the method and purpose of non-violent non-cooperation which listeners did not hear. Fortunately, your readers can now have the full text and can judge for themselves.

I will not presume to dispute that Mr. Watson may be a better judge than I of Mr. Rajagopalachari's character and style of conversation. But Mr. Watson is putting words into my mouth when he says that I complained of the "conversational and slightly unliteral construction" of what Rajaji said. Rajaji's style, both in speech and writing, is invariably conversational, and never "literary." But this emphatically does not mean, as I pointed out in my review, that it is normally either clumsy or incoherent, as it appeared to me to be when I read the phrases in the script and out of their context. Mr. Watson also appears to have some doubt as to whether Rajaji really made the statement to me which was quoted in my review. I hope he will accept my assurance that the statement I quoted was in Rajaji's own words, and since it is confirmed by what Rajaji said in that part of the recorded interview which was not broadcast I am surprised that Mr. Watson should think that it does not affect the issue.

MONICA FELTON

DISCRIMINATION AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN

Sir,—Apropos *Sidelights* in SWARAJYA dated the 16th February, 1958 regarding the discrimination shown against a particular community in a premier girls' school run by the Government of Madras, let me say that young innocent children are the pride of humanity all over the world. Let them not be exploited. Where they exist absolute comradeship and equality prevails. Let sacrilege be not committed there too.

Tamils everywhere have earned a good name for being sober. I have no doubt that wisdom will certainly dawn on the Madras Government.

New Delhi.

A TAMILIAN

POLITICS AND SCIENCE

Sir,—Today Science, guided by facts and reasoning, has ascended to sputnik level, while Politics, goaded on by emotion, has descended to barbarism and anarchy. Therefore, adoption of scientific methods of reasoning in the execution of political ideas would, I think, bring better results. I do not belittle the importance of politicians. A way of blending the two elements, emotion and reason, in such a way as to get the best out of both, should be thought of.

A start can now be made in this direction by taking into the Central Cabinet two or three experts in political science who can think objectively (away from the eyes of the Press) and explain to their colleagues in the Cabinet the consequences of important decisions. Objective evaluation at the Government level seems to be a necessity.

Bangalore.

B. S. R.

P.M.'S ATTACK ON HINDU JOINT FAMILY

Sir,—The Hindu undivided family is the target of attack both by the Prime Minister and the erstwhile Finance Minister. If a particular measure of taxation does not yield the revenues expected from it, the accusing finger is pointed at the Hindu undivided family as the source of all the ills Bharat is heir to. The disintegrating forces of heavy taxation, ceiling on land holdings, etc., have already broken up many a family. It was only some years back that the need for some concession in the minimum limit chargeable to tax in the case of Hindu undivided families was recognised and such a limit was enhanced. The recognition came too late, as many families had disrupted even by then. It is forgotten that the family as a unit can be a very great stabilising factor in the national economy. In the new concept of Socialism and

Socialistic "pattern", the basic fact that the Hindu undivided family was the greatest example of Socialism in action is lost sight of. It appears that our Prime Minister has lost his moorings and in his anxiety to see the successful working of the Second Five Year Plan at any cost, he will conveniently throw overboard anything that apparently clashes with his views. He can attack Hindu religion as a kitchen religion, ridicule the wearing of symbols of religion and decry the Hindu family, because Hinduism never hits back and is the most tolerant of Religions.

"She let the legions thunder
past,
And plunged in thought again."
Madurai. S. PADMANABHAN

Madras Teacher for Leningrad

Srimathi Audilakhmi, M.A., M.Litt. of the Madras University, has been appointed teaching specialist in Telugu and Tamil at the Leningrad University in Soviet Russia. She left Delhi by air on 4th March to take up this post. She is the author of a book of verse in Telugu entitled "Panchamrutamu".



She has contributed a number of articles to literary periodicals in Telugu, besides broadcasting many radio talks on topics of literary interest. She has devoted much of her attention to a comparative study of Telugu and Tamil literatures and has a fair knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindi.

On Education and Educationists

(Continued from page 6)

Gandhiji when they say that the benefits of bringing up boys and girls together far outweigh the risks involved. Only he recommends that co-educational schools should be manageable in strength.

On religious instruction in schools while he quotes extensively for its necessity from people like Dr. Arnold and Mrs. Besant—he discusses the difficulties of giving effect to it in a multi-religious country where even the essential points that constitute the religion of the overwhelming majority, the Hindus, cannot be defined.

Altogether, a very knowledgeable and earnest exposition from a dedicated experimenter and practitioner of the profession of education.

BHIKKU

The House of Commons is generous to a Minister who has told the truth, admitted a mistake, and apologized; but it will come down hard on a Minister who shuffles about evasively rather than admit that a blunder or an innocent mistake has been made.

— HERBERT MORRISON

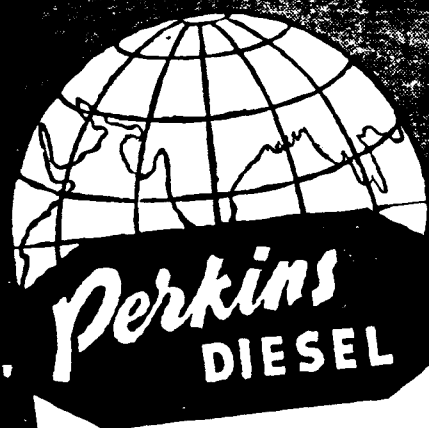
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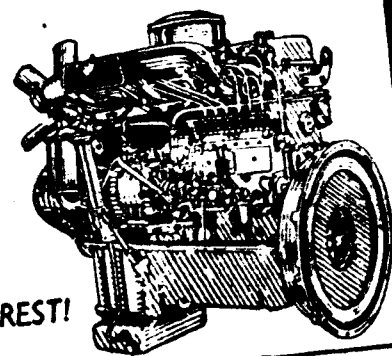
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

25 MAR 1958

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MADRAS

15 Naye Paise

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AFTER POLITICAL

The Srinivasa Sastri endowment lectures were delivered in Madras this year by Sri S. Y. Krishnaswami. He made a thorough study of the Government's five year plans and spotlighted their defects into a sort of integrated disclosure. As a result of it an impression of futility in respect of a considerable part of the tremendous effort comprised in the post-independence planning of our Government was given to the public. The remarkable thing about Sri Krishnaswami's analysis, which looked like a compendium of startling revelations, was the fact that it was based entirely on official admissions. Nothing was drawn from surmise or imagination. And most of it received authoritative endorsement from Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the distinguished chairman of the occasion.

The lectures were well documented and prepared with much care. We learn from them that the great irrigation projects which have been extorting such widely advertised plaudits from high-placed foreign visitors, have in reality proved to be not as useful as spectacular. The enormous volume of water impounded by the dams could not, in many cases, actually irrigate the land. Either the distributive canal system for carrying the water to the cultivator had not been planned and got ready or it was too expensive for the intended beneficiaries. Thus projects that had been planned to irrigate lakhs of acres barely served, on their completion, as many thousands.

It is not necessary to go into the other facts disclosed, such as unscientific use of fertilisers, defective tube well construction, neglect of afforestation, soil erosion and destruction of soil fertility to realise that a great part of the expenditure incurred in the name of planning represents an unprofitable burden. Is it right that the price of inexpert handling of public funds of this sort should continue to be paid by the people of the country in the form of excessive and ever-mounting taxation from which there seems to be no prospect of relief in the near future?

Our Prime Minister seems to derive great satisfaction from the notion that he is engaged in a great fight for economic freedom of no less magnitude than the fight for political freedom under the Mahatma's leadership that ended so successfully ten years ago. For he told the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi this week: "I am not going to give up the fight for India's economic independence and growth just as I was not prepared to give up India's fight for political freedom and independence". This was in answer to a mild request from the Chamber for some relief from the relentless tempo of the Government's taxation innovations. Conceiving himself to be a warrior of freedom in the economic sphere and regarding his Five Year Plans probably in the same light in which the Father of the Nation viewed his constructive pro-

gramme, the Prime Minister sees virtue in persistence and views any abandonment of his economic nostrums as a surrender of idealism. And he sticks to his Plan as if it were the be-all and end-all of our economic salvation. There is however one great difference between the Gandhi technique of winning political freedom and the Nehru technique ostensibly pledged to economic freedom. The Mahatma never wavered in the strains he imposed on the nation. But at every stage they had the visible effect of releasing the participants from a thralldom imposed from outside to which they had been previously accustomed. And the basic principle of all his campaigns was self-help. Quite the reverse has been the case with the Nehru economic projects symbolised in the Five Year Plans. These have curtailed the economic freedoms that people had even under foreign rule. They have substituted an expanding bureaucracy to get hold of the traditional autonomies that had been bound up with the very conception of self-help in the life of the nation and the power of that bureaucracy is replacing the free functioning of people's initiative and enterprise in multifarious forms of mutual aid and wealth-production. And the pivot on which they revolve is foreign aid supplemented by the Nasik printing press, turning out currency notes by the million with nothing in exchange to guarantee their value.

The economic freedom of which the Prime Minister regards him-

THE CONGRESS AND THE FARMER

By S. S. BANKESHWAR

self as the custodian has already turned out to be a delusion. Its dependence on foreign aid, loans, deficit-financing, penal taxation, curbs and controls has already spread throughout the country an atmosphere of oppression. It has been productive, not of enthusiasm, but of discontents. It has pitchforked into positions of mighty influence as architects of national planning *ad hoc* persons for whom berths had to be found. This has cost the country the ablest Finance Minister it has had in its post-freedom era. Unable to reconcile his duties with the supervisory authority of the planning body created by the Prime Minister, he laid down his office. Since then no successor of his could last except at the cost of wholesale subservience to the P.M.'s economic theories.

Our prospects of industrialisation are doomed already by the failure of the planners' efforts to raise agricultural production after huge sums had been sunk in schemes that have yielded only a fraction of the expected benefit. The prospect of an eternal food deficit throws up the necessity for permanent foreign aid even for national survival, let alone industrial expansion, and how can this be glorified as a plan for economic freedom? We are thus being subjected to enormous burdens without corresponding satisfactions, just for the sake of the slogans dear to the Prime Minister. There is no doubt that the Mahatma in a context like this would have felt it to be his duty, first and foremost, to save the people from the economic burdens that have fallen to their lot, taking away so much from them giving so little in return.

The Party Whip

It was a foregone conclusion that the Madras State Assembly would endorse the Government's memorandum on the language issue, as indeed it has done. The vote however is no indication of public opinion. Nor can it be deemed a faithful reflection of the viewpoint of all that lent it their

(Continued on page 4)

India is a land of slogan mongers. "Socialism" is the latest slogan which has become the fashion. From blue-blooded Communists to the most reactionary capitalists and landlords, all are talking of Socialism. What is Socialism? Who is a Socialist? What is it that Socialism will bring to the people?

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has made it quite clear that by Socialism it means nationalising the whole private sector completely step by step till nothing remains to be nationalised. In other words, Congress has now decided to abandon the Gandhian economy in favour of the Socialist economy as practised in Russia, though Pandit Nehru has been making desperate attempts to convince the public that Congress Socialism is not a carbon copy of Russian Socialism, lest he may offend patriotic sentiment.

It is really tragic that Pandit Nehru and his party are now contemplating the collectivization of agriculture and the introduction of collective farms managed by the State in blind imitation of the methods adopted in Russia, which led to widespread famine and the massacre of millions of peasants.

Now that Congress has declared full Socialism as its ultimate goal, which means the abolition of private property, including property in land, and has decided to establish collective farms managed by the State, the Congress has no moral right to approach the peasants for votes with the slogan of "land to the tiller".

As the Congress has decided to establish collective farms, the land will be taken from them, as happened in Russia and China, and the peasants will have to work as paid workers in State farms, not under the landlords but under Congress bureaucrats.

The peasants will be more helpless under the State-managed farms than under landlords. Because, in the former case, they are not subject to any law or

regulation, whereas in the latter case, they can seek the help of the State to get their grievances redressed.

Experience has shown that collective farming is disliked by farmers and results in lower production. The Congress campaign for collective farming must be opposed as a dangerous first step towards the totalitarian collective farm system. The authors of the Second Five Year Plan have already said that over a period of ten years, all agricultural lands will be cultivated "on co-operative lines".

Every human being is imbued with a sense of ownership, and the sense of property is so deep rooted in the psychology of the peasant, and his attachment to land is so strong that any introduction of Stalin's collective farm system will arouse the profound hostility of peasants, and like the Russian peasants they will resist any attempt to deprive them of their lands tooth and nail and with all their might. Co-operative farming can be introduced only by coercion, which must necessarily reduce production.

"The very fact that at every succession a joint family holding, which is a natural co-operative, is subdivided among descendants is enough proof of the impracticability of joint farming. Then how can one expect a large number of unrelated families to pool their holdings together and cultivate them jointly?" asks the Indian Co-operative Union in a report recently submitted to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Planning Commission.

The soundest agrarian system is the individual cultivation of farms of reasonable size with machinery supplied co-operatively so that a farmer can make a decent income with the help of a small number of employees. The co-operative movement must be encouraged only in the region of marketing, distribution, exchange, banking, and in the ownership of expensive machinery, but not in cultivation.



Sotto Voce

Plunging both hands into the tax-payer's pocket

Ideology is the last refuge of the unintelligent cynic. It is not merely a charter of moral obfuscation. It remits the obligation to think coherently. Our Socialistic pattern has made Morton's fork respectable. If any brain wave or borrowed fancy of a Minister is perchance challenged on the ground that it will not serve the Second Plan the alternative justification that it is aimed at redressing social inequalities never fails to tickle the groundlings. The great beauty of this argument is that it requires no proof.

The land-owners who made a meagre living out of a few acres in Madras State were assured that the law against the eviction of tenants and resumption of holdings was only a temporary measure and that those owners who had six acres or less would be allowed to resume personal cultivation when the question of ceilings was settled. This pretence has now been given up. Mr. Manickavelar has declared that this could not be done because, if all holdings of even five acres were exempted from the rule against resumption there would be very little surplus land wherewith to appease the tenant's "land hunger". It would be exceedingly naive of you to protest that this was robbing Peter to pay Paul. Has not Mr. Kamaraj proclaimed with the exaltation of a *Mantra-drashata*, that here was the *Kamadhenu* to keep the Congress in clover for ever?

We are now promised another instalment of the agrarian millennium, an interim ceiling on ownership. The substitution of permanent ceilings is to be nicely timed. The quidnuncs have predicted that it will come just before the next elections and will duly

bring off another hat-trick. Meanwhile the Finance Minister has vouchsafed us a Pisgah sight of the glory to come. His proposal to impose an agricultural income-tax exempting incomes below Rs. 3000, makes it fairly clear that the permanent ceiling will be so low as not to fetch even this income. In other words it will reduce the owner to the status of land-serf. The interim ceiling is hardly likely to be more generous.

Mr. Subramanyam conceded that when land ceilings became a fact, the agricultural income-tax would dry up. But he thinks it is only proper that the disgustingly rich people — by definition all those who possess more than five or six acres — should not in the interim escape bearing their burden. He conveniently forgets that the land-owner, even if his holding be no bigger than a pocket handkerchief, has been paying a land-tax which was out of all proportion to the benefits the Sarkar bestowed upon him. And for generations — till inflation began madly spiralling in our Swaraj Paradise — it represented one half or even more of his meagre income.

On top of this he found his share of the yield from the land reduced by more than half by the spate of land legislation in the past ten years. And now he is to be asked to pay income-tax on the same basis as plantations whose revenues might run to lakhs of rupees. Besides, for the purpose of determining the rate of tax, income from land is to be added to his other income and is to be assessed at the rate on the top slab of the total income. Thus there is to be one law for agriculture, another for other means of earning a living.

But Mr. Subramanyam has a blanket excuse ready. There is no use grumbling about "coercion by the State", he says severely, because that is after all the logical corollary of the resolve to embark on the Socialist adventure. After the strenuous example set by the Centre can the States be expected to do less? There we have T.T.K.'s parting gift — Parthian shot, shall we say? — which takes the appropriate form of a gift tax. The orthodox Socialists sniff at it as a mere trifle and at Mr. Nehru's performance as an *ad hoc* Chancellor as pedestrian. With their eyes fixed on the Promised Land they could not be bothered to discuss the merits and demerits of this tax as a tax.

The Estate Duty was bound to be a flop in a country where millionaires do not grow on every bush. Our neo-Kaldorians ingeniously suppose that the remedy is more taxes with more loopholes. The immorality of giving retrospective effect to a new tax by the backdoor, by making gifts made in previous years determine the rates on gifts made last year, is not more blatant than the exemption given to public companies — who are so obliging with sizeable contributions to party funds. The wife, in the official scale of affections, stands ten times higher than the unmarried daughter. And no gift which our secular State does not approve may exceed hundred rupees without attracting the tax. The Government's right hand, as it plunges deep into your pocket, does not know what the left hand has already taken. For though gifts on immovable property are already heavily taxed under the existing stamp and registration duties there is no indication in the Bill that this will be taken into account in determining liability to pay the gift tax.

VIGNESWARA

I, as Minister, must accept full responsibility for any mistakes and inefficiency of officials in my department, just as when my officials bring off any success on my behalf, I take full credit for them.

— SIR THOMAS DUGDALE, former Labour Minister.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Sri V. R. Venkataraman of Ramnagar, Coimbatore, takes strong exception to my "dragging in the name of the company which bears the name of the former Finance Minister" in commenting on his valedictory statement in Parliament after his resignation. This, in his opinion, is, "to say the least, unjustified", and he substantiates it, thus:

"T.T.K. was a businessman, having built up his firm on good foundations. About 20 years back, he had to give up his business on entering politics. In fact, he lost his agencies as he was anti-British. His sons carry on and develop the business. I can assure you that no person will get an agency simply because of birth. Businessmen expect results. Otherwise, it affects their purse. Will you give your distributorship to me just because I happen to be your friend's son? No, you will expect results".

T. T. K. is now a private citizen and it is no longer proper to drag into publicity the affairs of any concerns in which he may be interested. A distinction has to be drawn between the advance of private enterprise with its own energy and merit and the benefit it gets through the favour of interested persons in official positions. If I give a sale agency to a friend's son it is my own business. I act within my rights and nobody need be worried about the consequences of any act of mine within the limits of my legitimate discretion. But the case is different if, in the pursuit of business, I

get an advantage which otherwise I would not have got but for the favour of someone in power, say a Minister. Once I had exactly such an experience when a Minister placed an order for 6000 copies of a particular issue which he greatly appreciated of the journal which I was then editing. I satisfied myself with the excuse that, unusually large as the order was, it was no more than permissible purchase of an article put up for sale in the open market. It is long since I realised that such an excuse was just sophistry. In the form of a trade transaction a Minister had conferred a favour which was in excess of the strict definition of his official duty, and to that extent it was not correct, even though the favour was bestowed unsought, and no legal objection could be raised against its conferment or enjoyment.

Nobody can raise any objection to the company bearing T.T.K.'s name making as much money as it is capable of. The right to make a fortune is inseparable from economic freedom. There is something oddly inconsistent in the rancour that pursues the rich alongside the valiant efforts being made to eliminate poverty. The successful eliminator of poverty is the rich man, and he performs, in his own case with self-help, a function which the Socialist State undertakes on behalf of all its citizens. It may be assumed that the Socialist State incurs the

danger of becoming un-Socialist when it loads the dice unfairly in favour of some and to the detriment of others in the general competition to get rich in which all are engaged in our materialist age.

A great part of trade, especially that part of it concerned with the representation of foreign manufacturers, depends on the trader's capacity to secure import licenses. If the company bearing T.T.K.'s name had in this matter of import licenses, received more consistently, indulgent treatment in recent years than its competitors, that itself would mean the present of a gold mine to it by the official authorities concerned. Such a present cannot be called an illegal one. A super-abundance of legal protection goes with it, especially under the power arrangements of our Socialist pattern. But a reference to it was not uncalled for to throw into proper perspective certain monopolist trends ordinarily hidden under official sanction, when the ex-Finance Minister made his famous speech about the man-eating tiger on the prowl.

SAKA

The Party Whip

(Continued from page 2)

formal support. The utmost that can be claimed is that it is a superb index of the efficiency of the party whip. There are certain problems that transcend party interests and are of equal concern to all parties. The language issue is one such. The right way to deal with such problems is to liberate the party members from the obligations of organisational discipline and set free their conscience for untrammelled individual self-expression. If this had been done, many of the members of the Congress would have acted in conformity with the sentiment of their constituencies. They might have cast their votes in a manner not palatable to their leaders, with their eye on the Centre's favour, but they would have ensured them a further lease of office while serving the public interest.

THE MALAISE OF MOUNTING STOCKS

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI

Soon after the attainment of Independence in 1947, India was faced with the problem of feeding the people. Imports of food were on the increase. The irrigated and food surplus areas of the Punjab and Sind had gone to Pakistan. The proportion of irrigated to total area fell from over 20 to less than 16%, not counting the quality of the irrigation lost. Foreign exchange was being used up in payment for imported grain. Food production within the country did not appear amenable to urgent augmentation. At the same time, the areas that grew jute and the better varieties of cotton went to Pakistan, and the two countries were faced with the peculiar situation of one of them having the raw material and the other having the factories for its fabrication. In these circumstances, the First Five Year Plan contained in it an element of pragmatism rather than ideology. Strands of social and economic theory were shot into the Plan, but not to the extent of affecting the core of the Plan. The abolition of zamindaris kept the reformers busy and content for the time being. The triple alliance between expropriatory land reform, the spread of the public sector, and tax gathering with mop and broom, was still in embryo.

During the first half of the present decade, the Government were lulled into a false feeling that agricultural production had increased. The favourable monsoon of 1953 was responsible for this illusion, but the Ministers took the credit. Industrial production was, without doubt, on the increase. The percentage increases, as given in the Review of the First Five Year Plan, are impressive—finished steel by 30%, pig iron by 13%, cement by 70%, ammonium sulphate by 756%, bicycles by 407%, yarn by 39%, mill cloth by 37%, handloom cloth by 79%, electric lamps by 61%, sugar by 59%, vanaspati by 80%, and so on, making an overall in-

crease by 40%. It was also calculated that national income had increased by 17.5%. The level of investment in the economy was about double the level of 1950-51 and there was a spurt during the last two years of the Plan. Money supply was increased by about 10%, and prices were 13% lower than at the beginning.

The Second Plan is the expression of a social philosophy. Its major feature is the attempt "to accelerate the institutional changes needed to make the economy more dynamic and more progressive in terms no less of social than of economic ends". This has, in practice, boiled down to increased production at the economic end and measures for levelling the benefits thereof at the social end. Where the one conflicts with the other, the trend is to hang on to the social programme.

However, in 1957, nature interfered with the fine impulse and phrasing of this objective. There was a shortfall in agricultural production. Prices started going up. Supply lagged behind demand. In places like North Bihar, where the crops had failed, even this demand was, in the language of economic theory, ineffective for want of purchasing power. At this stage Government proceeded to set right the situation by manipulating credit policy. The banks were directed to curtail credit to the millers and grain merchants, so that the opportunities for holding back stocks may be reduced. But as time passed an adjustment was created, and it was evident that the physical shortage could not have been very great, nor the dimensions apparent from the figures of production made available to Government. The policy of credit curtailment, however, led to unhealthy private borrowings and needless stock retention. The grain trade, especially in South India, is routed through the millers, who buy the paddy from the ryots and mill it and make it ready for the market. The mil-

lers' economy is built wholly on bank advances, and the abrupt interference with the normal rates and facilities of credit led to lesser buying by them from the cultivators, the latter having to borrow instead of disposing of their produce. This was a shortsighted policy. Grain cannot be kept back for long. Its very availability in a steady stream depends on facile credit. Governmental interference with grain credit had the effect, not of throwing the hoardable surplus on a hungry market, but of aiding inflation by driving the ryot and the miller alike to resort to uneconomic borrowing.

In the meanwhile, Government were forging ahead with steel plants and irrigation projects, and the Court economists had warned them that the increased employment would create more purchasing power, without making available a corresponding abundance of buyable goods and that there would be consequential inflation. The Government braced themselves to meet a situation in which too much money would be chasing too few goods. But during the later months of 1957 a different state of affairs manifested itself. It may be described in poetry:

But soon a wonder came to light
That showed the rogues they lied,
The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died.

It was not an insufficiency of goods that confronted the national economy, but falling off-takes and an accumulation of stocks.

The textile industry was one of the earliest to be hit. Both yarn and cloth began to pile up in the

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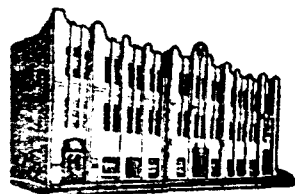
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mills. Then the cement factories found that the controllers were not lifting the stocks. Production had to be curtailed in some factories. The disease spread to sugar. More recently, the grain trade has started to complain. The latest to shout is the handloom industry.

It is quite likely that a portion of the stock has been allotted and that the accumulation is temporary and is due to administrative and transport bottle-necks. This is the most likely explanation in respect of grain. But surely this is not the explanation for the mounting stocks of cloth and cement. Indeed, far from cement being in short supply, it is so plentiful that free sales of it are being allowed. Sugar has also been since decontrolled.

It seems as if there is a contradiction between the theory of inflation induced by heavy capital expenditure that increases money circulation, and the fact of a weakened buying power. It is not readily recognised that increased employment is not well spread all over the country, and that the spurt of extra buying is concentrated in certain newly industrialised areas. There is no evening out of the purchasing power so as to affect the volume of general buying. In terms of inelastic commodities like food and cloth, such lopsidedness is all the more likely to combine overall plenty with overall want. Secondly, the figures of commodity prices and cost of living indices compiled by the Government or interested institutions do not reveal the full rise in real values. It is greatly to be feared that prices are in fact higher than what is shown by these figures. The additional national income and the access of purchasing power are neutralised by the real increase in prices to a greater extent than one may concede by reference to official figures. There is functioning, in the country today, an entirely separate economy that lies outside the law and the account books, within the limits of a separate norm which bears a closer relation to the law of supply and demand. The theory of too much money and too few goods breaks on this rock of the parallel market.

In the field of selling, the Gov-

ernment appear to follow two standards of profit-taking, one for themselves and the other for the private sector. The sale of cloth is severely controlled at all levels, with a bias in favour of the grower of raw material and a steel-framed wage structure. Export policy in respect of cloth and yarn is neither steady nor long-sighted, but is made to depend on temporary surpluses and for short periods. How the Government expect to build up any kind of an export market with such a policy is not clear. But when the State Trading Corporation deals in cement, its prices are double and more of the factory costs, and the price to the consumer contains in it a major element of commodity taxation that can be justified only for luxury goods. Two changes of policy are immediately called for: one, a more continuous and a more intelligent export plan for yarn and cloth, which will take care of the surplus, keep down factory stocks, and earn foreign exchange; second, a drastic reduction in the price of cement so that private as distinguished from public building may take its proper place in the national economy. The fact that the latter will be well spread out is a matter of the utmost significance.

In the agricultural sector, while the spending power of the landlord has been practically wiped out, and there is no change in the earning or the spending power of the small holder, the so-called benefits to the tenants have been legal rather than immediately economic. The relation between a possible 10% increase in production and a 12% increase in population is merely to maintain the status quo ante. The redistribution of an existing output amongst those already sharing it in slightly varying proportions, or of even an increased income among a greater number of persons, is not an economic advance. It leads to the conclusion that the land-man ratio has not altered for the better, and that individual purchasing power, in the rural sector, has shown no significant advance.

A more realistic planning of production and price policy, a freer use of the normal procedures of credit and channels of trade

and a more vigorous and sustained export policy appear to be the need of the hour. There is a world depression in the offing with exports falling off and unemployment creeping up in the highly industrialised countries. A slower rise in national income and individual prosperity is to be wel-

comed, if the alternative is a paradoxical combination of heavy capital works and steep inflation all but a few State-sponsored schemes that do not depend on sales of any product. The core of the Plan needs alteration, not by cutting off the private sector, but

by increasing the field for saleable goods so that employment may be wide-spread, together with a sustained export policy which gives back in exchange what may be lost in direct commodity sales within India. Otherwise prosperity in works and mounting of stocks will go together.

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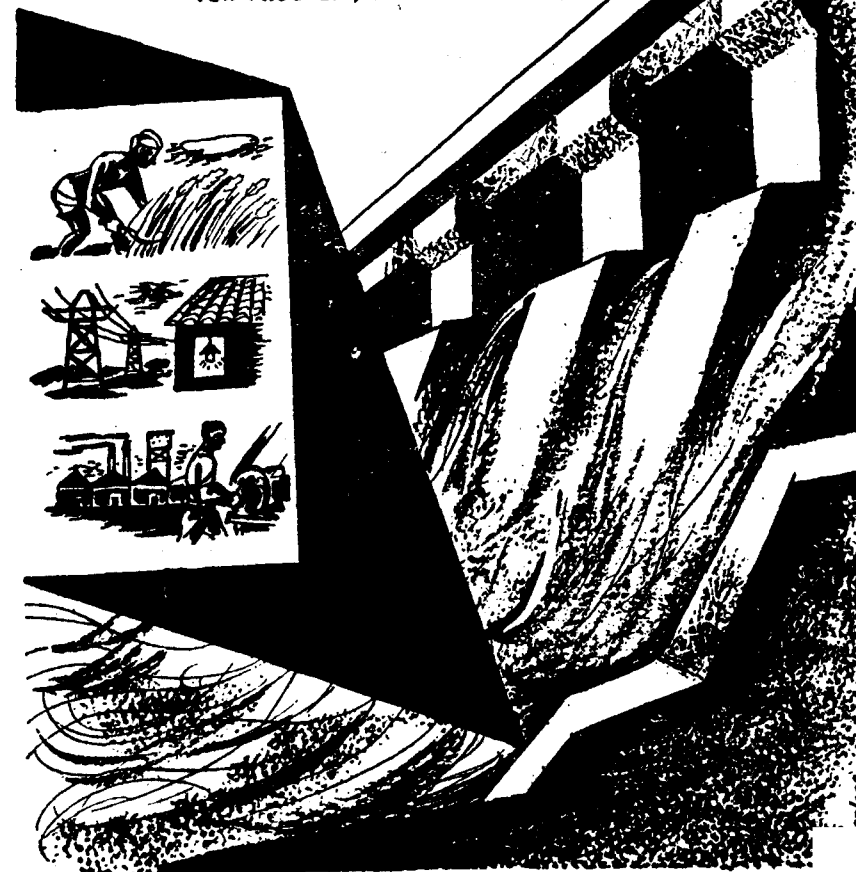
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ON WITH THE PLAN

FOR PROGRESS, FOR PROSPERITY



CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The Central Government is getting a trifle rattled by the recent trends in Andhra Pradesh. For all the impression that it has created, of being one of the stablest propositions, is the Sanjiva Reddy Ministry facing heavy weather? It seems so. Firstly, the latest nominations for Rajya Sabha — fifty per cent of them — have made those of the Congress High Command (who have doubtless their own sources of information) shake their heads dismally. Secondly, the rout in the fifth bye-election has tended to shatter the invulnerability of the Reddy stronghold. Thirdly, the trouble in Telangana has begun to cast its baleful shadows across the internal demarcations in Andhra where the Circars, the Ceded Districts and the Telangana area have all the features of distinct entities like Essex, Wessex and Sussex in old England. All these disturbing factors have the cumulative effect of making visible breaches in the fort-walls behind which the Reddys and their colleagues are trying to consolidate their hegemony. And thus the problem of what was once a problem State, Andhra Pradesh, calls for fresh thinking.

In the choice of candidates for Rajya Sabha, it was loudly complained, that at least two who could never claim to have had any local roots were favoured more because of personal considerations than political interests and that at no time was any serious effort made to examine the antecedents and credentials of each nominee carefully before a ticket is given, with the unenviable result that there was a capital mixture of the doubtful and worthwhile. And it was a bad augury that in all recent bye-elections in Andhra, the Congress which had earlier given a hiding to the Communist adversaries, has continuously lost ground, thus increasing Shri Dhebar's doubts about the strength of the Sanjiva Reddy Ministry. On top of it all came the revolt of the (Telangana)

tartars. It was, in the circumstances, a mercy that the Telangana convention in Hyderabad happened to be inaugurated, by no stormy petrel but by one of the most sedate Members of Parliament, Mr. H. C. Heda. If pyrotechnics yielded place to persuasion, it was because of the infection of Mr. Heda's suaveness. His address is a masterpiece of reason and restraint and his lead should be helpful in creating a climate extremely congenial to a larger understanding and a more enduring agreement. Among the policy-makers in Delhi, whether in the Congress or in the Central Government, there is a lurking suspicion that the stakes in Telangana are not adequately understood by those who are directly responsible for its administration. There is no more strategic place in India as a testing ground of her secular ideals than Hyderabad. It would be bad to lose the confidence of the Hyderabad Muslims and worse to forfeit that of the Telangana Hindus too simultaneously. To any Ministry in Andhra Pradesh there can be no greater danger than the possible rise of Telangana as an Ulster in revolt.

In fairness to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy it must however be conceded that things would have been possibly worse but for him in the saddle. He must, however, manage his steed with as much coolness as firmness. The quality of his leadership is a fact at home but in Delhi it is no more than a rumour. He is ill-served by his publicity machinery and if he does not care to re-organise his 'public relations', there is a chance that he will find it increasingly difficult to silence the whispering galleries which are capable of doing greater harm than the serried ranks of any open Opposition. The stories being circulated in Delhi about the extra-political activities of some of his colleagues should put them on guard when men in high office find themselves exposed to inquisitive public gaze or even peering eyes

through all imaginable key-holes. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy should be the last man to let his sternness of manner and earnestness of purpose be frittered away by doubtful diversions, particularly when problems arising out of inter-regional conflicts and contending personal rivalries, await solution. The best way for him would be, not to divide and rule but to rule and unite. With party support he may tide over the present crisis but by personal strength alone he can consolidate the future, with the tremendous advantage of having started well amidst a fund of goodwill. The present phase is a challenge to the best in him.

So, it is, in a different context, to the Prime Minister. He has hardly been able to surmount his difficulties, some of them being of his own making. Within recent weeks he misfired thrice, first when he made hasty observations on the Chagla Report, then when he overdid things in his effort to rush to a falling Minister's rescue, and lastly, in his exchanges with the highly esteemed Pandit Kunzru, on the floor of the House in Rajya Sabha. He was none too happy when the Southern M. P.'s could not muster up enough men to plead for T. T. K.'s retention. If he could have his way, he would have whistled for his ex-colleague already. But he has realised that he must await the findings of the police inquiry. It may be a story of more skeletons in the cupboard. Whatever be his personal predilections, now or later, Mr. Nehru will not find it easy or even possible, to bring T. T. K. back to the Cabinet. The man now under eclipse may however find himself about mid-summer, not in Kodaikanal which suits him better in retirement but in Delhi on the Planning Commission. In any case, Mr. Krishnamachari, instead of taking comfort from the telegrams that were sent to the Prime Minister—all voluntarily of course!—should, in order to establish people's confidence in him, resign his seat in the Lok Sabha and re-contest. If he wins, he may well be proud of himself. If he loses, he will be simplifying matters for the rest of his countrymen.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Government of Bombay's decision to exempt all stage performances of dramas, tamasha, all wrestling bouts and circus shows from the entertainment tax has been hailed with delight by theatre-lovers. It is believed that the theatre-rental and the tax constitute the two great burdens on the stage; out of which, at least one burden has been lessened and it is considered that this move of the Government will go a long way in encouraging the development of the stage in Bombay. The other requirement of the stage is lack of proper theatres in big cities; it is hoped that some move would be made for building new theatres as well. A similar tax exemption to stage-plays is already prevalent in Madhya Pradesh and Madras.

Stage enthusiasts have reason to be happy this year; but they must remember that their happiness is at the cost of the film industry which will have to bear additional entertainment tax both in the State of Bombay and Madras while in U. P. it has already been increased. In the State of Bombay, the rate of tax which was applicable to the three big cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona has now been extended to all cities with a population of over a lakh of people. It means that people in Baroda, Surat, Rajkot, Nagpur, Amraoti, Nasik, Sholapur, Kolhapur and several other cities will have to pay more money for their cinema tickets. So the benefit from the tax-exemption on certain pictures and all stage plays has been lost and the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee has thus been rejected for good by at least three State Governments. In Madras also the tax has been raised for higher class tickets from 33-1/3% to 44%. And it is feared that in the present state of economic affairs, the film industry cannot look forward to any relief for years to come; rather it can look forward to new imposts of duties in the years to come.

While no one grudges the State Governments the additional re-

venue they so badly need for development plans, it is said that if only they were to give liberally licences for building of new theatres, they would have been able to augment the revenue without increasing the duty. Similarly, if the Government is able to check black-marketing in cinema tickets in big cities like Bombay, the money earned by black-marketeers will also be spent for cinema tickets and part of it would go to the Government.

Narasu Studios' long awaited 'Sitara-se-Aagey' was released all over India on Friday, 7th March. Originally designed by Gyan Mukerji, the picture had to be re-made after his untimely death. In fact, but for one dance number with a semi-classical song picturized by Gyan, there is nothing left in the new version of Gyan's picturization or screen-play.

Lavishly produced in the tradition of the south, 'Sitara-se-Aagey' has a rather weak story. It is contrived round the stars and songs to suit the requirements of the entertainment. It is in a way a back-stage drama of the show people and centres round Rajesh, an artiste-director who is keen on staging a new play written in Agha Hashra style entitled 'Sitara-se-Aagey'. He wants a new girl to play the lead and he finds one in a cabaret, rescues her from the clutches of a gambling den-owner and grooms her into stardom. His efforts and attention for the new star invoke the jealousy of the old star, who manoeuvres an accident on the opening night of the new play—the accident which makes Rajesh a cripple for life.

After Rajesh is forced to retire, the star discovered by him enjoys fame and popularity so much so that she is unable to stand criticism from Rajesh who leaves her and the city in utter despair. Lying ill, he meets his old friend and a chance appearance on the stage makes him realize that he can still act. So he returns to the city and appears in a new play

which is being performed. His come-back is a success and he is reconciled to his star.

The climax is tame and the conflict between Rajesh and his girl is not properly defined and it never becomes sharp due to vague characterization. As a result the story has become thin, pointless and almost pedestrian.

The lack of story is however greatly compensated by lavish dances, excellent music and good acting. Ashok Kumar as Rajesh gives a restrained and polished performance. Vyjayantimala dances gracefully and reveals herself as an improved actress. Unfortunately, she suffers from poorly drawn characterization. Johnny Walker's role is nothing new; but he does it with his usual gusto and enlivens the picture considerably. The other supporting roles are very sketchy and they are aptly performed by Jagdish Sethi and others.

Sachin Dev Burman's music is the highlight of the film; barring a couple of songs, almost every tune is a treat to hear with the classical Thumri as the highlight. The songs are well picturized by Satyen Bose who has directed the picture with his usual competence. Dances are lavish but the choreography is not particularly distinguished.

'Sitara-se-Aagey' offers a good pastime without taxing the brain or the heart.

Saturday, 8th March, was a day of many functions in Bombay of special interest to film journalists. The morning began with a press conference addressed by Mr. Shiro Kido. It was followed up by another conference at Congress House, a tea party hosted by Mohan Sehgal in honour of Nargis and S. D. Burman, a reception by the Film Federation in honour of Mr. Shiro Kido at C. C. I. and ended with a dinner hosted by Shri Venkatesan, Shri Raman of Narasu Studios and Shri Kikubhai Desai, their local distributor.

Mr. Shiro Kido the President of the Motion Picture Association of Japan is on a world tour and he is passing through India. At the press conference, he suggested that one way of increasing film

exchange between the two countries was to promote greater collaboration including joint ventures. He also revealed that restricted quota for import of films prevented Indian films being commercially exploited in Japan. He suggested that Indian films could be made more acceptable to Japanese audiences with Japanese artistes featured in them or with Japanese pictures shot on location in India.

According to him, Indian pictures were rather too long and lacked action. In Japan, which produced over 400 films a year now, the pictures had no songs and dances. He also revealed that the producers in Japan did not like to feature the same stars too often, so they changed the artistes in every picture. Naturally, the producers in Japan did not suffer from the star-system as they do in India.

Mr. Shiro Kido's talk gave one the impression that the chances of Indian films being shown in Japan

were not very bright. Later in the evening, at a reception given by the Federation in his honour, speeches were made by Mr. M. B. Bilimoria, the President of the Film Federation, Mr. Roongta, the President of I. M. P. P. A. and Mr. B. D. Bharucha. The speeches were unnecessarily long and Mr. B. D. Bharucha's references to night club life in Japan spoilt the dignity of the whole function and made it look cheap and banal.

Mr. Shiro Kido, however, must have been impressed by the warm hospitality and goodwill and co-operation expressed by the Film Federation's President M. B. Bilimoria. If his visit to India paves the way for greater collaboration between the film industries of India and Japan, it would be a most desirable outcome.

G. D. Madgulkar and Chandrashekhar (not the artiste but the director of 'Banwasi') will be directing Rajkamal's unusual rural

saga 'Bangarwadi' based on Vyankatesh Madgulkar's prize-winning novel. The picture will be shot on location in Satara district and only the local persons will be featured in it without any professional artistes appearing in it. G. D. Madgulkar has written the screen-play.

K. A. Abbas returned from Moscow via London on Saturday, 8th March. He is expected to start his new picture within a month.

Shaheed Lateef, who has almost completed 'Sone Ki Chidiya' will direct Guru Dutt Films' forthcoming picture 'Chaudami Ka Chand'.

B. R. Chopra's next directorial vehicle will be a social picture which he will make in colour. His brother Yash is starting a picture soon based on Mukram Sharma's story. Also, Ramesh, Chopra's assistant will be directing a picture based on a story by Ramnand Sagar. It will be produced by Shastri.



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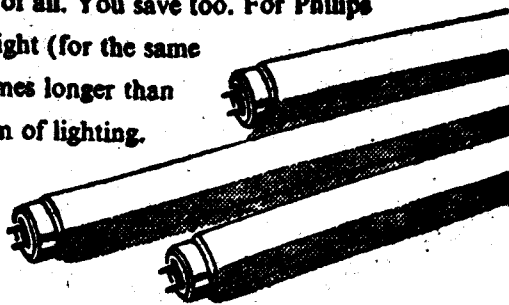
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WHAT MONEY DOES TO MEN

Every man (or woman), if he is to achieve any sort of success as a human being, must at some point in his life, declare to himself that money is unimportant, and he must mean it.

Money is a convenience, and it is no more than that. The fact that it seems to be necessary to have a great deal of money in order to do a great deal of good is an appearance which results because so many people are firmly convinced that you must have money in order to do good. So we are confronted not only with a delusion, but also with an elaborately complex environment created by the delusion, suggesting that the delusion is an ancient truth written in the stars, inscribed on the rocks, and whispered by the wind. What is the proof of the power of this delusion? Nearly all the people who advertise that they are doing good go about collecting money. The first thing you must find in order to do good is a skillful fund-raiser.

Money is labor with the sweat wiped away; it is energy which has been wholly dehumanized and made infinitely flexible. With money, people think, you can do anything. It has none of the oddities of the human beings who made it.

There are ways, of course, to take the curse off money. Sometimes people who give money give it to a man who commands an overpowering respect. He is given the money to do what he pleases with it. Anything he does with it, the argument goes, is bound to be good. Sometimes this is true and sometimes it is not. Sometimes a fine intuitive line of moral trust and understanding unites the donor and the instrument of good. In this case there is seldom a question of the money making it possible for some person to do good. The money only enables him to do more widely the good he has been doing without money, or with little. When this is understood—that money is a mechanical, not a moral, facility—then money is a great thing. But it

is not, in itself, a force for good. The good is in the vision of the human beings involved and exists nowhere else.

What a pity it is that anyone should suppose people can be hired to be original, to be creative, or to do good! What a terrible mistranslation of the meaning of good!

What happens to well-meaning people who think that money is important? This happens to them: They come to believe that they can do no good without money, which means that they can do no good without getting money, which means that they can do nothing which interferes with getting money, which means that they shy away from and oppose any idea, attitude, or action which might have a tendency to intimidate, bewilder or belittle the sources where money is obtained. This makes getting money and doing good practically the same thing. If a man comes to think this way, an unqualified corruption afflicts his soul. He has sterilized whatever capacity he once had for doing good, if he ever had it.

You can't hire a man to do good. Doing good is a species of genius, and you can't hire genius. Sometimes, with luck, you can free a genius from harassment by using money, but what a genius can do has no price. You can't hire artists or geniuses or teachers. The values these people represent have absolutely no relation to money, and no relation, even, to physical circumstances or environment. There is no proper and predicable environment in which genius will flower, nor where education will take place, unless it be the environment of honesty and integrity, and you can't buy honesty and integrity and make a stage-setting out of them. Nor can you make honesty and integrity easy to achieve. You can do absolutely nothing about the really important values, so far as other people are concerned. You can only look after your own values, such as they are.

It comes down to the simple fact that the good that men do gets done by reason of an unalterable reaction of truth of statements like the Sermon on the Mount. Nothing else will enable you to do good.

It sometimes happens that the small number of people with ideas and some inspiration get together and start doing something worthwhile—worthwhile for the community, worthwhile for themselves. It might be a theatre, a forum, an elementary school, or a college. For a time, its influence is unique and great, the good it does comes from the spontaneous quality of what the participants contribute. Then, perhaps, some money comes, and the good is indeed multiplied. Then some one who understands money but not genius of the project begins to notice its random character, its lack of sound organization, the utter independence of the workers. To him the whole thing looks like a series of lucky improvisations. He begins to long for organizational instead of conceptual unity. He does not see the conceptual unity. Meanwhile the project has become somewhat dependent on money. Slowly, what was once a servant—money—becomes a power. Then the well-meaning people who understand money, but not so much of the other matters, become a bit self-righteous. This thing called "spontaneity", or "freedom" is all right in its place, they say, but you need some kind of control. Then, like unappreciated saviors, they begin to slaughter the project by giving it "security". They bring the convictions into play. The authority which once sprang from a common recognition of value now develops from status and filters down through the familiar "chain of commands". And the transformation of something which was alive, into something dead, is accomplished step by step, without anyone but a few throttled artists knowing what is happening, and even they may not realise what is happening, except that the time has come for them to go away.

This is what money, the need for money, and bigness, can do to a project. — From *Manas*.

THE POLITICIAN TALKS THROUGH HIS HAT

By B. R. KUMAR

It is an inevitable concomitant of every craft and profession to have certain privileges and perquisites attached to it. For without these it is impossible to give them the air of mystery on which is based their very existence as skilled arts. The magician would be nowhere without his wand, his hat and his gown with long sleeves. The professor, the philosopher, the poet and the artist are privileged to wear long hair and shabby clothes and to be absent-minded in their social obligations. The doctor is privileged to carry on vivisection on living beings—animals and men—without incurring the charge of cruelty or murder. The diplomat and the lawyer are privileged to tell lies on behalf of their clients—nations and individuals—without incurring any fear of being sued for perjury. The priest is privileged to tell us fairy tales about the other side of death and about his friendship with the particular god of his worship and to

use a dead language and certain rituals for the purpose, without incurring the charge of presumption or hypocrisy. Society recognises that every profession is built on foundations of some specialisation which is of social benefit, and it pays the price for this benefit in the form of special privilege.

This perhaps explains the universally accepted privilege of the modern democratic politician to talk through his hat! To utter solemn declarations that are obvious platitudes; to utter heroic declarations that he knows cannot be put to the test; to thunder oracles that are only begging the question; to assume poses and airs of infallibility verging on hysteria—all this is accepted as the natural stock of his trade and there is neither surprise nor derision at the comic spectacle thus presented. After all it was only a child who discovered that the king was naked, not the wise and learned men of the court!

One has only to open any daily on any day at any page to verify this fact. Being heckled at Madurai the other day, two Ministers of the Madras Government declared that no government worth the name could be cowed down in that manner—an echo of what the Prime Minister declared at the time of the Bombay riots: that no government could be carried on from the market place. True: but are the declarations any more than mere platitudes? Are they ever followed by action? Are any steps ever taken to prevent the recurrence of the same situations in the future? In the last analysis the safety of a society depends on the certainty of the enforcement of the law, even though it be imperfect. Is the law allowed to take its course? Are not these platitudes just like locking the stable after the horse is stolen?

Last year the wealth tax was criticised by an elder statesman on the arguable ground that it would

lead to harassment. The reply that the Finance Minister gave was that as the critic was not his friend, he would not pay any attention to the criticism. This pose of infallibility, if adopted towards a friend, may be only conceit; when adopted towards others it would appear to be bad manners. But it did not rouse any ripple of dissent in the public mind! It was accepted as part of the stock in trade of the politician. Similarly the other day at Bombay the Prime Minister said that the new structure of taxation adopted last year by the Finance Minister was his own brain-wave. May be; but is that not merely begging the question as to the justice or otherwise of the criticisms levelled at the details of the taxes? If the taxes are wrong in principle what consolation is it to the public that they are levied at the instance of the Prime Minister and not of the Finance Minister? As if it makes the least difference to the man condemned to be hanged that the judgment was of the Supreme Court and not of any inferior authority!

After the burning of the national flag at Patna, the Prime Minister declared that he would rather that the whole of India died than that the flag should be dishonoured. Very heroic. But if India or all Indians die, who will be left to honour the flag? It was Christ who had to point out to the Pharisees that the Sabbath existed for man, not man for the Sabbath. The flag exists for us and we have to so mould our national life that we all love it as the symbol of our organic life: it cannot be made into a fetish. But the politician is ever making fetishes—patriotism, religion, secularism—and then turning round to attack those who refuse to accept his gods.

The fundamental basis of democracy is maturity—and yet our democratic politician who is supposed to be the spearhead of this force, is all the time playing on emotions of immaturity. He is very much like the foolish man who is cutting the branch on which he is sitting. Perhaps it was for this reason that Bernard Shaw said that a dictator has to clear up the mess made by democracy.

March 15, 1958

SWARAJYA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EMPLOYEES' RESPONSIBILITY FOR RAILWAY ACCIDENTS

Sir,—Though it is heartening to find individual railway employees giving serious thought to the problem of the growing number of accidents on railways, it is desirable that, in doing this, one should have a dispassionate outlook. After making an excellent suggestion to separate the commercial work from A.S.M.'s duties to enable him to devote his undivided attention to train-passing duties which will go a long way to reduce the chances of accidents, 'Railway Employee' made certain unwarranted remarks on the trade unions and the Class IV employees (SWARAJYA, March 1).

This railway employee is obviously ignorant of how the unions work. There is no union exclusively for Class IV employees. An A.S.M., if he is a member, has as much right over the union as any pointsman or gangman and if any particular category is discriminated against, everyone is at liberty to oppose it and rectify the injustice. Trade unions protect and safeguard the interests of all its members, no matter to what category an employee belongs. Indiscipline and slackness as also discipline and efficiency are not the monopoly of any one class of employees. It is outrageous to single out and pin-point a particular class for attack.

As it exists now, the relationship between the Class IV and Class III employees is far from satisfactory and is to some extent strained. Remarks like those of your correspondent will certainly embitter the feelings of the Class IV employees and widen the gulf between them still further. I therefore make an earnest appeal to all Class III and Class IV employees, through your columns, not to indulge in polemics but to consistently strive to establish better relations between all the classes remembering that all of them are essentially workers and that a lot has still to be done, through a united struggle, to ameliorate their lot and culture

ral standards, keeping in mind the urgent necessity for improving the efficiency of the nation's transport system.

Pakala. K. PADMANABHAIAH

DISCRIMINATION IN PROMOTIONS

Sir,—During the debate on the Railway Budget in the Lok Sabha Sri Jagjivan Ram, the Railway Minister, declared that besides the usual rights and concessions in the matter of recruitment, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be given preference and reservation in respect of promotions also and in order to look into this affair Special Officers would be appointed shortly. This statement of the Railway Minister is greatly to be deplored; for, if it is acted upon, Government would be guilty of a gross injustice to the other communities.

Why should these other communities be deprived of their rights and privileges so peremptorily by the Government? In a truly democratic country there must not be any room for partiality and discrimination as between one citizen and another. It should be the aim and policy of the Government to uplift the undeveloped masses in such a way that others are not put to loss or disadvantage at all.

A. J. BHASKARA-RAO
Dronachellam.

MINISTER VS. SECRETARY

Sir,—Saka's *Sidelights* in SWARAJYA of March 8 deserves wide publicity. After a careful and close perusal of all that appeared in the Press regarding the Mundhra affair, one is driven to the conclusion that there is much dirty linen remaining unwashed in higher circles. Whatever may be the alleged shortcomings of Mr. Patel in this affair, the manner in which our Ministers including the Prime Minister and Members of Parliament save Sri B. Shiva Rao spoke about him carries no democratic

odour with it. No Government can be conducted efficiently without the willing co-operation and enthusiasm of the officials and it is the duty of the Government not to expose them in public in the way they have done in the Mundhra affair.

Here is a peculiar type of transaction involving a huge amount belonging to the public. The "industrial empire-builder" is reported to have given a lakh of rupees to the Congress election fund. (This fact was mentioned twice by the Opposition members during the debate and no Minister has refuted it.) Some one in the Congress accepted his donation and showed him the L.I.C. gold mine for drawing on for his needs to build his industrial empire. That "some one" in the Congress can never be the departmental Secretary.

R. N. RAO

"NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

Sir,—I have read Rajaji's review of "Not by Bread Alone" by Vladimir Dudinstev. I too have read not only the book, but the entire sordid affair connected with the Soviet bosses' reaction to this book. Dudinstev was compelled to write to his English publishers not to undertake publication until

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after many brain-washed alterations were made in the book by the author. The publisher did not wait for these alterations.

What amazes me is Rajaji's conclusions after reading the book: that it "... is the best propaganda I have so far seen for Soviet Russia..." and leads the reader to a respect for the morality and the ideology governing the State.

The contents of the book, on the contrary, seemed to me to be a powerful indictment of Communist ideology and the Communist State. Dudinstev had to use the indirect instrument of a novel to do this in a society where all forms of opposition are ruthlessly muzzled. Rajaji's equating of a quotation about "the physical shell of a human disappearing but his works of creation living on for ever", with the 17th mantra of Isa Upanishad has only apparent validity. Rajaji ought to know the difference between the dialectical and materialistic evaluation of man by the Communists and the Upanishads.

The book is the best propaganda for the irrepressible personality of the people of the Soviet Union after 40 years of the most brutal

tyranny the world has ever known. It is a thorough indictment of the brutal regime and its ideology. Bombay. S. R. MOHAN DAS

C. I. T. COLONIES

Sir,—Many new colonies have come into being and are being created due to the efforts and initiative of the Madras City Improvement Trust. Why should not Tamil names be given to these newly created localities instead of English names like Trustpuram? Madras. N. K. MD. SULAIMAN

DISFIGURING LIBRARY BOOKS

Sir,—As one who is a regular visitor to almost all the libraries in the city, may I call attention to some heart-rending facts concerning the books in the libraries.

Many important pages are torn out of the books and the whole get-up of the books spoiled beyond description. There are also instances of books being disfigured with awful comments.

A relentless fight has to be waged against this bad practice. The librarians and others inte-

rested in Library Science should pool all their resources to combat this evil lest things should go from bad to worse.

Perambur. CHITTY
'NATIONAL' AND 'OFFICIAL'

Sir,—The confusion between 'national' and 'official' can be removed if we understand that Deepavali is a 'national' and not an 'official' festival. Hindi will become a national language and can be recognised as such, if the tillers of the land, the breakers of stones and the hawkers of things throughout India can converse and communicate with one another in Hindi. Hindi has to develop through generations to become the language of the "Indians".

The study of the English language becomes all the more important in this age of sputniks, guided missiles and scientific advancement. Neglect of English will make us lag behind the advancing world.

What might turn out to be an irremediable state of affairs can be averted only by heeding C. R.'s warning.

R. S. V. RAO

CALENDER ART

Sir,—With the coming of the new year, businessmen have flooded the markets with calenders as usual. Most of them are sexy and multi-coloured and are designed to attract customers. Some of the calenders present gods and goddesses in a very degrading way. We see Siva and Parvathi in a love scene similar to any in a cheap movie. We see Meera gazing at Krishna with looks that express anything but divine love. We see Rama and Krishna with feminine faces and Radha, Lakshmi and Parvathi dressed in modern transparent veils.

May I appeal to the good senses of our business community to desist from vulgarising the calenders in this way?

Vijayawada K. GOVINDACHARYULU

INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS

Sir,—The progress of an individual should depend entirely upon his own free thinking and unless and until he attains that stage, he can never comprehend the purpose of his living. We see today that in the name of individual liberty, the political leaders all over the world stimulate the feelings of one nation against another thereby creating national selfishness. So the problem now is how to inculcate true brotherhood which can come into existence only out of pure love that emanates after complete understanding of one's self. This is an urgent problem that confronts us today and it is here that each individual should play his part fully. As the whole world is now undergoing an unprecedented upheaval, it is of paramount importance that each one of us should be true to his conscience and try to mould his environment, to whatever little extent, so as to permit each issue being judged freely without any fear of outward interference.

S. GANESH

HARD FOREIGN EXCHANGE RULES

Sir,—The recent suspension of all channels of foreign exchange such as bank drafts, money orders and postal orders, plays havoc. A

student who wants to send money to London for appearing for an examination or for getting a text book copies of which are not readily available in India, can now seldom do so. This actually transpired in the case of a friend of mine. The Reserve Bank of India categorically told him that within the pattern of the promulgated rules the issue of foreign exchange to meet his requirements cannot be considered. The Government of India should relax their rules in the case of a student or any one else who wants to send money to a foreign country as fee for an examination or to buy a book.

Kurnool A. K. GOPALAN

THE BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION

Sir,—Rajaji's new compromise formula as regards the Union official languages is undoubtedly the best possible solution in the context of prevailing conditions and circumstances. His suggestion is that the Indian Union shall recognise two official languages, Hindi and English, the former for the States in the North and the latter for the South Indian States. Nothing can be more reasonable than this and it must command the unanimous acceptance of all concerned. Shri C. Subramaniam has stated that this formula is not far different from what the Madras Government has urged in its memorandum to the Parliamentary Committee. If that were so, well and good. And it is high time that the Madras Government and Rajaji should hold joint consultations for devising ways and means to achieve the objective.

I, for one, would like to suggest the following step:

So long as Article 343 of the Constitution stands, nothing purposeful on the lines suggested by Rajaji can be achieved. That Article should be amended suitably.

Amendment of Clause (3) of Article 343 as envisaged in the Gauhati resolution is of no use and will prove to be a mere eye-wash. It only seeks to postpone the issue. That will not satisfy Tamilnad. There should be statutory recognition in the Constitution Act

itself, of English being an official language of the Union for the States plumping for the same.

If certain South Indian States do not want Hindi, but want English, to be the Union language for dealing with them, let them have it. Similarly, if certain North Indian States want Hindi and not English as the official language of the Union so far as they are concerned, let them have it so. Even as we do not want Hindi to be imposed on us against our wish, we should not want to impose English on the people of the North against their wish.

L. KRISHNASWAMY BHARATHI
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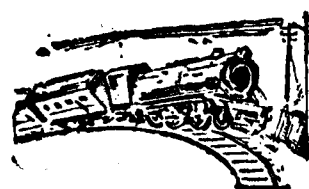
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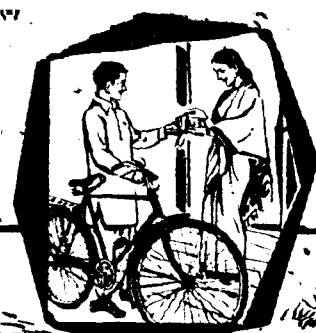
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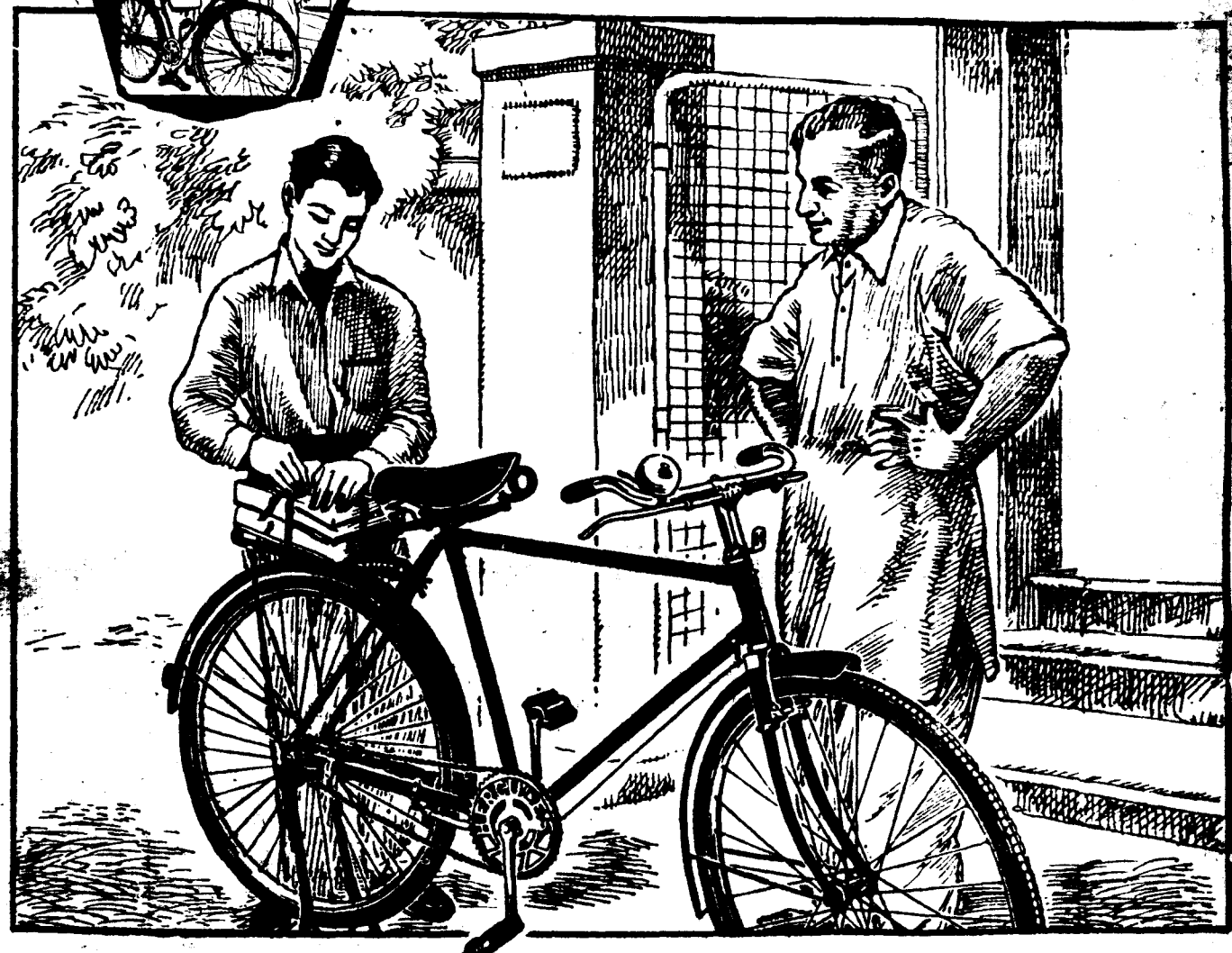


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THE PRICE OF PRESTIGE

The Union budget presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister has been widely advertised to have been the work of Sri T. T. Krishnamachari before he left the Finance Ministry. No responsibility for the budget belongs however to its reputed author in his retirement. He is absolved from it by virtue of his present status as a private citizen. Praise or blame for the budget devolves completely on the Prime Minister quite as though he were its author and not merely its presenter.

Pandit Nehru has one advantage over his predecessor at the Finance Ministry. He suffers from no consciousness of the sense of omniscience and superior knowledge that experts are prone to fall into. T. T. K. in office somehow gave the impression that he regarded himself as the final repository for wisdom and expertness in the subjects comprised in his portfolios. This rendered him allergic to dissent and criticism. He resented the very existence of critics and mistook that attitude for competence. In the very process of discharging his official duties, as he thought, with the sure touch of the all-knowing expert, he alienated the business community. Thus he shut himself out of reach of the experience of others with vast knowledge of practical business and economic affairs, and never cared to correct wrong steps as he might easily have done if he had been a little more modest. Criticism only fortified him in his fallacies irrespective of its merit and quality.

Pandit Nehru as Finance Minister is a layman pitchforked into a technical sphere. This disability he can put to good use for the benefit of national economy if he were to review the budget and the taxation trends embodied in it in the light of reasonable comments by knowledgeable persons. Speaking in Bombay a fortnight ago, Mr. A. D. Shroff said that last year the Government received as public loans no more than Rs. 68 crores including Rs. 30 crores of short term bonds. Yet the Government have budgeted for a net receipt of Rs. 125 crores as public loans in the coming year! Likewise, during the first 10 months of the current year, small savings amounted only Rs. 37.6 crores against an annual estimate of Rs. 100 crores. "I am sure," says Mr. Shroff, "that any observer of conditions prevailing in the money market will agree with me that this estimate of Rs. 125 crores of net receipts on public loans and Rs. 100 crores on small savings can never materialise", and he argues that this "inaccurate, unrealistic estimate" has been made "only to create the impression that deficit financing will not have to be resorted to to a much larger extent".

Adverting to the alarming fact that during the last two years, postal savings have been going down, Mr. Shroff says the truth of the matter is that the net real income of the country is on the minus side. "Hundred rupees twelve months ago and the same amount today do not mean the

same thing", and real income has to be assessed in terms of purchasing power taking into account the rise in the level of prices. Government persistence in spending over Rs. 1,000 crores in the coming year on planned expenditure will lead us, warns Mr. Shroff, "into the embarrassing situation of rising costs, higher prices, demand for higher wages, followed by further increase in cost of production and that unending vicious circle which is always set in motion by inflation". He makes the hard indictment that "so far as economic and financial matters are concerned, the ruling party wants to live only on prestige irrespective of the consequences to the economic life of the country".

Pandit Nehru has defended his Plan with great valour even going to the extent of saying that we should be prepared if necessary to die in defence of the Plan but not abandon it. Such spirited language is worthy of a national leader when a danger enhanced by love of life has to be faced bravely by overcoming fear of death. But it is out of place in dealing with economic facts which take their own course and cannot be altered by inspirational appeals. There is a limit set for the pace of progress by natural circumstances. It has to be realised that over-strain is more often likely to lead to collapse than to further momentum in desired directions. Why should such a risk be wantonly courted unless it be that leaders in power forget to realise their place

eternal time and want to pack into their own regime the effort of generations? This short-sighted aspiration should be sanely controlled if leadership is to be exercised in proper perspective with right balance.

Rajaji's Critics

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya sees a political motive in Rajaji's plea for continuance of English as the Union official language. The Prime Minister calls it cold war. Acharya Vinoba Bhave rates it as lacking in vision. Three different, if disparaging comments on one and the same thing. The substance of Rajaji's case is however untouched, its clear-cut logic is wholly unattended to, unanswered. The result is no damage to Rajaji's position and definite damage to the dignity of his critics, in the proportion of their status and standing, the worst sufferer being the saint.

The Smile

The Ambassador to India from the Soviet Union, Mikhail Menshikov, recently departed, is winning headlines now as Ambassador to the United States.

What sets the new envoy apart from his tactiturn predecessors in America is a smile and a glad hand.

Mr. Menshikov is amiable to all. He speaks the American idiom; he has paid courteous respects to Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles; he has told the Washington Press Club that the United States and the Soviet Union should "forget the past and try to understand each other"; he is much wanted at dinners and parties.

He will go on lecture tour; and he has asked one reporter, though I do not vouch for this, to call him "Mike". Mrs. Menshikov, in turn, has announced to women reporters her hope that the Menshikov children can go to college in the United States, a departure from past rigid Soviet practice.

The question that now animates Washington — if one may use so sweeping a term — is, Is the Men-

MUST BE HALTED

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Had she known the world better she might have felt perhaps that something was expected where so much was given.

—ANTHONY TROLLOPE in *The Prime Minister.*

I think foreign aid is an essential weapon in the armory of American diplomacy.

—ADLAI STEVENSON at a conference held in Washington on Feb. 25, 1958 at the President's request.

Harsh as it may seem for one to say it, I welcome the South Carolina accident on Tuesday, March 11. A few more such warnings from Providence may enable the men and women of America in whose name and by authority derived from whom America is governed. The peoples of the world should realise the full possibilities of these nuclear parades and inter-continental strategies. Accidents may now be merely of the propelling explosive. Now and then they will soon be of the more poisonous material that has arrived to destroy man and his civilization.

We cannot hope to order everything as we desire; much less can we regulate accidents to conform to a relatively safe type. Such and more things must happen as happened at Florence in South Carolina and elsewhere in the world though not made fully known. The nuclear strategists are against spreading news about such casualties. As the strategy gets to be nearer and nearer the requirements of actual belligerency, the nature of casualties of this type will develop more fully into disaster.

Are the neutral spaces of the world to permit this lawless

Does the new Ambassador truly believe that issues in dispute between the two countries can be reduced by "understanding", and that differences are not really deep-rooted?

— the smile a change in

attack on the right of uninvolved people? Have the jurists of the world lost all influence? Why are they dumb witnesses to this flagrant crime? The mad strategists must be halted. The world has not been sold out to the nuclear powers for practice in moving this poison about.

The uninvolved nations of the world must get rid of their dependency-complex and declare a moral strike against these satanic strategies. Instead of accepting the widespread net of aid and entanglement, we should all combine to speak out for God and refuse to touch tainted aid. Even Norman Angell has begun to write in favour of what amounts to a policy of expansion of NATO and a vigorous continuation of the cold war. We cannot escape the nature of obligation when we allow ourselves to be obliged. Aid is practically thrust on nations disarming them of moral power and an unreal sense of success is generated when each such piece of success is really moral defeat. All other considerations must be halted until we win the battle against nuclear weapons.

Prime Minister Macmillan refused to "opt out of history". But history has opted Britain out and there is no good wrangling over it with Churchillian phrases. History offers a new and great option to Britain and the men and women of that island who are demonstrating against nuclear weapons have accepted that invitation. There is the marble gate to glory, not through satellitism and playing on the unreal chess-board of Deterrence by nuclear threats, which, if foolishly persisted in, is bound to end in disaster; for the enemy of mankind is greedily watching this game.

Soviet manner, rather than a change in substance?

Many people would believe the latter. This is not cynicism, but a reading of the diplomatic facts of life. Mr. Menshikov comes with no

(Continued on Page 3)



Sotto Voce

Scientist's Magna Carta

*The world is so full of a number of things,
I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings.*

In making the determined optimism of *A Child's Garden of Verses* his own, Mr. Nehru seems to be sustained largely by the thought that if one hope fails there is always another, if you do not make the mistake of committing yourself too deeply. He is never more cheery in fact than when admitting mistakes. Thus he told the hand-picked farmers assembled in Delhi dutifully to say their part in the officially organised "forum", that in the past the Government had made a wrong approach to education. They had spent money on stone buildings rather than on studies. He was now convinced that all that must be changed.

"In the villages", he went on to say, "we must forget about buildings and lay emphasis on getting good teachers and books. Classes can be held in the shade of a tree". He may have recollected that that was the philosophy of Santiniketan which, as a sacred charge from Gurudev, he had taken under his wing. Santiniketan has long passed the mud floor and palm thatch stage. It is a university, as stone-clad and substantial as any of them. And that was perhaps the reason why he finished up with the happy inconsequence of the *Philosopher in A Crock of Gold*: "The demand for building schools in villages is legitimate, but it cannot be fulfilled at present."

The scientists, who have no doubt scanned respectfully the Government of India's policy resolution on science — which, it seems, was hailed in the lobbies as a Scientist's Charter — will be saving themselves a lot of disappointment if they remember that

Mr. Nehru's balloon of hopes is very much at the mercy of all the caprices of the upper air. What they are led to expect, however, is modest enough in all conscience. The Government have resolved — subject, of course, (though they don't say so) to the hard necessities of the Plan — that scientists shall be offered good conditions of service. It is also the Government's intention "to accord them an honoured position".

But the question is who are the scientists the Government have in mind. Not surely the aristocrats of the profession who are safely ensconced in the chromium-plated Directors' rooms of Dr. Bhatnagar's fourteen laboratories which have, since his time, had an almost equal number added to them. They have nothing to grumble about their conditions of service. And the fact that none of them has died of excess of comfort, like the parrot in Tagore's tale, suggests that their gilded captivity is very much to their liking, and they are not exactly pining for liberty. It is doubtful whether they would welcome the prospect of being invited to display "individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge". "It is not in the contract", I can hear them bristling up.

If the Government of India resolution means that they propose to give rather better wages and terms of service than the vast majority of scientific personnel in the lower rungs now gets, it is all to the good. There are whole establishments where men with a dozen years or more of service to their credit are still kept on a temporary basis. And they do not get the wages of a Second Division clerk. As for the urge to discover new knowledge "in an atmosphere of academic free-

dom", red tape is so entangling and protocol so paramount that a Scientific Assistant has all zeal for worthwhile work rinsed out of him by the time he has spent a few years in his cell.

The Government's belated interest in pure science is welcome. But elsewhere it is to the universities that the Governments and people look for the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge. Our universities are the plaything of para-politics, if I may coin an ugly but serviceable word. The lust for power — making other men feel the weight of your hand or look up to you for crumbs — where it is baulked its natural outlet in politics, usually compensates itself by carving out a kingdom of its own in the universities. The man of science, who is marooned in a university, is more often busy canvassing for his boss or singing his praises like the old-time court-bards than carrying on his legitimate work.

Talking of academic freedom to men who are not sure whether a discharge notice might not be awaiting them at the end of the academic year is cruel irony. And salaries and conditions in the universities are very definitely worse than in the Government-sponsored laboratories. Scientists would prefer substantial redress in these directions to hot air about their being invited to participate in the formulation of policies. To the extent that scientists can think out such things for themselves, they may conclude that it would be better to preserve their inner integrity by staying outside the Council room. When it comes to scratch it is the politician that will prevail. The scientists should remember Oppenheimer's fate.

VIGNESWARA

(Continued from Page 2)

new proposals, nor any retreat from Soviet positions; but politely, to persuade.

The danger is, from the Administration point of view, that a mercurial society which hopes for peace may accept a smile as substitute for grim reality.

JOHN E. FRAZER

SIDELIGHTS ::

For a long time members of the Congress party in Parliament wished to have a Finance Minister from their own ranks. They have their wish fulfilled at last with the elevation of Sri Morarji Desai to that office. He is not however an obvious choice in the sense that his equipment, background and qualifications fit him for the post to which he has been promoted. The only member of the Congress party qualified by knowledge and aptitude to serve as Finance Minister is Pandit Pant. The report has received wide currency that Pandit Pant could not be persuaded to give up the Home Ministry for which he seems to have a special attachment. Evidently individual preference has prevailed over party interests and devotion to the over-all service of the national good. This emphasises the decadence of the Congress party in respect of the essential things that constitute efficiency and contribute to national welfare. It is not easy to conceive of any comparable situation in any part of the world where the system of parliamentary government is in vogue.

No righteous sense of incongruity on the part of the party has rewarded the Prime Minister when his senior-most surviving colleague in the Cabinet would not rally to his aid to fill the gap caused by Sri Krishnamachari's exit. For this Sri Nehru himself is primarily responsible. In his ten years of office, particularly after the passing away of the Mahatma and the Sardar, he has not risen to the highest pinnacle of its duty by avoiding proved undesirables in filling up Cabinet positions of great power and responsibility. After the disclosure of the jeep and other scandals through the proceedings of public accounts committees, there should have been no place anywhere near the helm of affairs for one like Sri Krishna Menon. But the Prime Minister deviated from propriety by covering with his protecting patronage an erring

colleague. This was by no means an accidental or unusual failing. It has become something of a tradition. It came prominently to play in the Prime Minister's effort to counteract the findings of the Chagla Commission on the part played by his then Finance Minister in the Mundhra affair. Is it surprising that the pent-up public reaction to the Prime Minister's continual interventions in defence of colleagues discovered in dubious courses should have found vent in Mr. A. D. Shroff's remark that one could admire his affectionate loyalty to friends but not approve his judgment of men and matters?

So, too, now, the P.M.'s singling out of Sri Morarji Desai for the Finance Ministership conforms to the established pattern of choosing Cabinet personnel in our democracy. Throughout this country of chronic diversity of opinion, there seems to be agreed unanimity that the new Finance Minister does not know the subject he has been entrusted with. All the other virtues with which he is credited cannot make up for this defect. He will have to be at the mercy of others to be briefed in the technicalities of his portfolio, which means that over a considerable area of his empire, eventual power will reside not in him but in undisclosed advisers in the background. What a British Prime Minister once said in another context about the exercise of power without responsibility seems to be relevant to our present affairs — he said that power without responsibility is the prerogative of the gods throughout the ages.

As if through the South, there is no greater exemplar of financial talent, Sri Nehru has pitched upon Sri Gopala Reddi as the most appropriate Minister of State to assist Sri Morarji Desai. This appointment has released a spate of fervid plaudits from the admirers of the Andhra Minister. They have built him up now in

the columns of the newspapers into an incomparable paragon of all the virtues. Let not the innocent and the unwary be beguiled. Oftentimes, these over-advertisements of excellences, like the thousand telegrams that poured into the P.M.'s lap when T.T.K. resigned, conjure up visions of the too much protesting lady in *Macbeth*, and as in the case of that classic character, they must be assessed in reverse measure. As Finance Minister of Madras Sri Gopala Reddi squandered in the name of State aid to industry ten lakhs of public money to bolster up the notorious Sudarsan Oil Mills owned almost entirely by his intimate relations. The Prime Minister should investigate the fate of this feat of finance to realise the sort of direction in store for the economic affairs of the nation at the hands of his chosen Minister of State.

There have been grumbling that the South has been left out in the recent Cabinet reshuffle that Bombay and Uttara Pradesh divide between them the lion's share of the Centre's power. The complaint is in fact justified, but the fact itself is the logical consequence of the suppression of merit in the political, as in so many other spheres, in which Southern Ministries under Sri Kamaraj's inspiration, have been specialising. To represent Madras Congress in Parliament there are only men of dwarfed capacities chosen as fit to play second fiddle to Sri Kamaraj Nadar. The deliberate down-grading of talent to which the Prime Minister, too, as head of the party, contributed his own share, has left him, perhaps, confronted as he is with the Nadarian Rajagopalans and Venkatramans, no option except turn to Ramaswami and Gopala in the present emergency as veritable lions representing the South. The Mahatma discovered Rajaji and his heir is content with Ramaswami. The Nehru throne maintained till now by the momentum of the Gandhian achievement seems to be cracking now, when forced to fall back on its own qualities and strength.

SARAJA

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

HOLI

One March, many years ago, a colleague of mine and I arrived in Delhi on a diplomatic mission. We went straight from the railway station to our hotel, and, having no work to do till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I suggested that after breakfast we should go for a stroll round Connaught Circus, before the sun grew oppressive. My companion, who was older than I, excused himself on the ground that he felt tired after the long train journey—he had reached the age when one realises the wisdom of proffering no advice to others, especially to others who are younger and still not duly deferential towards one, and so he omitted to tell me the true reason for his electing to stay safely within the hotel, that it was Holi day that day, and that in Delhi they celebrate the event with much gusto.

Honestly, I did not feel put out with him for failing to warn me, when I returned in haste to our hotel room awhile later, but his gusty enjoyment of my panchromatic appearance, behind a transparently thin screen of sympathy, was hard to bear—what infuriated me was his affectation of concern for me. And then, I found such instant and complete consolation in a thought that I too found it hard to contain my amusement, leaving him puzzled and with the uneasy feeling that I was laughing at him, which, in fact, I was.

I have heard the theory that life is a thing of the moment, and to be lived richly it should be utterly spontaneous, with no conditioning bondage to the past or apprehension of the future, but I must say that what sustained me in that predicament was the past. For I had a momentary but very lucid recollection of a previous Holi, in our own place, when this man was not my colleague but my boss, and how I myself, helped by two other stalwarts, had lifted this boss bodily (he weighed all of 225 lb.) and dumped him in a



huge stone cattle trough, filled for the occasion with a decoction of red forest flowers, turmeric and slaked lime, and colourful dyes. I remembered the plop he made.

Now there, in three paragraphs, you have the essence of Holi—a primitive but wholly human enjoyment of the discomfiture of others, and a dense inability to feel any amusement when one is the victim of Holi revels oneself. But isn't Holi a vernal festival? Yes, the seasonal coincidence is there. Spring, all over India, is when the mango flowers and the koel, silent during the wet weather, finds its voice again, and when the onset of summer is perceptible, late in February or early in March, when the Holi festival falls. Perhaps there is even something more than mere calendar coincidence between Holi and Spring, and the festival provides an outlet for the bodily and mental unrest that one experiences then, but Holi is essentially an occasion for reprisals, and an occasion for expression of the pent up feelings that build up within one in consequence of the dignified, conventional behaviour that one has imposed on oneself during the previous twelve months.

Remember that pompous old gent that lives round the corner, who lectures you severely on your frivolous nature everytime he spots you in the street, remember that wise uncle of yours who insisted on pointing out repeatedly that he had predicted your downfall when you crashed, remember the nagging boss, the domineering aunt, the superior brother-in-law and the demanding creditor—now is the time to seek them out, armed with the classic *pichakari* or some improvised spray-pump, gallons of brilliantly coloured water, and finely powdered pigments, and to drench them all all over and rub the pigment into their faces.

But of course that is not quite true, for the spirit of Holi is much less revengeful and specific, and much more promiscuous, you spray friend and foe alike, and it is a contagious urge. I have known stern people, who disapproved violently of the rude festivity, suddenly shed all restraint and dignity and run amok with the spray-pump — once drenched with the vermillion, they realised they were immune to further damage and could get no

(Continued on Page 15)

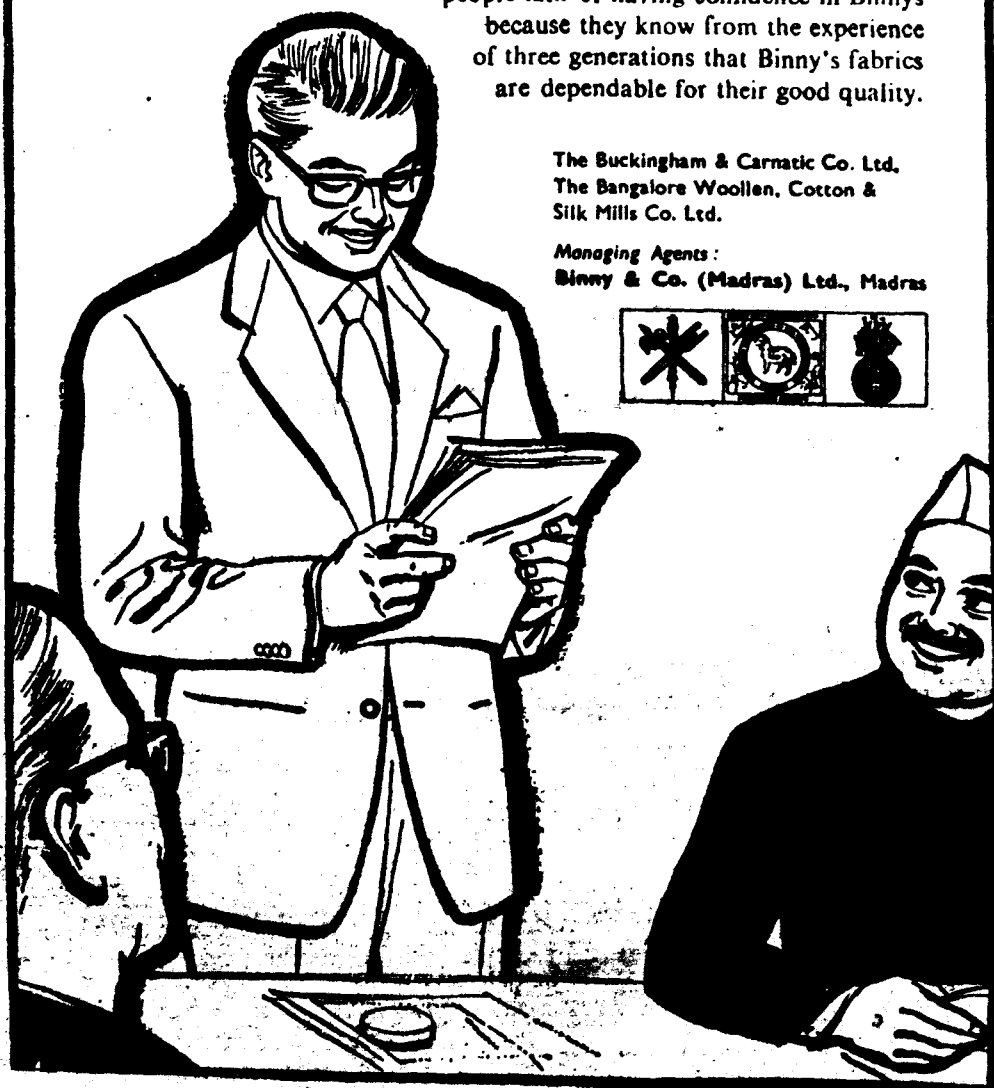
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNJUS

New Delhi: If this was all he could do in the matter of Cabinet reshuffle, one wonders why the Prime Minister should have taken—or lost—so much of time. There was none to be dropped. There was but one who could be taken into the Cabinet—and just another to be added to the Council of Ministers without Cabinet rank. The multiplication of Deputies could never have presented him with any real difficulty because of the long queue awaiting preferment. For the rest, it was just a question of shifting colleagues from one position to another—for a change. The Prime Minister must be a very simple man if he is pleased with his effort. It has impressed few. Once again he has missed the opportunity of doing something big, to strike the imagination of the country. Surrounded by his own reactionaries, and strangely susceptible to their subtle influence, Mr. Nehru has not been able to summon courage or imagination to his aid. He is still for letting things drift.

Mr. Gobind Vallabh Pant who knows his mind, and others' too, having decided to stay at 'Home', Mr. Morarji Desai has been persuaded to overcome his initial reluctance to take up Finance. If it is not U.P., it is nearly always Bombay where it is a question of top-ranking hegemony. Mr. Morarji Desai, though credited with many virtues and gifts, has not, either from experience or by equipment, marked himself out for handling Finance, with any intimate knowledge of the subject. But he has one supreme advantage. He is a friend of financiers. The widely known jubilation at the Birla House has its own tale to tell. With him as the Finance Minister, there is no fear of the private sector falling out (of line) with the public sector. How far he will reconcile Gandhian orthodoxy to Nehru's socialist pattern is anybody's guess.

First Commerce and Industry, then Finance. It was so with TTK; it is so with M. D.

Whether it will be so with Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, only the future can unravel. He is already played up as Number Three in the Cabinet. With nothing extraordinary about him, he has been found 'inevitable'. Trusted by his party men and liked by all in the House, Mr. Lal Bahadur, wherever he is placed, makes himself at once acceptable. He is always in demand but it would be hardly fair to make too many demands on him.

Having asked for more outlets for his energy, Mr. S. K. Patil is switched on to Transport and Communications. The Ministry could not have found a more striking mobile force as its emblem. His migration from the 'blue bed to the brown' has made things easier for the succession of the senior Muslim Minister from U.P.—Mr. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim and for the eloquent expression of secular sentiment. He is sixty-nine—or he is still on the right side of seventy; he fits into the 'age-old' structure.

It does not seem to have struck the Prime Minister that it is but a poor tribute to the Maulana's memory to get his legacy down-graded—and partitioned, not having been able to find one worthy of succession. The only consolation is that the 'better half' of the Education Ministry will be safe in the hands of the brilliant and dynamic Mr. Kabir. Perhaps the day is not far off when he will be in full charge of the Education Ministry by his own right, with a place in the Cabinet. The present innovation whereby Mr. Shrimali and Mr. Kabir are to walk cheek by jowl in the realms of Education is more a political compromise than an administrative necessity.

The elaborate search for Southern adequacy for the new central scheme of things has resulted in the discovery of Sri B. Gopala Reddi, once the youngest Minister in India and now the senior-most among Ministers in the States. It was under Rajaji's wand that

young Gopala Reddi who had earlier sought the shelter of the sylvan haunts at Santiniketan, blossomed into a Minister. He was also built up by yet another C. R.—C. R. Reddy, the greatest Reddy of our day. Gopala Reddi started his life with enormous assets—adoration of Tagore, allegiance to Gandhiji, devotion to C. R.'s, youth, the affluence of a landed aristocracy, political ambition—and social gifts. On the political scene, dropped by Prakasam, he managed to succeed him till, in the enlarged Andhra arena, he had to yield pride of place to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. He could have gravitated to the Centre earlier. But the hour has struck now—as much for his exit from Hyderabad as for his arrival in Delhi. He is under the handicap of having carried 'the roses of youth' too long. He will be an asset to the social life at the Capital. But his new office will keep him so much absorbed that he will have to say goodbye, though reluctantly to all diversions, however delightful or delicious.

Mr. Gopala Reddy is extremely lucky in having the stage set for him by a Deputy whose sparkling gifts and crashing liveliness have won for her ready recognition. Well-informed and eloquent, public-spirited and vivacious, she will not only enliven but also adorn the Treasury Benches. With Lady Oxford she could exclaim: 'Ours is an embroidered sex'—and exasperate her colleagues. Incidentally, one cannot help musing over the irony of events which planted her under the puritanic banner of Mr. Morarji Desai who was known to be so much unreconciled to her very candidature in the last elections! But, 'Horatio, there are more things.....'

It is little known outside Delhi, while it should be widely known all over, that there is at least one man left in this country who could, with unruffled composure and quiet dignity, resist all overtures for being drawn into the vortex of Cabinet politics in the existing climate. Living for a principle is not less difficult than dying for an ideal. It is such men that are the salt of the earth.

THE CRISIS IN CLOTH

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI

The Madura Mills is perhaps the largest spinning unit in the East, with a capacity of five lakhs of spindles. It is an old company, capitalised before the war. In 1956 it earned a profit of Rs. 44,20,251. In 1957 it has earned a profit of Rs. 73,610. It carried an unsold stock worth Rs. 2 crores at the end of the year. The sharp fall in the profits of 1957 is ascribable in part to provision having to be made out of the year's earnings for tax liability of 1956 short-provided in that year's accounts, but that does not explain all of the considerable decline. The cloth accumulation tells the rest of the unpleasant tale — namely, decline in profit margins and increased consumer resistance.

What has happened to the Madura Mills is happening to the other mills in the country: unsold stocks, reduction of shifts, retrenchment, partial closure, unemployment. Prices of cloth have not risen; in fact, some varieties are slightly cheaper. Then why this slump? The common man for whose benefit well laid plans are being implemented is entitled to an answer. The crisis in the textile industry is only a symptom of an economic disease that has affected the community, showing itself at the weakest point. The causes of the disease have to be sought elsewhere.

Certain figures are useful in this connection as showing the range of the problem. In 1952, for a population of 365 millions, the

production of cloth was 5,275 million yards, giving 14.4 yards per person. In 1956 for a population said to be nearer 380 millions, the production was 6,275 million yards, giving 16.5 yards per head. The Second Plan envisages a per capita consumption of 18.5 yards in 1961. The industry hopes for more.

But why have the people stopped buying cloth? Why does any one stop buying anything? Because he has no money to buy. The position, thus stated, is simple. People do not buy cloth because purchasing power has gone down. But this is not wholly true. Several new works are being carried out, new industries are being created, public expenditure is going up (which last is the usual Keynesian-Roosevelt formula for arresting depression), existing industries are expanding, and yet, a slump has set in the textile industry, which, in respect of earning, employment, and foreign trade, is one of the foremost in India.

The textile magnates straight-away tell us that because, on the one hand, the price of food has gone up, any increase in nominal purchasing power has been neutralised and sometimes eaten into by this primary demand of the stomach; and that on the other, the policy of the Government in imposing a regressive excise duty on cloth has affected the demand for cloth. But surely, in a country where the women require twelve yards for two sarees (eighteen amongst the orthodox) and a violent winter grips the whole of Upper India for four months in the year, a consumption of sixteen yards per head of population will be retrenched only because of utter necessity, which should be considered in terms of inability to buy and not in terms of orthodox doctrines of consumer choice on the basis of available purchasing power. The argument of buying resistance induced by the excise duty may be accepted as a collateral factor, but it is not the main cause. One may appropriate-

ly say that the 'naked' truth about the matter is that there is no money to buy. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the reduced offtake during periods like Pooja and Divali, about which the industry has complained.

The argument is thus taken one step further, namely, that because food prices are high, and there is not much money left after buying food to buy cloth, people do not buy cloth. But then, why are food prices high? This is the next logical question. The answer is that food prices alone are not high, but all prices are high, but one can do without other things, but not without food and so food expenditure absorbs most of the income.

Thus the problem boils down to a general rise in prices, or in technical language to an increase of the price level, otherwise known as inflation. The main feature of inflation is that there is too much money going round, that is, more than can be effectuated by the supply of the things that money can buy. The extra money is accounted for in this country by increase of new capital expenditure. The politicians tell us that we are in a stage of transition (life itself is a transition), and that the future of India (is there an India other than what is made up of Indians?) is being fashioned by the long range plans which, when they fructify, will lead to an all-round abundance; meanwhile, we should have an austerity campaign and sacrifice (for whom and for when?). The questions within brackets are those asked by the "common man" for whom (and by whom) these sacrifices are enjoined.

The common man is entitled to say that a little of the surrender value of the future abundance is welcome. In other words, he cannot be drugged into a state of acquiescence by abstract concepts like the people, posterity, the nation, the glory of the country, and other such mental nebulae of the Fathers of the people who postulate a perpetual minority for their charges. Modern political theories have wound themselves round economic and social planning as the proper function of the State, and in the process, the

March 22, 1958

SWARAJYA

State, in Hegelian fashion, assumes an entity of its own, a sacrifice-demanding Moloch, and the fact that the same abstraction is sometimes referred to as the common man does not diminish its infant-devouring omnivorousness. There is no way out of this 'panting for prosperity', except to slow down on the effort to become a great nation.

Here is a curious depression,

the remedy for which lies not in an increase of public spending, but in a reduction of it. We have to pace the Plan to suit the taxable capacity and a minimum individual retention of income. For example, the Plan is based on raising a loan from the public, either as small savings or by a market flotation, and all the officers of Government who dispense favours like income tax officers, sales tax officers, collectors of districts, transport controllers, and others are given targets for the amounts they should get subscribed, and a distress is caused by consumption money being converted into a compulsory loan. This not only reduces necessary purchasing power, but in the case of small traders (who are the "targets" of the permit and sales tax officers), it takes away

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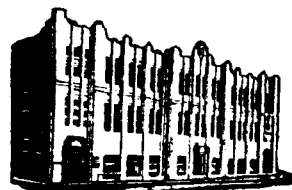
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their small working capital, and leads to borrowing by them at higher rates of interest. Mopping up real savings is different from preventing necessary expenditure and driving the consumer to find money thus saved elsewhere.

Similarly, a commodity tax, by way of sales tax or excise, (or both, as for cloth) is useful to the exchequer only if the article is sold and purchased. If the nature and incidence of the tax is such as to inhibit its purchase, it is a self-defeating imposition. If, as is evident now, the excise duty on cloth is so heavy that it leads to a reduced offtake, then, a chain reaction sets in, somewhat as follows: first, sales go down, then stocks accumulate, the excise duty realised is less than what is budgetted for, the mills reduce production, purchasing power of the worker is correspondingly reduced (it should be remembered that every worker is a consumer of goods) sales of other commodities go down, starting in turn another chain reaction at each producing point; Government realise less income tax from the mills, and also less from the profits of the managing agent. Thus, while the economy is upset, on the side of the Government, the object with which the tax is levied, that is, to find money for the welfare of the people, is not realised because taxability has gone down. This kind of taxation and loan raising is unwisdom and power allied to obstinacy, the kind of recalcitrance for which parents chastise children.

Within the textile industry itself the policies pursued do not show foresight. Firstly, it should be noted that one cannot build a foreign market unless the product has a good home market. The textile industry produces about 6,000 million yards, of which the export target itself is about 1,000 million yards. How can a market for this one-sixth of the output be maintained without protecting the market for the other five-sixths, on which the entire economy of the industry is based? Those who talk of improving the export of cloth, not as a good measure for earning exchange and maintaining a great industry, but as an offset

to falling home markets, should be first disabused. Secondly, how can Embassies and Trade Agents and such like procedure-and-protocol-ridden innocents sponsor selling campaign? Salesmanship is an art, and it calls for qualities that are not developed except in a shop. Fortunately for India the Sindhi merchants are excellent salesmen, and they are the one people who have established shops for selling cloth in all parts of the world, including Western countries. They know the varying tastes of the local markets of each country. It passes one's understanding that this community has not been made use of for selling Indian products abroad. There should be a working arrangement with them for this purpose, and a normal business commission given to them. As Cecil Rhodes said, patriotism plus five percent is more workable than simple patriotism.

One is forced to the conclusion that we have not touched even the fringe of the foreign market. Very few persons know, for example, that a great part of the foreign trade of Indian textiles is in unbleached greys which are manufactured into usable fabrics by the importing countries. This is rather a shame, and it leaves us in the position of an exporter of raw material rather than of finished goods.

The overall picture is disturbing. Reduced taxation, reduced public expenditure, planning for a slower approach to a new heaven all-out effort to produce more food—these seem to be the weapons to ward off the impending crisis. And within the trade, a more intelligent approach to foreign trade and reduced taxation not for textiles only, but as a policy of going slow, a policy that balances the present with the future, and does not lure itself into economic flagellation that seems to secure obscure satisfactions.

(Since the foregoing was written, the Government of India have announced a reduction of the excise duty on textiles. It is a welcome indication that the point of view here presented is at last receiving, to some extent at least, the attention of the authorities concerned.)

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: Inspite of the fiasco certain star shows, they continue to yield good dividends. It has been found that in most of these shows, the top-ranking stars whose names are advertised on a large scale fail to turn up and the people are disappointed. And yet, incredible as it may seem the star-shows continue to be held and they continue to draw good money. Only this week two such shows were held in Bombay.

On Friday 14th evening, a sum of Rs. 17,000 is reported to have been collected at such a variety show in which Talat Mehmood, Hemant Kumar, Kamala Laxman, Johnny Walker and others participated. Of the top-ranking stars only Dilip Kumar was present; he entertained the audience with a speech stressing the part actors played in such benevolent causes. The proceeds of this show were donated to Ramakrishna Adwait Ashram at Kalady (Kerala). On Saturday 15th, another star show was held at Vallabh Stadium entitled 'Nite of Light'. It was organised by Mehtab in aid of the Bombay City Social Education Committee. And on March 28th, all the leading film stars are expected to appear in a cultural show organised by Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee in connection with the Small Savings drive. It is expected that unlike other shows the stars will not disappoint their fans in this forthcoming programme, though stars as a rule are not known to keep their word.

In addition to these local shows, the stars continue to go out of Bombay to give shows. Recently the stars had been to East Punjab and gave shows in Patiala and other places. It is really surprising that the stars gave these shows when the nation was mourning the death of Maulana Azad. A question on this issue was raised on the floor of the East Punjab Assembly.

Ratnadeep Pictures' 'Sakshi Gopal' claims to be a different

type of devotional story. And to some extent that claim is true. For, at least in the first half, no miracle is performed and even in the second half, the miracles are few. The story revolves round Venu Gopal, a Brahmin from Vidyanagar, and is based on a legend according to which the idols of Radha and Krishna walked from Brindavan to Vidyanagar to give evidence in defence of the devotee Venu.

Venu was a gambler, cheat and a drunkard. He fell in love with Madhavi, Raj Purohit's daughter whom her brother was keen to marry to Raj Mantri's stupid son. Venu thwarted all his efforts and took Madhavi and her ailing father to Brindavan. There while enacting the role of Uddhava he put on the Tulsi-mala which purified him and he became a devotee. Then Madhavi's father died giving her hand to Venu in the presence of God. Later when Venu found that an innocent man Tulsidas was being hanged for the death of a man who died in a scuffle with Venu while saving the honour of Madhavi, he returned to his home town and sought justice. Only God could corroborate his story; and so he summoned God.

This miracle is cleverly portrayed. For, the people of Vidyanagar do not see Krishna in human form but just as an idol, and a voice from the sky gives evidence. The legend apart, the story of Venu's transformation is human and interesting. One wishes however that the influence of Madhavi and Raj Purohit in transforming Venu should have been more emphasised. The buffoonery of Raj Mantri's son is ludicrous, and the screenplay and direction do not create an atmosphere of realism in the first half of the picture in which Venu appears in different garbs and even fights like Dilip Kumar in 'Naya Daur'. Yet, the presentation has a certain dignity and reminds one of the old Prakash school to which director Balachander Shuckla belongs.

It is the melodious music by Chitragupta with beautiful rendering by Lata, Manna Dey and Rafi and the lively portrayals by Bharat Bhoshan and Nanda that lend charm and dignity to the picture and make it better than the usual mythological offerings.

The two most talked-about persons this week in film circles were Nargis and Sunil Dutt who got secretly married on Tuesday 12th March. But for a few relations, nobody was invited for the wedding. Inspite of all the 'secrecy' the news leaked out and appeared in a Thursday evening paper. They were married according to civil rites at the residence of Sunil Dutt on Napean Sea Road.

It will be recalled that the rumours of their romance began to appear in the film press over a year ago. It was exactly in March 1957 that Nargis was involved in an accident during the fire-sequence shooting at Billimora. And but for Sunil Dutt's timely and daring help, Nargis would not have been saved. A month later the news of their romance and marriage appeared in a section of the press. From Billimora Sunil Dutt sent a contradiction but within eleven months, the contradiction has proved incorrect and the rumour-mongers have been proved right.

Nargis and Sunil Dutt are of almost the same age; in fact Sunil is a little younger than Nargis. Though the whole film industry knew of their romance they had managed to keep it a secret. For in no public function they were seen together. Only three days before their wedding Nargis



attended the function given in her honour by Mohan Segal. Sunil Dutt was conspicuous by his absence; he was not present even at the premiere of 'Mother India'. As a result the two stars have never been photographed together off the screen. According to earlier reports, they were expected to be married on 15th August; but they seem to have changed the plan recently. So far, barring 'Mother India', they have not appeared in any picture together; but now certain producers are reported to have approached them to play a romantic lead together. The first producer who signs them will score a scoop.

Meanwhile both the stars have continued working and not gone on the traditional 'Honeymoon' after the wedding. Their future plans are as secret as their wedding was.

Sri K. SAMPATHGIRI RAO

My friend Sri Sampathgiri Rao's departure from Bangalore to join his appointment as Principal of the Public School at Ranchi, Bihar, gave rise to city-wide and spontaneous manifestations of love and esteem which could have surprised nobody but himself. No happier selection could have been made for Ranchi and there can be no doubt that Sri Sampathgiri Rao will do for Ranchi what Thomas Arnold did for Rugby. Under Arnold's superintendence Rugby not only became a place of learning but a sphere of intellectual, moral and religious discipline where healthy characters were formed and men were trained for the duties, struggles and responsibilities of life.

Few men are better fitted by nature or better equipped by training and experience for the noble task of guiding the intellect and forming the character of youth. The National College of Bangalore is a living monument to his capacity for organisation, and his talent for stamping his ideals and personality on the tasks to which he addressed himself. A great believer in democracy, he helped in so framing the Consti-

Naya Sansar International have acquired the filming rights of A. S. Karnik's book 'Kashmir Princess'. Abbas is writing the script and will soon launch the production.

Dilip Kumar's first production 'Ganga Jamuna' went before the cameras on Sunday 16th March at a village near Igatpuri. Vijay Bhatt is starting his picture 'Gunj Uthi Shehnai' on 21st March.

The American Women Club's water ballet which they are performing at the Mahatma Gandhi swimming pool on 25th March will be featured in the picture 'Krorepati'.

Nasir Hussain the director of 'Tumsa Nahin Dekha' has been signed by Fali Mistry to make a picture for Dossy Films. The picture will star Nutan, Shammi Kapoor and Shyama.

tution of the National School (which was how the institution began) that the headmastership went by rotation among the teachers with the consent of all; and though he himself held that position frequently, there were substantial periods when he was only a teacher. When the school became a second grade and ultimately a first grade college, this 'Prince of Headmasters', as the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri called him, quite naturally became its Principal. It would perhaps not have been an exaggeration to say of the school, as Louis XIV said of the State — the National College: I am the National College — but his modest nature made such a claim inconceivable.

Sri Sampathgiri Rao is a great scholar and a gifted and most successful educationist; but his work as a teacher by no means exhausted his energies or confined the range of his interests. He is also a great linguist and is familiar, with much that is best in the literature of English, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. He has more than a working knowledge of Hindi, being one of the

earliest workers in that field in the South. He was closely associated with the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, and wandered and worked to fulfil its mission. He has translated into Kannada most of Rajaji's writings. All his activities have been characterised by a width and freshness of outlook which made him not averse to experiments and innovations, even in fields dominated by tradition.

Sri Sampathgiri Rao is a man of versatile talents and his intellectual vitality has given him distinction in whatever he has done. He has been a journalist, an actor, a stenographer, and lastly a politician, though not of the noisy partisan order. He has been closely associated with the foundation and working of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, which is devoting itself to the task of educating people in citizenship. No wonder that his is not only a household name in Mysore, but is well-known all over South India. He is one of the most effective speakers in English and Kannada that I have heard.

Personally he is one of the most unassuming and lovable of men. Some may say that he is too gentle and not sufficiently assertive. I know that he can assert himself on a point of principle and for the rest, modesty and mildness are preferable to a loud self-assertion. He seems to me a type of the true gentleman described by Cardinal Newman,—the gentleman who carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or jolt in the minds of others, whose great concern is to make everyone at his ease and at home, who is tender towards the bashful and merciful towards the absurd. He is one of Nature's own gentlemen whom, knowing well, one cannot help wishing one knew better still.

May his work in Bihar bring him added glory and confer inestimable blessings on the generation which passes through his hands.

NAVARATNA RAMA RAO

Whatsoever the superior person does, that is followed by others. What he demonstrates by action, that, people follow.—GITA.

A REVIEW OF PROHIBITION POLICY

By Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M. S.

In a recent speech Sri Bhaktavatsalam, Minister, betrayed gross ignorance of human psychology when he asserted that he could see no difference at all between moderate drinking and excessive drinking. There is a world of difference between the two. While moderate drinking is not at all bad—in fact it does good to many—excessive drinking is positively bad, as indeed excessive indulgence in even harmless pleasures leads in the long run to harmful results.

A few persons—very small in number—may be able to maintain virtue at a high pitch for all time. A good few, in moments of righteous frenzy, may profess high virtue for a short time. But generally men in bulk cannot sustain virtue at a high tempo for all time. It is worldly wisdom to recognise the frailties of human nature.

Furthermore, fierce virtue is a little unattractive and difficult to live with. A little admixture with a few shortcomings will be ever so much more acceptable.

Condemnation of Prohibition policy should not be considered as incitement to or encouragement of the drink habit. Persons discussing this subject must realise clearly the essential difference between the two English terms, "a man having a drink" and "a man drunk".

Is Prohibition a failure or a success? This question is bandied about from mouth to mouth with no answer, just or correct. There is so much emotion, sentiment and fanaticism imported into the discussion that even decent people fail to think clearly.

First of all, are alcoholic drinks necessary? No. They are not, in the sense that food, water and air are necessary to life. But, there is no gainsaying the fact that alcohol adds a little more interest, a little more zest and a little more pleasant colouring to life.

There is another meaningless or fatuous line of argument repeated parrot-like by the protagonists of Prohibition, that alcohol is only a

temporary stimulant and a depression follows thereafter. This is on a par with saying that food is only a temporary alleviator of hunger and so food does no good. In the very nature of things, the action of a stimulant is always of a short duration. In fact, it will be more correct to call alcohol not a stimulant, but a device by which an individual is able to overcome stress and tension for a short time.

The good effects, from the social point of view, of drinks in moderation cannot be denied. The charge that drink increases the incidence of crime is luridly overdrawn. It was the fault of the State in olden days to tax the poor man's drink so heavily as to make an inroad into his income. Having committed this initial blunder, it cannot say that the man spends too much money on drink.

Have crimes come down after Prohibition? Have people more money with them now? Has not the enforcement of Prohibition landed us in enormous expenditure? It was but a small percentage of people that resorted to drink. Is it worth while for the State to incur heavy expenditure just to make it impossible for these few people to get what they want and make them miserable. If a majority amongst those who like a drink and enjoy it, had expressed a desire for Prohibition, then it would have been right. Those who have never partaken of a drink have no right to decide the issue on this matter. Can the vegetarians assembled in a congress enforce prohibition from meat-eating on non-vegetarians?

People who, at every step, talk of our ancient culture must concede that our elders in the past had appreciated the beneficial effects of alcohol within certain limits and had concocted *arishtas* and incorporated them in the Ayurvedic pharmacopoeia.

The smouldering resentment of a few people, that their freedom to enjoy a few innocent things has been unnecessarily and roughly

trampled upon by the majority of fanatics sours their very nature and makes them feel a sense of antagonism to whatever the majority may do. The feeling that mirth and joy, their inalienable right, can be got only by the violation of law engenders a general disregard for all laws, even good ones.

Illicit distillation, which has become rampant, has not helped the class of persons which it was the purpose of the Government to save. They are ruined both financially and physically by having to pay much more for a vicious and unhealthy stuff. They are forced to drink in private, and in private they drink to a greater degree than if they were permitted to do so openly and in company.

It is a far better policy for the State to allow people to indulge in a few harmless things than clamp down on them impossible and repugnant laws so as to drive them to satisfy their cravings in secret. This latter does great harm to the personality of the individual. The individual should feel that the State is not at his tail at every step. Full freedom, even freedom to harm oneself and suffer the consequences, brings about a correct atmosphere of democratic independence.

Why should the State reduce a man who wants a drink to the status of a sick individual by insisting that he can do so only on a medical certificate? Is it not degrading the man to force him thus to tell a lie, which he does not want to, in order to satisfy a need to which he has become accustomed?

While no honest medical man will declare that drink is absolutely essential, are not the Prohibition laws forcing him to tell this lie? Is it not disgraceful for the State to drive men belonging to a learned profession who wish to be honest and live up to the traditions of their noble calling, to dubious practices?

It has been the sad experience of medical men that they are not able to get methylated or rectified spirit for essential professional purposes. They are put to a lot of hardship thereby.

The best becomes the enemy of

the good, while the State is pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of the ideal. We are frittering away our energies in the pursuit of an impossible idea, whilst we could have diverted our energies in more fruitful channels.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

COMMUNAL PROMOTIONS

Sir,—According to a recent report the question of reservations for scheduled castes and tribes in respect of promotions was being examined by the Central Government. We are told that when a similar move was made in 1940 Sir Andrew Clow emphatically rejected the idea saying that it would be a disastrous step affecting the loyalty of the public services. The civil servants are obviously disturbed over this idea.

Both at home and abroad a lot of propaganda is going on that ours is the biggest democracy in Asia and the future of mankind itself hinges upon the success of our big democratic experiment. In reality communalism and linguisticism are showing their fangs and the venom is already deeply injected into the nation's veins. Linguistic fanaticism is often masquerading as patriotism in our politics. Similarly communalism is veiled under the garb of secularism. It is a more potential danger than the open communalism of Pakistan.

The present tendency to amend the Constitution, as if it were a party election manifesto, whenever the judiciary upholds the rights of individual citizens, is not a healthy sign. A noted authority, Dr. Appadorai says that the possibility of an alternative government is an essential pre-requisite to make a State democratic. But we do not have any such alternative. We have no effective opposition party at all. There may be a Communist government at Kerala to-day. But Indians are as a rule against 'Communism' and there is not even a remote chance of a Communist government at the Centre and in many of our States. All citizens are assured of equality of opportunity in a democratic government. In spite of the fact that the whole of India is backward, we have many "reservations" for a number of backward communities. The only 'forward' community is the microscopic minority of Brahmins as per the rules. We do not grudge the so-called 'backward commu-

nities' having school fee concessions, educational facilities and even reservations in jobs. But once they have got their jobs they should know that they are on an equal footing with the rest of the employees. If they still continue to grumble that they are backward and want assured prosperity as a matter of birth-right even overlooking considerations of merit and service, then it appears to be a sin to have been born in any community other than backward. Naturally in a backward country with illiteracy still rampant, backward communities alone are in overwhelming majority. Democracy should adopt a policy of 'give and take' between the majority and the minority communities if at all it has to function smoothly. Otherwise it will lead to tyranny.

Nearly 75 years ago Herbert Spencer asked in his challenging book "Man Versus State": "If men use their liberty in such a way as to surrender their liberty, are they thereafter any the less slaves? If people by a plebiscite elect a man to be a despot over them, do they remain free because the despotism was of their own making?" Left with no alternative government except the much worse totalitarian regime of Communism, we are left with no answer to these questions. We are having only freedom of speech but nothing else. Nobody cares for what the Press says because political authority is never threatened by writings in the Press. Communalism is masquerading under the veil of secularism in our democracy for what worse form of communalism can we find than the present one where birth in a community wrests concessions and privileges which are denied to millions of others on plausible grounds. As long as backwardness is an adequate qualification for not only securing a job but even to get lucrative promotions, merit is relegated to the background and injustice will be the result.

T. V. SUBRAMANIAM.

ANDHRA OPINION ON LANGUAGE ISSUE

Sir,—Addressing the Union Language Convention of Andhra Pradesh, Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya said that there was something political behind the anti-Hindi movement in the South. Indeed, it requires a Pattabhi to tell us today that persons like Rajaji, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and General Cariappa are acting with political motives. It is a pity that, in an attempt to put forward his case for Hindi, he had to offer nothing but a personal attack on Rajaji. At the same Convention, Sri A. Kaleswara Rao made yet another attempt to answer Rajaji. All that he could muster was that Rajaji had once supported Hindi and had now changed his stand. Sri Kaleswara Rao also suggested that Andhra Pradesh is not a Southern State. He would know better when he goes North and finds himself called 'Madrasi'.

On the whole, the Convention tried to convince people that there is no opposition to Hindi in Andhra. It is clear from the resolution passed by the Convention that it hardly represents the public opinion of Andhra. The fact that the opposition to Hindi in Andhra has not yet taken a proper shape is due to the lack of a leader there of the stature of Rajaji who had the wisdom to see the danger and the courage to express it.

Bhilai R. V. M. K. PRASAD

A Photographer's Diary

(Continued from page 5)

wetter or gaudier, and that the thing to do, thereafter, was to seek out those that had not yet been marked with rang.

In Tamilnad the festival is practically unknown. Holi is celebrated right from the foothills of the Himalayas to the Deccan, but not in the far South. However, immigrants from more northern places celebrate Holi in Madras, and to get this picture I had to go to George Town, where the Jain population observed the festival,

taking care to confine their enthusiasm more or less to the communal circle. I got many pictures, some with record value as depictions of modern *pichakar*s, but I tore up the lot, keeping only this one somewhat unsharp picture of a young man on the lookout for prospective victims—observe the predatory look on his face!

I think it significant that red, in many shades, should be the dominating tint of Holi, though brilliant blues and greens are also used on occasion. Somehow, red is the colour of unrestrained impulses, all over the world. It is no coincidence that the phlegmatic Englishman uses the phrase, 'painting the town red' to signify revelry on a major scale—and during Holi that is literally what one does, one paints the town red.

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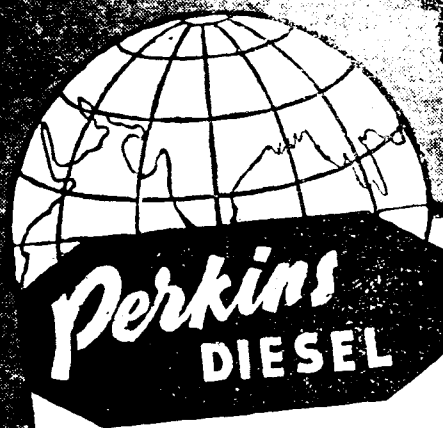
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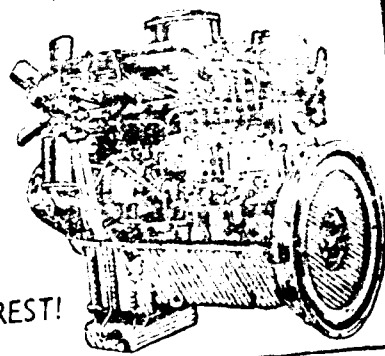
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15 Naye Paise

BACK TO THE INTELLECT

The launching of the Russian Sputnik seems to have completely disturbed the equanimity of the Americans. It is true that the event was greeted with formal welcome and the President of the U.S. Academy of Sciences sent to the President of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. this polished and correctly phrased message:

"On behalf of the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S.A., I wish to congratulate you and your Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., for the great achievement of placing an earth satellite in orbit. This is a brilliant contribution to the furtherance of science for which scientists everywhere will be grateful."

It is also undeniable that the intellectual comprehension from the American side of the uniqueness of the Russian feat has been not only cordial, but also charged with a certain spontaneous admiration. Writing in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Lloyd V. Berkner, Member of President Eisenhower's Scientific Advisory Committee, and President of the International Council of Scientific Unions, says:

"Certainly, the instrumented earth satellite is not a stunt—it is a superlative scientific tool that, in skilled hands, will vastly enlarge man's vision of his environment."

Man, he holds, "can now see the full glory of the whole range of color that the universe provides", realise his dream of inter-planetary travel and even seize "the basic keys" to the origin of life itself."

Yet, combined with all this quite genuine appreciation of the revolutionary scientific value of the Russian exploit, there is a feeling of regret mixed with dread over the advent of a competitor, a dangerous and challenging one, in a field of advanced knowledge in which the Americans had regarded themselves as masters. This feeling is reflected in quite a number of articles written in this same issue of *Foreign Affairs* by some of the highest ranking of American scientific authorities. More interested in the cause of the phenomenon that has so disturbed them than in the phenomenon itself, they have all by independent reasoning arrived at the common conclusion that the present American defeat at Russian hands in the technological race is due to a defect in the American system of education.

Thus Berkner himself says:

"In the complacency of our assumed technological lead, we have confused our high standards of living and material prosperity with intellectual stature. It is an extravagant and dangerous mistake."

Edward Teller, Professor of Physics in the University of California, concerned with planning atomic and hydrogen bombs since 1941, writes:

"At the present time we do not seem to be ahead of the Russians in military technology or in science.... Let us look into this situation more concretely. We have plenty of evidence that Russian children between the ages of 10 and 20 receive a better technical education than do

our own youngsters. These children will be the most active scientists a decade hence."

Most significant of all is the opinion expressed by Robert Oppenheimer, Director of the famous Alamos Scientific Laboratory and of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. He attributes American deterioration to "the relatively low esteem in which learning is held in this country and, above all, to our indifference to the profession of teaching, especially teaching in the schools, a low esteem that is both manifested and caused by the fact that we pay our teachers poorly and our scientists not too well." On the other hand, he observes,

"The Soviet system, by combining formidable and rare incentives for success in science and technology with a massive search for talent and with rigorous and high standards in early education, appears about to attract to scientific work a larger fraction of its population than we shall be doing."

Even America has discovered that more important than even production and military power is a high standard in early education and a massive search for talent. There cannot be even economically worthwhile advancement without effective promotion and conservation of intellectual resources. We in India can profit a lot more by the assimilation of this great truth so ably expounded by eminent American scientists than any of the other conventional forms of foreign aid. It is remarkable that elsewhere in the pages

THE ETHICS BEHIND AMERICAN POLICY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"I, therefore, have been deeply disturbed over what I fear to be the philosophy underlying my country's present international policies". This is what a reflecting young American engaged in post-graduate studies felt compelled to write about U.S. foreign policy in a private letter. It set me thinking.

What is America after fundamentally? She is after security against possible military aggression of the Soviet State. How is this 'security' to be achieved? By being stronger militarily against the enemy. It makes no difference in essence if it is to be achieved through America's own single strength, or through alliances and the consequent combined strength of two or more nations. The aim is to be stronger as a well-knit unit and of a certainty stronger than the enemy and his allies and dependants.

Now, it will be clear even after the most superficial thinking that if America or the West is to be militarily stronger and stronger by so much as to feel 'secure', the other side must necessarily be weaker and insecure against America. Is it the case that the divine right of military security belongs only to one side and not to the enemy? It cannot be so. The other side too, it must be

of this identical issue of *Foreign Affairs*, another writer has profoundly reflected: "For complex reasons largely inherent in the very conditions of economic backwardness, such foreign aid and capital as has been poured into the underdeveloped areas has not accomplished as much as was hoped for, either by the givers or the receivers."

Anti-nuclear Movement

Capt. B. H. Liddel Hart, one of Britain's most eminent experts on war writes in a recent article about the anti-nuclear weapons

conceded, is entitled in justice to the same degree of security. Now if this be granted, how is the riddle to be solved? Can both sides find this 'security' which depends on one being clearly stronger than the other? If one is definitely stronger and therefore secure, the other side must be weaker and therefore insecure. It is therefore as plain as any axiom of mathematics, that this philosophy of 'security' is to be ethically restricted to one side only and not granted to the other party. Otherwise the aim is impossible of achievement. Two parties cannot both achieve the ideal status of security, of each being stronger than the other.

The whole doctrine of security based on superior military strength is a fallacy. Even if it were possible of achievement, it is ethically not permissible. It is out of date in the present world wherein the contending parties are evenly equipped with resources and knowledge and the capacity to arm themselves.

Security cannot come through military strength. If we distrust one another — and that is why we ask for security — there is no escape from this *reductio ad absurdum*.

Security must come therefore otherwise than through sheer military strength. It can come only

movement now spreading in Britain:

In the last few weeks a public campaign against the H-bomb has spread like wildfire. Some of the best-known and most influential writers and thinkers of the age have joined it, and put themselves at the head of it. A large proportion of the younger generation in the Universities have now thrown themselves ardently into the campaign. It has become a primary issue in current Parliamentary elections. Only political and military "ostriches" who prefer to bury their heads in the sand can continue to ignore it.

Having striven to point out the suicidal character of atomic weapons since they were first produced,

through trust. Such risk as is always involved in trust is an inescapable incident in human life, be it individual or national. Military strength though, on the face of it an easier solution cannot solve the riddle of security.

For security without denying the other side the right to equal security, we must depend on what Gandhiji demonstrated, viz. the capacity to resist without military strength. Arming oneself so as to be decidedly stronger than the enemy and to be able to defeat the enemy's aggressive policies cannot hold good as a policy unless we are blind to morality and claim it to be the right of one side only and not of the other.

To be able to deter the enemy by one's power of retaliation, although one may not be able to defend oneself if an attack is made, is the aim of present American policy. But this can hardly be called security. There can be no security through deterrence unless one is sure that the other side agrees to be deterred. It involves complete dependence on the mental attitude of the enemy. It depends on the hope that the policy will never be called upon to prove itself and that the testing time may not arrive!

The craving for securing is the morbid reaction of anxiety. The only remedy for anxiety that is morally permissible is to overcome the habit by developing the counter-habit of trust and courageous thinking, — not to seek to arm oneself up to a degree which is to be denied to the other side.

thirteen years ago, and the fallacy of relying on such weapons as a defence. I am naturally inclined to welcome a general awakening to the danger and the drawbacks of such an "insurance policy". However emotional the anti-Bomb campaign may be, it is basically sound commonsense.

United States Secretary for Defence, Mr. Neil McElroy, was asked at Washington on March 19 whether the United States was not "inspiring a little arms race between India and Pakistan."

The Defence Secretary said that "that may turn out to be the case."



Sotto Voce

Oracular Denigrators

In a land where oracles have always been much sought Bengal has been the home of super-oracles. I came upon the tail-end of an interesting controversy in a Calcutta daily. A gentleman who leapt into fame a few years ago on the strength of a long and provocative autobiography which had been enthusiastically received by the British Press, laid down the law as to the relative influence of the *Kama-Sutras* and the *Artha-Sastra* on the lives of the Indian people. He administered a resounding snub to the lesser light who had had the temerity to suggest that Kautilya had been more pervasive in his influence than Vatsyayana. And the Editor gracefully rang the curtain down with the disarming plea that where two such redoubtable scholars differed a respectful silence best became the mere layman.

Kautilya's *Artha-Sastra* was discovered only about a generation ago, said Mr. Know-All. Whereas the *Kama-Sastra*, one was given to understand, had been the *vade mecum* of everybody from the prince in his palace with his sophisticated dissipations to the yokel who tumbled his doxie in the hay. If he meant that pornography is universal in its appeal and is as old as man I readily agree. But it is sheer perversity to confound the sage who summed up the immemorial teaching on the third *purushartha* with the authors of cheap smut. You might as well treat Plato's *Symposium* as on a par with the titivation for perverts that is sold under the counter.

Vatsyayana is no Kinsey. He is as scientific and objective as Havelock Ellis in dealing with love out of wedlock and pathological excesses. But these are only incidental to his main theme. That is the making of a happy home. The writers of popular manuals

on "How to make marriage a success" could learn a lot from him. But they might be embarrassed by his insistence on *dharma* as the normative force. He was as much concerned as the great *Avatars* themselves to exalt only that *kama* that was not opposed to *dharma*.

By the same token *kama* occupied but a small part of a man's life. For all the delight in *sringara* that one finds in classical Sanskrit literature one cannot fail to notice the refreshing contrast its frank and healthy outlook on love offers to the miasmatic pre-occupation with sex which envelopes the literature of post-renaissance Europe. *Dharma* and *niti* were much more consciously and continuously posed for the thinking man not only at school but throughout life. For one man who had heard of Vatsyayana there were a hundred who had learnt the *Niti-sara* by rote as toddlers at the grand-father's knee.

Kautilya was not the only pebble on the beach. We have the *Raja-dharma* and the *Moksha-dharma* of the Mahabharata, to mention one of the noblest sources of our ethics. It is not unlikely that Kautilya's Machiavellianism (though it has been greatly exaggerated) led to his gradually receding into the background. Kautilya himself repeatedly emphasises that *dharma* should be served. But, as Sri Ramachandra pointed out in the famous *Kaschit Sarga* (let us not bother about the interpolation theory for the nonce) the man, whether king or commoner, who was in love with *dharma* had no use for the bread and butter morality based on a low opinion of human nature that Kautilya enjoined on the ruler as a realist.

I guess that the thesis of Vatsyayana's having had a greater pull with the masses than the *Artha-Sastra* was put forward in the interests of that systematic denigration of the national tradition and mores which our modernists seem to regard as imperative if their own values are to prevail. There was a debate arranged by the A.I.R. the other day on the subject of "Are Indians more spiritual than other races?" From the rather scrappy summary I saw in a newspaper, it appeared that M. Jean Herbert, the distinguished scholar who has published many sympathetic studies on Puranic themes, had the best argument. He was not suffering from the self-consciousness of the apologists of Indian secularism.

The 'Scientist's Charter' which the Government of India have adopted has a significance which was not perhaps suspected by its framers. By equating progress with technological advance they implicitly endorse the Western reasoning that what is incompatible with reason cannot be spirituality. In other words spirituality must be carefully sterilised of any taint of metaphysics. Our philosopher Vice-President speaks of revolution by consent and the need for tolerance. Our philosophical Prime Minister, while judicially conceding the desirability of having both revolution and tolerance if possible, has no doubt whatever that Parliament's first duty is to bring off the revolution. That Parliament could make *dharma* would have seemed rank heresy to both Vatsyayana and Kautilya.

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SIDELIGHTS : . .

Dr. D. R. Gadgil, India's leading economist, has condemned the Planning Commission as "impotent". It has failed, he said, "in almost every aspect of its functions". And in his opinion there is no future for India unless this situation is remedied as soon as possible. I am informed on reliable authority that much the same conclusion was reached by the renowned German economist Dr. Schaacht after his visit to this country some years ago. It is no doubt a sound, theoretical proposition that a planned economy is in every way more desirable than an unplanned one. But the wisdom of this theory has to be balanced by a proper measure of moderation. Otherwise the planners are apt to get intoxicated with the power of planning given to them and imagine that they can do better than Providence and improve on nature by packing into short periods achievements that otherwise would take centuries of time to be reached.

In essence, planning is a variation of the ordinary processes of evolution by applying power to tax the resources of the present for the supposed benefit of the future. Its greatest successes have taken place in the Communist countries for the reason that the checks on executive power characterising democratic governments are there absent; so that, even if the exactions of the ruling authorities on the people happen to be oppressive, they can be enforced without obstruction. Secondly, the assumption of assured continuity over multiple periods of five years, as implied in the five year plans, could be made only in the Communist regimes.

The democratic system gives no guarantee of long-term survival to the ruling party. That is why democratic budgets are framed from year to year and there is no committal of possible successor governments to huge monolithic expenditures with which they may not be in sympathy. It is not

for nothing that the incidence of Indian planning has rushed the country into near-Communist policies. Only thus could the required intensity of power for the rulers be secured. Only thus could their prolonged tenure be strategically achieved. For things could be so managed that there is always an unfinished five year plan in operation and the voters beguiled to return the ruling party once more to office for the saving of the plan.

While the Congress planners have imitated the Communist States from the standpoint of power politics, they have not been as wise in the administrative and efficiency aspects of planning. The Russians have realised that the basic purpose of planning is to make an economic use of material resources so that the means applied could go the longest way towards the desired ends. Almost the first thing they learned was that their planning could not amount to much unless they put their intellectual resources to effective use. The present sensational sweep of Russian advancement in science and technology can be traced to the care they took about education and the relentless search for talent which they worked almost into a sacred principle of State policy. Our planners have completely ignored the role of the intellect in national advancement. Under pretext of encouraging backward communities, a premium has been placed on backwardness, there is an increasing clamour for appropriation of the title backward for the sake of the privileges and preferences conferred, and the suppression of talent flourishes unchecked under holy guises in large areas with the sympathetic support of the State Governments concerned. Is it surprising that our irrigation and other projects cost a vast deal more than the estimated budgets and yield considerably less by way of benefit than the advertisements proclaimed?

The rout of intellectuals has

been proceeding apace under the sort of planning that has been going on, and in ministries, legislatures, educational institutions and the like the predominance of undistinguished people with no credentials of established talent and leadership to mark them out, has assumed an alarming significance. Elections to the Rajya Sabha have degenerated into a cheap device enabling the provincial party bosses to pack into it their own inconspicuous favourites, without any regard for the reasonable qualifications required for legislative status. It is a sad thing for a society, however grandiosely the plans of its government may be proclaimed, when the power and influence of individuals can be exerted only by their getting hold of some all-powerful caucus. The frequent challenges to party leadership in the State legislatures, and the phenomenon of signature campaigns to oust Chief Ministers elected only a little while previously, indicate only lack of attention paid to talent and character in the political, as in so many other spheres. The Congress President is frantic in his appeals for better behaviour on the part of restless Congress legislators. But what can poor Dhebar do? He is himself the nation's outstanding example of elevation to honour and position, not through the force of self-reliant influence but as a result of the favour of a power-wielder.

Indian planning has taken the peculiar form of subsidising the chosen few under cover of advancing the nation's welfare. We read in the papers now that some of our family planners are considering a proposal to make cash grants to parents of three or more children to persuade them to sterilise themselves. It conforms to pattern. SAKA

"Some of our leaders are indeed building up a fine picturesque fiction on their real or pretended faith that Hindi in Devanagiri script will bring our democracy in direct contact with the populace of the whole of India. One may ask 'How?'"

—DR. RADHA BINOD PAL,
the Eminent Jurist of Bengal.

OUR DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

By B. SHIVA RAO

A top-ranking American surgeon said to me a few years ago, "the cost of a modern submarine exceeds the amount spent in a year on cancer research throughout the world." That is a striking way of translating the cost of armaments in terms of social services. I have, since Mr. Nehru's presentation of the 1958-59 budget, thought of an appropriate variant applicable to Indian conditions. We must ask ourselves the question which would we prefer: an aircraft carrier or a cruiser, or a squadron of jet fighters, or free mid-day meals for the many millions of our school children on which Mr. Nehru is keen? It is in these or similar terms that we must consider our rapidly mounting defence expenditure. 252 crores was our estimated bill in 1957-58. Quietly, with hardly a word of explanation, it has risen to 266 crores. Equally quietly, the estimated figure for 1958-59 is 278 crores. I have no doubt in my mind that, with a majority in Parliament in a mood to encourage expenditure on arms and armaments, this estimate will be left far behind when Sri Morarji Desai presents his first budget at the end of February next year.

The British, when they ruled us, had a definite defence policy. The Army in India (British and Indian troops being included in this description) was intended to safeguard India's frontiers in the event of attack and to hold them intact until other parts of the British Empire could rush assistance. The size and disposition of our forces, their equipment and training were all governed by this basic policy, and so was our defence expenditure.

Precisely what our objectives are today in the sphere of defence, I do not know. As a nation we are a loyal member of the United Nations, wedded to the ways of peace. Repeatedly it has been declared in the U.N. and elsewhere that we have no enemies in the world. We are not affiliated to any power bloc, and belong to no

pact. We want to be left undisturbed in our pursuit of social and economic progress. We are anxious to make a significant contribution to the building up of a new world order based on an enduring, positive peace. Against whom, then, and for what purpose are we arming ourselves?

For some years after the end of the second world war, the U.S.A. adopted the principle, in her dealings with the Soviet Union, of "speaking from strength". The obvious superiority of her armed might, it was felt in those years, would enable her to speak from strength. Russia's spectacular successes in recent months with her Sputniks and her intercontinental ballistic missiles have exploded that illusion.

Should we borrow from the U.S.A. the principle she is discarding, of speaking from strength to Pakistan? Can we afford it, even if we want to do so? Are we in a position to compete with Pakistan in an arms race, to maintain our military superiority? I do not believe the U.S.A. had India in mind when she unwisely decided to supply arms to Pakistan. Assuming for the sake of argument that such was her purpose, it would follow that our competition in arms is really not with Pakistan but with the U.S.A.

If this line of reasoning were to be accepted as sound, a defence budget of 278 crores would be pitifully inadequate. It would be madness to compete with the U.S.A. if her serious intention is to build up Pakistan militarily against India.

It has been argued that the U.S.A. supply of arms and equipment to Pakistan has introduced a seriously complicating factor in South Asian affairs and, particularly, in the field of Indo-Pakistan relations. This action on the part of the U.S.A. was a regrettable blunder; but it belongs to the period of American foreign policy dominated by the principle of "speaking from strength." That

period, judging from several indications, seems happily coming to an end. America, it is realised by an increasing number of thoughtful people in that country, cannot function on such a basis.

We must frankly and honestly ask ourselves, if the possession of an aircraft carrier and a few squadrons of jet fighters really adds to our strength. In this age of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles, experts have declared that all existing notions and techniques of warfare are out-moded. The weapons of yesterday are no longer effective. It is a period of dazzling scientific achievements in which we are living. Those who want to cling to weapons and armaments must pay for the luxury of discarding existing ones for later types and of meeting the terrible cost of frequent renovations every few years.

Can we in India, straining every nerve for raising the standards of our people, afford that luxury? The price we are paying is colossal. For 50 crores—if that could be an agreed figure as savings in our defence budget—we could expand our social services and even reduce the present heavy load of taxation on the lower income groups.

The world today is quivering for a jump forward. What will a summit talk accomplish? How far can the Powers that matter agree on disarmament, on the abandonment or even suspension of nuclear tests and on all the other things that produce international tension and conflict? These are the vital questions of today.

If, at this juncture, India could say to the rest of the world that, small as a nation that we are in the military sense, we are prepared to face the risk of even unilateral action, I venture to think that it would create a deep impression. We shall then be speaking from real strength—the strength that flows from a wholehearted and courageous adherence to the principles that we claim as our contribution to a new world free from the haunting fear of war.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: By now it is borne out by facts that it was a double mission on which the veteran Mr. K. V. Ranga Reddi came recently to the Capital: it was to discuss with the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Congress President individually, matters arising out of the law and order situation in Hyderabad and of the Telengana stand in respect of regional demands. The first involved the attitude of the Government towards the new—or renewed—challenge to authority and the second a group point of view inside the Ministry as well as the ruling party, while both centred round the authentic being called Hyderabad who cannot yet be rigidly identified with the Andhra. Mr. Ranga Reddy's mission was an unqualified success. Having closely known and watched the sinister elements at home, Mr. Ranga Reddi could, on his return to Hyderabad, at once take action against those who dared to relapse into Razakarism. And for the rest of it, he has not had to wait long for receiving the chosen representative of the Congress High Command, for a probe into other affairs which concerned him no less. Mr. Morarji Desai, not having been available for this highly specialised work, the Congress President, Mr. Dhebar, has personally undertaken the difficult and delicate mission. Meanwhile, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has shown considerable intrepidity in facing the situation at home and not a little acumen in averting an immediate crisis. Mr. Dhebar will not, however, return to Delhi without satisfying himself that he has given a patient hearing to everyone that mattered, taken complete stock of the intriguing situation and sized up his men—and women—properly against the individual background of each. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy can personally be trusted to do his very best for holding the whole of Andhra Pradesh intact. He will be the last man to let the individual grievances of the Telangana officers be exploited by agencies outside the

Congress which have begun raising their ugly heads or give an easy handle to the rebels in Telangana by fighting shy of reasonable budgetary adjustments. If Andhra's new Finance Minister will be the inevitable Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, one may feel sure that he will manage both men and situations with an adroitness that will exasperate the enemies of the Congress. It is already conceded in Delhi that if the Regional Council works satisfactorily, as it should, there will be no need of any Telangana convention at all. But the major trouble in Andhra seems to be not any united opposition but a hopelessly divided Congress.

Nowhere in India can the Congress afford the luxury groups inside its ranks, with dangers lurking all around, 'from Kashmir to Kanyakumari'. With Abdullah and his men stirring trouble in the Valley, with anti-ministerial forces active in the Punjab, with fissiparousness mounting high in the U.P., with Samyukta Maharashtra protagonists on the prowl in Bombay, with party bickerings in Mysore, with Naicker and his followers biding their time in Tamil Nad, with Razvi's disciples peeping out of their cells in Hyderabad, and with Kerala's Chief Minister openly gloating over the possible realisation of territorial ambitions, not to speak of a hundred and one internal troubles, the Congress is passing through a crisis. The Congress President is a much harassed man who evokes ready sympathy. Failing health, ailing colleagues, party dissidents, electoral set-backs and an all-round decline of the Sarvodaya of his dreams without a corresponding rise of temperature in the Socialist barometer, have all contributed to shatter his complacency. As a President without plenary powers, but with undivided responsibility, called upon to face situations which are not exactly of his own making, he has a thankless job to perform. With

genuine Congressmen in hiding and doubtful ones on the rampage, and with the selection of candidates for elections mostly left in the hands of provincial bosses who are mainly interested in building up an individual following, the High Command has lost its sense of command and ceased to be 'high' while the President is no more than its titular head. It is a pathetic picture that the once puissant Congress presents today.

Disillusionment is writ large on the face of the Capital. There is a reshuffled Cabinet without the remotest hint of rejuvenation. The Central Government, instead of carefully readjusting themselves to post-Mundra realities, are just muddling through, without any sense of awareness. The Lok Sabha in session is in one of its somnolent moods except for an occasional splutter amidst half-vacant benches or berths. The Prime Minister is not in his best spirits. And it is against this background that in the elections to the Delhi Corporation the Congress which contested all the eighty seats, has secured no more than a paltry 31. Of what consolation can it be that it is the largest single party, when the Jan Sangh with its 25 members and the Communist party with its eight men—the PSP and Hindu Mahasabha could annex only one seat each—can upset its applecart at each stage, from the Mayoral election downwards? The Congress party can have its own Mayor and control the Corporation if only it can enter into an agreement with the Independents. But any such agreement implies compromise, even humility. For, not all the Independents are independent of each other—or independent in the real sense of the term. Some of them entered the arena, having rebelled against the Congress and invited on themselves the wrath of the organisation. It is bad politics and worse morals for the Congress to make peace with the very men whom it refused to adopt as candidates for election and has since expelled from the party. The result is that the Delhi Corporation is lost to the Congress. Men in the know

(Continued on Page 15)

A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

PRONOTI

When I was very young, I had no dolls. It never occurred to my father, who was an athletic, outdoor man, that any son of his could care for a doll. My father, I remember, had a spirited Arab horse that he could use for a wild, early-morning gallop, before setting out on the 20-mile official circuit on his staid old waler. No wonder he bought me no doll.

But I had everything else. I had picture books and crayons, and later a tricycle, and by the time I was seven I had a jack-knife and a catapult, and was frequently given mechanical toys which I had not the slightest difficulty in taking to pieces. And more than all that I had a father who, in spite of his work and his worries always had the time to take me out and tell me what he knew about the birds and beasts we saw, and who was always ready to give me a pick-a-back lift if my legs felt tired, without ever once betraying the disgraceful secret to the rest of the family. Naturally I looked down on my contemporaries and their silly little dolls.

You know how these things run in families. When, in due course, I had a son, I took him out and told him what I knew of the creatures we saw, and gave him pick-a-back rides when his legs felt tired, but never a doll. In fact, we have never had a doll in my house till two years ago, when a friend passing through Madras on his way to Travancore from distant Calcutta, brought me three.

However, he did not call them dolls—he had seen them at an exhibition of Bengali cottage arts, and purchased them impulsively for me. I felt touched to the core, for he was on his way to Travancore to see his father, who was very ill, and still he had remembered me and thought I might care for two primitive, proud-necked stallions of blue, baked



clay, and the figure of a dancer made up of sections of brightly painted papier-mache cunningly fitted on wire, that swayed and swivelled at every joint with the slightest touch of the wind.

I fell in love with those noble horses at first sight. I put them in my room, where their unbridled power could revive me when I felt tired or stale. But the figure of the dancing woman—I felt she had no place in my den. Her head moved snakily sideways on her neck with the merest hint of a breeze, in grotesque, sly parody of Bharata Natya—and the way she swayed at the waist and jerked her arms in co-ordinated outflung gestures, and even spun right round on her slim ankles when someone was careless and touched her!

You know the kind of papier-mache dancer I mean, there are any number of them made in the South, but these are crude imitations. My friend assured me that it was in a village near Calcutta that this dancer had her origin, and that only there did they understand the finer points of her equipose and mobile wire-joints

—and watching Pronoti responding to imperceptible air currents, I knew he spoke the truth. After due deliberation, we decided to call her 'Pronoti'; my son, who is a botanist and has a passion for exactitude in names, felt there could be no other name for her, and the rest of us agreed. 'Pronoti', with both the 'o's long as in 'note' and the merest touch of stress on the second 'o'—obviously that was the name for her.

We put Pronoti in the hall, on the window-sill, hopefully. But in the built up area where I live, it is rarely that any waft of air comes in through the windows, and for hours on end this abandoned dancer remained statue-sque. Then, one day, I noticed something really queer and astonishing about Pronoti. It was not necessary to have a current of air coming in to set her going: a wordy argument was enough.

That day an intellectual called on me. I dread all intellectuals—especially the sort that specialises in subtle distinctions and splitting hairs—any day I would rather be visited with a headache than an intellectual. No intellectual person

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

ever calls on one to pass the time of day, or give one the news, or out of any fellow feeling—there is only one object behind the visit, to drag one into an argument and then prove one in the wrong. This man was talking arrant nonsense, but talking it cleverly, pouncing on literal interpretations of each careless word I used, ignoring the quiddity of the matter while spinning a nebulous web of words all around it, enmeshing me in that tenuous net, talking tirelessly and tiresomely, talking with a sharp zest for empty phrases, talking all the time, till I wished I had no obligations of hospitality and could get up and hit him on the point of his nimble jaw. It was then that I noticed Pronoti. I could swear the air in that hall was as still as some ancient rock, but Pronoti's head was moving snakily sideways on her neck as this man talked on and on, she swayed at the waist in perfect accord with the ponderous periods he was rolling out, and her outflung arms moved in gestures that were so subtly but still so adequately expressive of ridicule. O perfect response to intellectual verbiage, o ultimate comment on intellectuals! I did not listen to that man thereafter. I just watched Pronoti and chortled deeply, within myself. And in a few minutes he left, very much in a huff, but no less in discomfiture.

I know this sounds incredible, but I also know it is true. Time and again I have been sustained by Pronoti's reactions to poets and politicians, recondite pundits and superior, arty people, in my hall, and I know that her discernment of conceit and verbiage is unfailing, her response to vacuous intellectual patter unapproachable in its mockery. And I can tell you—but perhaps I should stop right here. I am typing this in my hall, and I note that although there is no stir of air inside or out, although the leaves of the henna bush beyond the window are still as leaves in a carved frieze, Pronoti's head is swaying slightly but wickedly on her neck and her arms have moved jerkily forward in unison.

Bombay: Music is perhaps the second costliest item in film-production. On an average, with a good music director, the cost of music varies from a lakh and half of rupees to two lakhs of rupees. Half the amount is claimed by the music director himself; and the balance is divided among playback singers and musicians. The average cost of musicians works out to about Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 per song. The musicians are highly skilled; they need hardly any rehearsals; like the playback singers they can get ready just a few hours before the actual recording. And the music directors, being so busy, prefer such expert musicians, especially when the producers have to bear their cost.

Formerly, every studio used to have its own music staff; today, no studio maintains such staff. The music directors decide the choice of musicians and even poets. But this seems to have gone beyond the limit. Apparently the new demands made by the Cine Musicians Association have exasperated the producers who have announced their decision to engage new musicians.

As a result of this conflict between the C.M.A. and the producers, at the moment, song recording has almost come to a standstill. And unless the C.M.A. and the producers come to terms or the producers are able to find new musicians, it appears that no film songs will be recorded in the near future and the music directors will have an enforced holiday. Meanwhile, the work of production is being considerably upset and as a result there will be delay in the production schedule of most of the pictures.

The Cine Musicians Association had alleged certain 'malpractices' and demanded revision of wages and periods of work. The IMPPA rejected the demands and after fruitless negotiations issued a directive to its members to boycott the members of the C.M.A. and engage musicians who either repudiated membership of the C.M.A. or were outsiders. This

challenge of 'boycott' has been accepted by the musicians. As a result no recording is reported to have taken place since 19th March. The IMPPA claims that the leading music directors are with the producers in this controversy. If the music directors are prepared to work with new musicians, the boycott will be effective. In any case, the outcome of this dispute will be worth watching.

Somehow, dubbed pictures never appeal; they are not even half as interesting as the original. That is the impression one got after seeing R. R. Productions' 'Piya Milan', in which even Vyjayantimala's voice has been dubbed. The dubbing is technically not bad; but the flat and monotonous tone in which the characters speak their long-winded dialogue make the proceedings lifeless and dull. Especially the so-called emotional passages are most jarring and Vyjayantimala as an artist suffers most in the process. Even the comedy loses its sting in dubbing.

The story in 'Piya Milan' follows the age-old pattern of adventure-dramas. It is the story of a princess whose beauty creates all the trouble. The princess's father is kidnapped and tortured while the Senapati, who has sold his country to the neighbouring king, assumes power. The hero, real claimant for the princess's hand, pretends to be a crazy buffoon on the one hand and a mysterious warrior on the other. With the usual twists and turns, the picture proceeds to its inevitable climax when the hero rescues the princess and her father and incites the people to dethrone the Senapati and restore the real king to power.

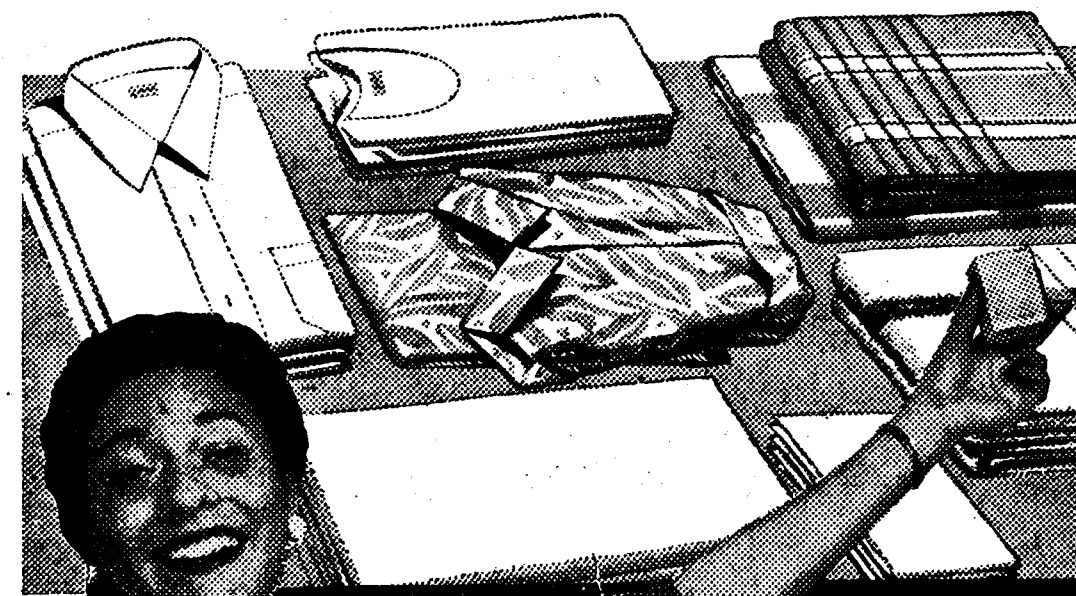
The only interesting part of the picture is the 'electric' sword fighting in the concluding reels. Indeed, the picture is interesting only when there is no dialogue. The action, though incredible in many ways, appears to be more plausible than the spoken word.

Lavishly mounted, the picture reveals no sense or logic in the choice of costumes, sets and decor. It is all hybrid; the music, however, is mostly free from foreign influence, though the score is undistinguished. Even the dances, barring the initial number by Vyjayantimala, are colourless. Direction is generally crude and

so is the acting, which is stagey and theatrical. In fact, the picture has no pretence to art in any sense. But even as a mass entertainer, it appears to be slow and lacking in gripping drama. Even the stunts are hilarious and lack thrills; and the attractive title has no bearing on the film, which has not a single good romantic scene.

The Indian Documentary Film Festival has been held by now in Bombay and Delhi, and it will be soon held in Calcutta and Madras as well. The very fact that Dr. Keskar inaugurated the festival in Delhi indicated that the independent documentary producers were not rivals of the Films Division. Rather, the Films Division is the

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March 29, 1958

greatest 'buyer' of the independent producers' documentary shorts. Here is an example of the 'public' sector and the private sector working in harmony. It is a pity, however, that no Films Division short was shown at the festival. In his speech Paul Zils, the President of the Indian Documentary Producers Association in Bombay promised to incorporate the Films Division product next year.

The success of the Festival is the success of I. D. P. A. and as its head Paul Zils deserves all credit for it. Among the films shown at the festival, Paul Zils' 'Martial Dances of Malabar' and the award-winning 'Village in Travancore' created a very good impression though the best short was undoubtedly 'Panch Thupi' produced and directed by Hari Dasgupta. Significantly both these shorts were produced for Burmah-Shell. Another short 'One Thousand Hands' narrated in one reel the theme of 'Naya Daur' in a more rational and progressive manner. But the advertisement shorts revealed the documentary film at its worst; and Paul Zils and others, I think, made a great mistake by incorporating them in the festival.

Paul Zils, a German, who has adopted Indian nationality, tried his hand at production of feature films and made 'Our India' and 'Balzala'. Both the pictures did not do well. Paul Zils, who has travelled widely and learnt the art in Germany and Hollywood has at last found in documentary films real scope for his talent. And by now he has made a number of advertising films and documentaries, sponsored by commercial concerns like Burmah-Shell. Under his leadership, one hopes that I.D.P.A. and Films Division will earn each other's goodwill and that they will work in harmony free from the usual conflicts between the private and the public sectors.

Kishore and Mala Sinha will be co-starred in C. V. K. Shastri's maiden production which Ramesh is directing. Kishore and Waheeda Rehman will play the lead in Mohan Saigal's next picture 'Apna Haath, Jagannath'.

SWARAJYA

THE CHAGLA COMMISSION INQUIRY

By D. V. GUNDAPPA

The Chagla Inquiry is of value as having brought a cross-section of the administrative organization under the microscope. The impression left on the mind is one of habitual slackness at all levels in it. No official seems to have cultivated the habit of taking an austere view of his responsibilities. Some officials were more trustful than they need have been. Others were ready to be trusted without conditions. Some were glad to shift the burden to others. Some were nonchalant. Some let bravado do duty for inspectorial strictness. Not one of them made it his concern to stand up to answer when questioned. Everybody turned to somebody else for the crucial duty of "being careful" and "looking into the matter." This is not observing the Constitution.

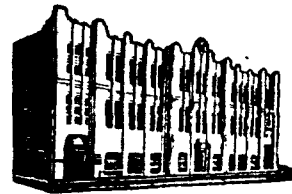
Using words without being conscious of their deeper meanings is a habit as much to be deprecated among public servants as among others. It is a weakness, to correct which Socrates gave his life. The charge against our Brahmin priesthood is that they utter mantras to whose significance their minds are not opened. Are our rulers in a similar case? Phrases like "Constitution", "Democracy", "Parliament" and "Responsibility" have been used in the context of the Chagla Inquiry proceedings. Let us consider their implications.

It is the first principle of responsible government that, for each act or activity of the State, whether a big one or a small one, there should be some definite officer available to the public as the bearer of responsibility. "Responsibility" in politics means "liability to punishment." There should be no transaction or proceeding of the Government or of any of its ancillary or auxiliary institutions for which somebody cannot be found definitely to answer questions put on behalf of the public. And when there is under the Constitution such a

body fixed, it is pointless, so far as the citizen is concerned, to draw a distinction between that body's "personal" responsibility and "constitutional" responsibility. "Personally", he may be an utterly blameless and highly worthy individual. But that can be no consolation to the State and the public if he is found to have failed in the duties of his constitutionally held office.

It is for the fixing of responsibility that the Constitution defines powers and functions. Every officer of the State, from King or President to the humblest police constable or village talwar, derives his authority, not from any person and not from any official superior, but from law and in accordance with rules made thereunder. The Constitution assigns responsibilities in general terms, and laws and rules define the location of responsibility in detail. It is thus that each functionary of the State, of every grade and every category, is enabled to perform his share in the collective tasks of the community; and it follows from this that every functionary should regard himself primarily as the servant of law and only incidentally as the subordinate of his official superior. In other words, when the directions of the official superior are contrary to the indications of law or the Constitution, or are dubious or ambiguous, it becomes the duty of the subordinate to make it clear to the superior that both should draw guidance from laws and rules and approved precedents. Each has his particular duty and an official superior cannot abolish the responsibility fixed by law on his subordinate. The subordinate, therefore, should know how to avoid the superior's interference. If that course involves the risk of the disfavour of the superior and damage to his prospects of promotion, the conscientious subordinate official would rather submit himself to such risks than play false both to his own conscience and to the law of the realm.

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The spirit of the Constitution being that each employee of the State should stick to his station and its allotted functions, it should be the constant care of the men at the highest level in Government to see to it that no room or occasion arises which is likely to put any holder of a public office in a position of conflict or embarrassment. A Minister should therefore be clear and precise in conveying his instructions. Vagueness becomes a vice as grave as deliberate prevarication.

Another consideration implicit in constitutionalism is that the functionary distributing the business of Government under the Constitution — President on the advice of Prime Minister, Art. 77(3) — should pay due regard to limitations of capacity and quality in Ministers in relation to the duties of their office. To burden a Minister with too much, or to allow him to assume too much, would clearly be to reduce the chances of his efficiency in relation to some at least of his functions.

Keeping these principles clearly in view, let us review the important nodal points of the Chagla Report.

The safety of the L.I.C. and the disposition of its funds were clearly a responsibility of the Finance Minister. If, in regard to that or any connected matter, he received instructions or even hints from the Prime Minister, and if such instructions or hints did not commend themselves to the Finance Minister, the proper course for the latter is (i) either to explain his position and persuade the Prime Minister to his point of view; or (ii) to accept change of view according to conscience; or (iii) to offer to resign office if an amicable understanding between the two seemed hopeless to be achieved.

Next, when the Finance Minister was approached for a final decision by his Secretary, it was imperative that the Minister should "apply his mind" (as lawyers say) to the question on hand and record his decision in language as exact as possible. To leave the question to the discretion of the Secretary, — even

though with words of caution added, — is for the Minister to act in his own discretion. And that is to accept responsibility. In the case before us, the Finance Minister used his discretion wrongly. It could even be said "negligently". No one has ever suspected, much less accused, T.T.K. of having had any personal interest or private motive in the Mundhra deals. But acting selfishly is not the only kind of wrong that there is to reckon with. There are other forms of wrong. When a motor car has run over a child, it will not be sufficient for the driver to plead that he had no ill-will against the child and its relatives or that he had nothing to gain by killing. He might have been rash and negligent; and that is culpable too.

It may well be conceded that the Finance Minister is burdened with too much work and worry, and that it is humanly impossible for any one to hold charge of so large and complicated a portfolio without delegating some powers to a Secretary or an assistant. The remedy then is to bifurcate the responsibilities of the Ministry and create an additional Ministry. This is entirely a question of devising the mechanism of administration, and there is nothing unusual or impracticable in it. From the avidity for work shown by T. T. K. in relation to the Iron and Steel portfolio, one inferred that he considered the added responsibilities of the L.I.C. as not too much for his prodigious capacity. With any one nearer to the norm in ability, as Finance Minister, the portfolio of L.I.C. and Industrial and Commercial Finance would have had to be placed in the hands of another Minister. The worries of pure Public Finance pertaining to transactions of the Union Government, — both those made on its own behalf and those made with the States, — should be sufficient for any ordinary pair of shoulders. In letting the Finance Minister take up so much, the Prime Minister must be held to have overlooked the limits of work and responsibility entrustable to one person, however gifted and zealous he be.

Then there is the question of making, because the Secretary is the professional and the Minister the amateur in administration. This responsibility of the Secretary arises under three heads: (i) furnishing information, (ii) pointing out relevant considerations, and (iii) arranging for the implementation of the Minister's final decisions. The first two are essential, and the second indeed vital. The Secretary is an officer of long experience and knowledge of the past working of the department and its allies. From intelligence so garnered, he would be able to point out where a proposed policy may go wrong or prove unworkable. He would be able to forecast possible reactions

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...



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of the public and the likely difficulties of practical administration. He may be able to suggest modifications and alternatives. Such doubts and apprehensions and such ideas as to means for achieving the Minister's object, it should be his duty to place before the Minister; and in order that he might do so in freedom and without fear, the Minister should show himself to be appreciative of criticism and warning. The relations between a Minister and his Secretary must necessarily be a matter of delicate personal equation; and where such adjustment is found to be difficult, it would be fair for both that the Secretary seeks a transfer to some other office. As for the Minister, he deprives himself of a source of light and strength when he discourages frankness and fullness of utterance in his Secretary. If there had grown a tradition of faithful outspokenness in the secretarial offices of the Government of India, it is impossible that so many half-baked schemes could have emerged into the field of public operation. A strong and conscientious secretariat is the only antidote conceivable to the haste and imbalance which democratic passions introduce into ministerial psychology. The entire question of the functional status and expressional freedom of the civil servant in the new polity awaits scientific study.

It may not be unreasonable for one to suppose that what has happened in the Finance Ministry may as well be happening in other departments of the administration. That indeed is the general public complaint everywhere. We hear too much of policies and ideals and see too little of practical performance. Notes, memoranda, press conferences, seminars and other paraphernalia of propaganda are issuing in a ceaseless flood. But they would have been regarded with some seriousness if the scenes of executive action had something to show in corroboration. The fool's idealism is the rogue's realism. The first creates opportunities for the second to exploit. The treasury is emptied to the benefit of the private pocket. The remedy clearly is in the institution of a system of businesslike procedures and rigorous audits. What is lacking today is not formulation of principles, but purification of practices. It is high time our Prime Minister turned from poetry to prose,—from the ethereal to the earthly.

This process involves a recognition of the limits to the capacity of a Government. In the very nature of things, it is not possible for a government, for even a government of prodigies, to do all the things that need doing. A government that omits to take measure of its capacity and takes on more than its back can bear must break down at a good many points in its course. As there are limits to the capacity of the individual, there are very strict limits to the capacity of the State as well. And this is an aspect of the truth which Socialistic dreamers are apt to lose sight of. Their benevolence is unbounded as it is undoubtedly sincere. But intentions are disembodied ghosts if they are not accommodated in suitable physical forms, the police and the magistracy being among them.

The capacity of a government to achieve new progress cannot possibly be very much in excess of the capacity of its predecessors. A government's capacity is roughly the sum-total of the skills and talents available in its employees and the intelligence and public spirit of the general body of citizens. Both these elements are conditioned by the kind of social experience they have had and the kind of education they have received. In brief, the material with which the government has to work is a product of history. And your programme should be adapted to the idiosyncrasies of that material. Any programme drawn in imitation of a foreign country and without the closest possible reference to the social and educational conditions in your own is doomed to disaster.

We thus come from the particular to the general. The L.I.C. breakdown is merely a sample of what may be expected in other fields if the nation's programmes are not modified and brought down to the existing level of the country's intelligence and ability and will. Money and machinery we could beg or borrow, but not

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dr. PATTABHI'S TACTICS

Sir,—The agitation against the imposition of Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking people should not go on. Why? Because it would irritate the high-ups in the Congress. Probably that was the logic pursued by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in denouncing the agitation for the retention of English. What surprises one most is the adoption by him of tactics bereft of decency, decorum and common courtesy, imputing motives to Rajaji.

History will record the sacred services of Rajaji in letters of gold and his name will be enshrined in the hearts of future generations.

Berhampur. D. V. S. RAMA RAO

TIMELY WARNING

Sir,—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has imputed motives to Rajaji for his unequivocal stand against Hindi. Dr. Pattabhi is a historian and historians are wise after the event. Time and again Rajaji with his uncanny power of analysis and

technical talent and disciplined psychology. The latter the country has to develop from within. And that means time and graduality in our aiming. Meanwhile, we must moderate our planning ambitions. Let our morsel be suited to our jaw.

Next to a modification of our programmes is the re-adapting of the machinery of administration. It should be partly repaired and partly re-built, so that there can be no more wobbling of wheels and loosening of screws. The methods of recruitment to the services and the agencies of inspection and the principles of promotion should be re-defined. The very vastness of the area to be covered by the administration presents a problem. It will not be too much if the Union Centre and the States were each to set up a separate Ministry to make itself responsible for the enforcement of proper procedures and the auditing of administrative efficiency in government offices.

his prophetic insight has proved to be the only statesman in India to be wise before the event. If only his Pakistan formula had been accepted in time, the later tragic events would have been averted.

The Congress with its steam roller majority may make Hindi the official language and have English replaced on the silly pretext that it is a foreign language. Thanks to Rajaji the warning has been given with foresight that the displacement of English may well lead to the disintegration of India. The unity of India is more important than language and it is to be hoped that the protagonists of Hindi like Dr. Pattabhi will heed the timely warning of Rajaji (who has no axe to grind) and take a cue from the past history of India and see that the future unfolding of events will not take an ugly turn leading again to the ultimate vivisection of India.

Bangalore A. RAJEEVA SHETTY

A TREASURE TO MILLIONS

Sir,—Your terse comments on Rajaji's critics, every reader of SWARAJYA would approve. Let every critic, great or small, just consider one factual matter, how in the past Rajaji's eagle vision had pierced into the dark future with unerring precision on many and momentous issues. Do we require a "South Carolina accident" even on this, before we change our ways?

English is my treasure, my possession, now as I write. Certainly it is more of an individual treasure to hundreds of millions all over the world than poor Hindi is. Casting away English could never be a beautiful expression of love of Hindi.

Palni

DEVI DASA

Capital Comments

(Continued from Page 6)

freely say that this is all because of bad selection of candidates and of the growing tendency in the party for each local Pym and

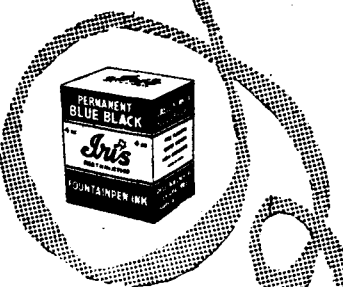
Hampden to work for his own ends, without any regard for party cohesion. It is all such a sorry mess. Today the prestige of the Congress is part of Delhi's historic ruins.

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DEMOCRACY AND COLD WAR

The Prime Minister is not happy with the Hindi project. He really does not wish English to be displaced, for his is essentially a modern mind. But he is unable to withstand the tremendous pressure of the Hindi protagonists and he is forced to yield and so he takes cover behind vague phrases of 'flexibility', 'patience', 'peaceful approach' and the like. He is irritated by the vigorous campaign for reason and justice and civilization. The tempo of his irritation rises in direct proportion to his incapacity to answer. The more trenchant Rajaji's arguments, the hotter are the P.M.'s temperamental reactions. This is most unfortunate. As Rajaji pointed out justly the other day at the meeting held under the auspices of the Catholic Centre, democracy is a continuing process of criticism, opposition and debate, not a hot war once in five years to be closed with the results of the general elections, criticism not only in Parliament but in the press and on the platform. Indeed what the Prime Minister wrongly described as cold war is the very essence of democracy. Those who desire to govern under democracy must be able to put up with that cold war and command an equable temper. It is not consistent with democratic philosophy to demand a free run of one party government until the next elections. That would be a fatal blow to democracy. As Rajaji truly remarked suppression of expression of opinion leads finally to suppression of opinion itself. This is exactly

what is going on and is good cause for anxiety for the future. There was far more vigorous political thought and activity when the British were on the saddle than there is today either on the ministerial benches or elsewhere. Loyalty to the victors in the non-co-operation struggle has produced a tameness that is incompatible with healthy democratic political life. We were not afraid of British prisons and rifles. But we now tremble at the unreliable temper of our beloved P.M.

A pro-Hindi gentleman who writes from Bilaspur and who does not sign his name says that the support of English newspapers for Rajaji's plea for the maintenance of English in the Union administration issues out of vested interest. Instead of seeing the importance and utility of English demonstrated by the large part played by the English newspapers and journals in India, he finds an immoral motive for their opinion. As if the cry of the Hindi-speaking communities for Hindi being made the Union official medium is not a cry issuing from vested interest! The only worthwhile comment and criticism on all-India affairs is in English and in the newspapers and journals run in that language. The bazaars may treat Hindi as more important than English with justification. But any one with genuine interest in the administration or the politics of all-India cannot but concede the importance of English. Hindi will be truly an iron curtain for the greater part of India

and create a condition of affairs in the Central Government's offices which would be intolerable in democracy.

Unilateral Action

Russia's decision to stop nuclear tests vindicates the plea for unilateral action as the only way of ending the cold war between the two power blocs, which Rajaji has been expounding, first to one side and then the other, from the very day almost when the race in nuclear weapons started. Writing in SWARAJYA on December 14, '57 Rajaji said :

"The only strategy that will serve us in the battle to end the cold war is unilateral action. 'I shall not disbelieve or believe the other side. I believe in the law of human nature and I shall act myself without asking what the other fellow will do'. This is unilateral action. It needs courage. It needs must be undertaken always by the stronger party. I once thought America was stronger and appealed to them. I appeal now to Russia to take the unilateral step and earn a victory more glorious than what the Sputniks have brought her."

It may be construed that the authentic voice of civilization spoke through these words of Rajaji. In hearkening to their wise counsel at least now though not at once Russia has stolen march over the United States i

the moral and cultural leadership of the world. The compulsive results of this event will be promptly seen, it is to be hoped, in a competitive urge from the West to emulate the Russian example. The world will be all the better for such competition. It is only in the sphere of preparation for mutual destruction that competition is disastrous. The range and sweep of its beneficence will be unlimited when it is turned to peaceful and constructive purposes.

"BENEFITS OF TEST EXPLOSIONS"

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

American atomic chief, Dr. Willard Libby has listed the benefits of nuclear test explosions. This is, I suppose, believed to be a timely answer to the threatened unilateral action of Russia. The six benefits are a mix-up of all sorts of things that have nothing to do with the tests for military purposes. The one thing claimed for the military test explosions that is relevant is that the process of world poisoning may lead to the manufacture of milder nuclear weapons — what are called "clean", which are by no means clean in the dhoby sense. The argument would be equivalent to a cobra's plea that it intends to bite people in order to discover for mankind a curable

clean bite. The poisoning now going on by the tests is according to the best scientific expert opinion daily increasing in volume, a very serious affair for generations to come. The plea that it may lead to the development of tactical 'clean' weapons for the advantage of military policy is totally inadmissible, if, as must be admitted, in the process of hunting for 'clean' weapons, mankind is poisoned most effectively. What is the need for either "clean" or unclean weapons except to satisfy the unsatisfiable desire of America to be safe and secure against Russia through nuclear armament?

We can follow Dr. Libby and list the benefits to mankind arising even out of common

murder. For instance, it reduces the acute population problem. It acts better and more quickly by way of punishing a wrong-doer than resort to courts. It keeps up the very essential art of killing which is necessary for national defence and so on. All this is absurd. It is no answer to the case against nuclear test explosions. It is just propaganda by boosting irrelevant facts.

It is said that nuclear explosions can make mining easier. It is hoped that mines made radio-active will attract miners enough for mine-owners to reap the advantage of nuclear blasting. When we have set our minds on something we can produce a hundred reasons to confuse simple folk.

"REVOLT"

"We shall revolt if English be not discontinued" fulminates a Hindi poet in Bihar. Revolt against whom? Revolt against the South or revolt against Delhi or revolt generally against peace and order?

It may be good to use strong language of this type as regards the official business of Bihar State. But it is not good if spoken about the Union administration. Revolt is an easy word to utter. It is however a dangerous slogan. The people in the South have been often urged to separate by a group of unthinking men, and here is a thoughtless plan to give cause for just resentment and ideas of revolt. "No Sanskrit" shouts Dr. Lohia. "We want Hindi the language of the masses".

It is quite a good cry about the State official language of Bihar or U.P. But what does Dr. Lohia mean by suggesting that in the Union of India Hindi is the language of the "masses"? Those who speak some form of Hindi do not form the masses in all the States of India. There are large areas — indeed forming the larger part of India — wherein people do not speak Hindi; and for the people of the South this slogan of the language of the people raised on behalf of Hindi is a mockery and a lie, and Dr. Lohia knows this.

Poet Dinakar censures me for having said that Jawaharlal Nehru is "our only friend in the North" and says it grieves them that I ignore the affection

of all the numerous people in North India who love me. The context in which I referred to Sri Nehru in these terms must be remembered. I do not ignore the existence or the affection of others. I referred to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, his awareness to the injustice to the South that Hindi at the top involves, and his undoubted and well-established recognition of the importance of English in the context of modern politics and modern knowledge. Indeed I am concerned because of the unjust and thoughtless pressure put on him to take the wrong course in the name of unreal unity and cheap prejudice simulating patriotism.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

7th 5, 1958

SWARAJYA



Sotto Voce

Something for Everybody

In the Supreme Court's judgment on the Working Journalists Act there is something for everybody. But, if one may say so in all humility, there is no integrated thinking. Judges have to construe the law strictly. And they find this the safest course to adopt when dealing with matters of which, as individuals, they cannot be expected to have more knowledge than other laymen. With regard to most of the ground put forward by the petitioning employers, their lordships have inevitably contented themselves with asking whether there was any specific provision in the Working Journalists Act which prohibited the Wage Board from doing the things complained of. If there was no express prohibition, then the Board must be presumed to have the power it exercised. But the Act itself is a thing of shreds and patches. It may be good law, but it leaves the profession all in the air.

Take the question of capacity to pay. Their lordships have very properly held that this has not been taken into consideration and this is a fundamental defect that vitiates the Board's decisions regarding salary scales. The extracts from the judgment that have appeared in the papers may be misleadingly incomplete, but it seems to me that the obligation to consider the capacity to pay is not as definite and explicit in the Government's terms of reference to the Board as their lordships have satisfied themselves it is. However that may be, the point I would emphasise is that the importance the Court attaches to the capacity to pay seems to derive not from any feeling that equity and natural justice require it but from the rather legalistic view that the terms of reference to the Board entailed this obligation.

From this their lordships logi-

cally go on to point out that if the Wage Board had given its final award after ascertaining the views of both sides on a set of tentative proposals which it could have formulated the Court might have found it difficult to question the Board's decision. For the Board, by following this procedure, would have discharged the obligation "to consider the capacity to pay". But the mere adoption of this procedure might not have made any difference from the point of view of equity or justice if the Board had in fact set about the business from the beginning with a closed mind. The procedure would then have been a mere empty formality. And it still might be that, if the Government should merely set up another Wage Board with terms of reference amended to meet the Court's specific objection.

Their lordships have justly dismissed as "a pious hope" the hope expressed by the Chairman of the Board that "no newspaper would be forced to close down as a result of the decision," but if there was a good paper and it deserved to exist the Government and the public would help it to continue". Another eminent judge, who presided over the Press Commission, took a more philosophical view of the matter. "If there are newspapers that are unable to pay the minimum wages, let them close down", he said. And the champions of the working journalists gaily echoed "Ay, let them." No doubt they all felt that it would be somebody else's funeral.

Their lordships are sceptical as to the trustworthiness of newspaper balance-sheets, with some justification. There are aspiring Mundhras in the newspaper world. But they will not be checked by the rule of thumb precautions. The dictum that if an employer owns

a number of papers in different centres, some flourishing, others not, it is only fair that he should pay the same rates to all the staffs, may unjustly penalise the employees of a successful paper. For they may have substantially helped to build up its success. It may also be hard on the employer who buys a paper that has seen better days from an honest desire to set it on its feet again. And it might damage the public interest too, in case there is no other paper in the area.

Good umpiring presupposes knowledge of the rules of the game. Neither wage boards nor industrial tribunals of the conventional pattern can effectively compose disputes in an industry which is distinguished from others by having super-imposed on it the traditions of a profession and the obligations of a public service. That was why the constitution of machinery analogous to the British Whitley Councils was urged by the working journalists who had given sustained attention to these matters. The Journalists Act may or may not be *ultra vires* of our Constitution with its truncated fundamental rights. But I must respectfully differ from their lordships when they hold that the danger to the freedom of the Press from such legislation is remote. The danger is very real. For the Act has taken its view of the rights and obligations of the Press from the parasitical journalism that gravitates round the Delhi coffee-houses. This journalism has a creed of just three articles — that lobbying is the supreme political virtue, that newspapers are run for morons, and that the Press is a subordinate branch of the administration.

VIGNESWARA



SIDELIGHTS ::

At a meeting in Bombay the other day Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan said that the working of the party system and parliamentary democracy had not proved satisfactory during the first ten years of national independence. The party system and parliamentary democracy are perhaps as little to blame for this as national independence itself. His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya observed in a discourse this week that he was told that at a school function sometime ago, Prime Minister Nehru asked everybody to sit when a prayer was being sung but called upon all to stand up, "as they naturally ought to", when the National Anthem was sung. Maybe this allusion to the elevation of the secular over the religious highlights in a way the primordial source of all the evils that have crept into free India.

It is the basic virtue of true religion that it gives people a standard of thinking and acting not subject to falsifying propaganda. The most valuable attribute in the conception of God is an undeceivable, all-knowing omniscience. There is ever a difference between the impulsions of popularity with the market-place as its central shrine and the exactions of rectitude within the confines of conscience to which no casuist from outside has entrance. The unsatisfactoriness of our present parliamentary democracy to which Sri Jaya Prakash refers is due to the worship of the ballot-box ousting the supremacy of individual conscience, that has become habitual to the leaders to whom has fallen the function of shaping it.

Everybody knows that taking advantage of their power and office Congress Ministers collect vast sums from rich persons looking up to them for administrative favours and use these funds liberally to influence voters in the elections. It is also no secret that in selecting candidates for the legislatures, the bosses of the ruling party do not act in the public inter-

est—they overlook talented men of high character and established record in favour of weak men of no consequence whom they can easily manage. The bosses are in fact afraid of merit and see in it a source of possible danger to the future stability of their own rule. The State legislatures have thus come to be manned by inferior intellects and undesirable time-servers. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the State legislators themselves have to elect members to the Central Parliament, the question of competence is often the last thing considered. How much has a Rajya Sabha seat cost this or that contestant? What price has this or that legislator taken for his vote? These questions have become the staple of political gossip in the bazaars.

The stature of the leaders who sit with imposing fronts in the legislatures and make laws for the country has got mixed up with a lot of humbug. Our biggest leaders have failed us because, instead of checking the prevailing falsity, they have become themselves its inspirers. It makes little difference whether Sri Dhebar is the Congress President or Nehru, whether Sri Rajaram Naidu or Kamaraj is the Tamil Congress chief. When titular separateness deceives nobody, it is more honourable to manufacture no screens to hide the reality of concentrated power, as Khrushchev seems at last to have realised in Russia.

The bane of our elections is the expenditure of huge sums in canvassing, the canvassing often going into gigantic proportions of corruption. Years ago Dr. Bhagwan-das refused to canvas for votes saying the electors should be credited with intelligence enough to know their candidates and special pleading amounted to undue influence which he would not resort to. That was a noble act of exemplary self-restraint, but even in graduate constituencies there has been no second to it since then.

Graduates at least should reserve being approached for their vote with inducements and teach a lesson to candidates who seek their support on the basis of extraneous pressures and irrelevant considerations.

Ordinarily this journal does not wish to get involved in election competitions. But on this occasion our good wishes go to Sri R. V. Krishna Aiyar. There is no one in India who knows a fraction of what he knows about the law and procedure of legislative bodies. His honesty and rectitude are well matched by his experience and administrative record. He has independent means of his own. Politics is no career for him. By nature modest and retiring, he has been propelled into the Council elections almost involuntarily by the importunities of friends who saw in him the ideal attributes of a perfect law-maker. If ever there is a single case of an entirely unambitious man (in a personal sense) getting into an election contest overcoming temperamental inhibitions, purely out of single-minded devotion to the public interest, it is this, and the graduates of this State cannot have a more honourable, efficient and trustworthy candidate to represent them in the Council than he.

It is good news that Government have at last realised the futility of their fantastic policy of communal preferences in dealing with educational backwardness. Communal preferences have only put a premium on backwardness, enlarged the clamour for classification under 'backward' for the sake of the associated privileges, suppressed the deserving, elevated the undeserving and dissipated the country's intellectual resources. The change-over to a more enlightened policy hinted at by the Madras Finance Minister in the Assembly, is not an easy matter however. It calls for a complete reversal of the political philosophy that has percolated into Congress statecraft from open and hidden breeding places of the communal virus.

SAKA

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: This capital is so much unlike the capitals of other advanced countries in the world, for its sense of leisureliness as well as of uncertainty about things. Something always gets stuck up somewhere, calling for writing again on slates none too clean. The situation at the Centre confronting commentators a fortnight after the Cabinet reshuffle was, however, not lacking in drama. The new Muslim Minister on whom Cabinet status was conferred, had yet to wind up in Lucknow while the Minister-designate of Economic Affairs was also to bring the parting scenes in Hyderabad to their inevitable end. Mr. Shrimali and Mr. Kabir, having been on the spot, were however under no special handicap to take up their new positions on the Education front. But the Ministry which was under sentence of partition could not avoid incidental strains and stresses in falling into two separate wings. There were, it seems, bones of contention — Technical education, UNESCO and the like, and in the absence of an agreement between themselves, they (the two Ministers) saw the Prime Minister. A certain basis of division was agreed upon. Then one of them met the Prime Minister later separately and pressed his point of view when settled facts became slightly unsettled. The other who could meanwhile rally one or two elders in the Cabinet on his side stood up—and protested. The comment of those who were primed up with these day-to-day developments can truthfully be conveyed in four simple words: "What is all this?" And to this question the answer too was simple, and it was as readily given: "You know, the Prime Minister cannot make up his mind!"

Whether it is a small affair or a big one, Mr. Nehru is Mr. Nehru. He has his own way of going about his business — reacting quickly, acting slowly, and letting things take courses, normal or even abnormal. It is now pretty

well known that at the end of his brief tenure at the Finance Ministry, he was quite a disillusioned man. It was just like him to have asked a Deputy why he had not brought certain facts to his notice earlier. He was politely told by the Deputy—so the story goes—that he could not have possibly done it when his Chief was holding the fort! Not that Mr. Nehru does not know things except that sometimes they reach him late. But the real question now, as always, is the same: "Is it ever too late to set matters right, to put men in their proper places, to govern?" It would be extraordinary to be seriously told that the Prime Minister was completely unaware of the utter lack of co-ordination between one Ministry and another, till Mr. S. K. Patil howled about it on the floor of the House. That some should have taken Mr. Patil's performance as a put up job, makes the situation only more intriguing. For whom was he speaking? And why did it become necessary at all to let someone kick up the dust as an excuse for some kind of action? Everybody now assumes that the Rightists inside the Cabinet have their own ideas about moulding or controlling situations without being appalled by the Prime Minister's instincts, impulses and intentions while eloquently paying lip-service to 'our only leader'. There can be no greater shock to the country than to find him in the saddle, majestically seated on the steed, but with the reins held—or manipulated—by others. One can only wish and pray that things are not coming to this pass though what passes for over-all leadership has already very nearly ceased to be convincing. Again, what is all this?

If there is one man in the country who is infinitely less of a master of his own household, it is Mr. U. N. Dhebar, the re-re-re-crowned King of the Congress. It would be unkind to say or suggest that he is cut out for liquidating the political empire over which the

sun was always rising. It is no longer a story of unclouded splendour; if anything, there are too many clouds massing in the sky—and in all directions too. What is more menacing, the ground under his feet is visibly slipping. Whether it is North, East, West or South, the portents are ominous and the realities grim. Facing a sombre situation all over and all alone, he is finding it increasingly difficult to set the Congress houses in order. With people losing respect for the Congress, with Congressmen losing touch with the masses as well as losing fear of the High Command, and himself having neither the power nor the strength to use the sledgehammer, he is at his wits' end. He is at least partly to blame if within four years he has not known his Congressmen to the extent of being able to sample them out. So long as he is, willingly or otherwise, someone's shadow or others' echo, lacking in initiative and individuality, no Congress President, however estimable, can make his presence felt. An ornamental head of the Congress is but a symbol of slipping power. Nothing is more vital than that the Congress, if it is to recover its own strength as an organisation that can be trusted to be in charge of the destinies of the country, must find at its head a strong man—a man of steel. Those who constitute the Congress hierarchy would rather bargain for oblivion than turn to Rajaji who can be its mentor and give it moral authority. But why should they not, in the interest of the (Party's) future, put a trusted man (a man trusted by them) like Mr. Morarji Desai in Mr. Dhebar's place? The Congress may gain immensely while the Cabinet may not lose much either. He may well turn out to be the supreme boss of the vast organisation in the style of the Sardar. Or why not Mr. Nehru be again the Congress President as well as the Prime Minister, in the style of Khrushchev (and for once borrow his strength too) so that the party may yet be saved from disintegration? Mr. Dhebar is emphatically not the man who can stop

(Continued on page 15)

GARMENTS OUT OF MIST

By BHIKKU

The syrupy terms with which visiting potentates praise our Community Projects after a visit to one or two of the show places, however useful in their way in the matter of foreign relationships and external credit, make little impression on people who have experience of such projects now or in the past, apart from raising an acrid smile at the wide disparity between fact, its paper exposition and the sums of money drained out of the tax-payer on such dolls' houses. Fooling a foreigner may be justifiable on Kautilyan methodology of statecraft, but there is little profit in self-inflation through windy words from the mouth of polite visitors. In the story for children, did not the whole population acclaim the beauty of the king's robes, as he rode stark naked in state, after a proclamation that the gossamer garment can only be seen by the loyal and true among the citizens?

The panchayat village of Kinneri is situated in a parched

country of black cotton soil, where the summer heat is fierce enough to be almost visible in the shimmer of the refracting air. Except for the black wooded thorny tree that stood gnarled in occasional clumps in the cracked beds of rain-starved tanks and snake-infested prickly pear bushes there is no shade or green to soften the blinding glare. The highway to the 20 mile distant railway station touched its hem, but even when you were a furlong away from its precincts the scents of mouldering manure heaps and the sounds of grunting piglets and of barking pie dogs assaulted you.

One early summer day in the late twenties the people were all agog, for the place was in the itinerary of the satrap of the province for a visit to its 'Child Welfare Centre'. The cavalcade of cars rolled in at the appointed time and there was a screech of weird music from a wind instrument and a crash of sounds from a number of drums and the President of the Panchayat in the splendour of a big lace turban was elbowed forward by the district officials that organised the 'Non-official' function and he duly garlanded the bent necks of the Governor and his lady and then the Collector and all else who came with the party, until the stock of garlands gave out. The visitors were adroitly manoeuvred past the manure pits which were half-heartedly camouflaged with a layer of mud for the occasion and were led to the Welfare Centre. The compound had a waist-high mud wall enclosure and the police could therefore with some management keep back the conglomerate crowd that thronged from the villages around. Shouts and cries rent the air but there was order within the compound. The children, high and low, some three score of them, were ranged on three sides along the margin of what seemed—wonder of wonders in that Sahara!—green turf, interspersed with potted crotons.

The frontage of the single room structure was festooned with coloured streamers. The white-washed room had a painted cupboard, apparently to hold things needed for the day to day working; shiny bottles, gauze and cotton-wool, pans and ladles to deal with milk and gruel and soaps and towels to bathe the babies. There was the attendance register with over seventy names of children in which the cross marks of absence were few and far between and there was also a brand new Visitors' Book. The Governor's lady moved along the path outside to see the children. A male attendant was distributing ladles of sweet gruel in clean aluminium mugs and the nurse in charge seemed still pre-occupied with her routine of dressing the children's hair. She had an enamel bowl of an antiseptic lotion in which she dipped the comb after attending to each child and when asked by the surprised august visitor explained that the lotion was to prevent infection of itch or lice from one head to the next. After final survey of the milieu, the lady duly entered her remarks of appreciation in the Visitors' Book ignoring the fact that hers was the first entry in it. The lord and lady of the land shook hands with the President of the Panchayat and with the other fry that lined up as its members, warmly congratulating them on their great effort towards promotion of health of the young in that interior little place and departed in a cloud of dust amidst shouts of acclamation. The district officials also wended their way back to the head-quarters immediately after, with sighs of relief that the thing was over. The panchayat and its Child Welfare Centre relapsed to its tropic and its meagre attendance of four children every other day, when the nurse in the hospital could spare the time and when the panchayat peon could come to fetch some water. About once a month the sweeper brushed the festooned cob-webs within and swept the floor shoving the dust below the cupboard and collected the cow and asses dung in the compound to put it in the manure pit of the

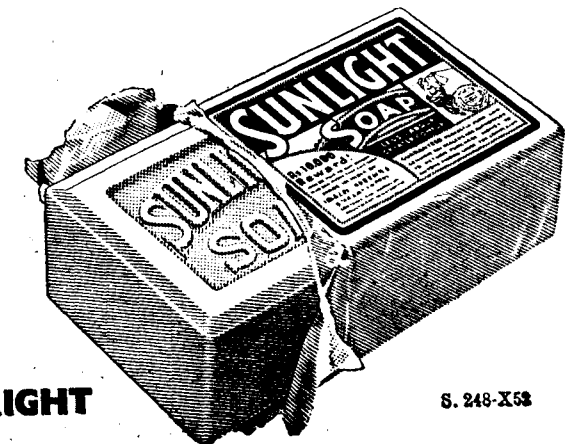
visit was almost forgotten, when an announcement was received through the Collector of the district saying that the Government was pleased to award M.R.Ry. Thimma Reddy, President of the Kinneri Panchayat the title of Rao Bahadur and secondly that the Kinneri Panchayat Child Welfare Centre was adjudged the best among all the child welfare centres in the province and was accordingly given a Silver Cup as trophy. In setting forth its noteworthy points, mention was specially made of the thoughtful hygienic interposition of antiseptic lotion between one child's head and another, in the matter of combing their hair!

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... OVER A. I. R.

By M. KRISHNAN

Mr. S. V. Rajan, writing from New Delhi, informs me that All India Radio has "stopped inviting South Indians for the National Programme". What he says is substantially true, though it is premature to conclude from the lack of Carnatic music in the National Programme during the past six or seven weeks that A.I.R. has decided that Southern vidwans need not, in future, be invited to broadcast in that programme. But why has Mr. Rajan passed on this piece of information to me? The person he should have addressed is the Director General of Broadcasting, or, if he felt like dealing with Ultimate Authority, Dr. B. V. Keskar.

However, since Mr. Rajan has referred the point to me, and expects some response, I shall not disappoint him. I cannot comment on this northern bias of the National Programme, since one must have inside information to comment, and I know nothing

whatever about the difficulties and limitations under which the people who organise the National Programme (whoever they are) labour. But I conjecture that there are difficulties in the way of getting top-ranking Southern musicians to broadcast in the programme—otherwise A.I.R. would not have exposed itself to any imputation of partiality.

I feel firmly sure of this because I think I know the broad, general policy of A.I.R., which policy, it is possible, might not be known to A.I.R. itself, since, being a government department, it lacks the faculty of introspection. I do not think that A.I.R., as an institution, cares much whether or not it is providing the public with the kind of broadcasts people want: it knows better—why, it has taken upon itself the thankless job of educating the public. Nor do I think that A.I.R., as an entity, is moved by any strong feeling for virtue or a sense of

style—its English is pretty poor and its Tamil quite third rate. But A.I.R. does have an acute dislike of any imputation of bias which is perfectly natural and understandable. Not having the sure sensitiveness to the response of the audience, which is the gift of all successful showmen, not having the courage of its own convictions and the detached objectiveness which is the strength of all martyrs, supermen and other tyrants, not having the verve of the artist, A.I.R., like all men and institutions inspired by no strong internal urge, believes in the golden mean. It keeps cautiously to the middle of the road, lest anyone should accuse it of the slightest leaning to one side, not realising that he who treads a middle-course is exposed to attack from both the sides.

That is why I feel certain that A.I.R. would not have exposed itself to an allegation of partiality in its National Programmes, if it could have avoided doing so. Perhaps it was necessary to cancel a scheduled programme of Carnatic music, because the singer or instrumentalist could not go over to New Delhi, perhaps the financial situation has become acute and the trainfare of far off musicians has become an important consideration, perhaps—any number of reasons could be conjectured. Well, where is the point in saying there has been any intentional discrimination, when we do not know under what handicaps A.I.R. has to organise its National Programmes? What could A.I.R. have done, if it had no choice in planning these programmes?

It could have done one thing, though, especially as it has, in the past year, disclosed a positive genius for calling the same thing by so many different names. It could have scrapped the pompous title, 'National Programme' (at least for the duration of its difficulties) and frankly termed it 'Delhi-ke Geet'.

Those who are given to living in the past—and all men who love the classics are given to it—are fond of those twin epics that

describe (in a somewhat idealised and stylised manner) the life and culture of ancient Tamilians, *Silappadikaaram* and *Manimekalai*. I have heard many scholars, and enthusiasts, expound the glories of that lost civilisation, but I thought the recorded talk of the late Dr. R. K. Shanmukam Chetty on *Silappadikaaram* (Madras, March 27) was much the best exposition I had heard. Being in English, and limited to 15 minutes, it naturally did not attempt to explain the conventions of old-time poetry, or to point out the poetic worth of particular passages—and thereby its sustained account of the life of those days gained strength and continuity. I liked the stress laid in the talk on the much more democratic scope that art had in those days—Dr. Shanmukam Chetty pointed out, very properly, that "this happy life was not the monopoly of the rich". And the religious tolerance of that period was remarkable—the heads of different religious institutions were invited to hold forth from public platforms, side by side, when there was any major festival. Those were days when the problems that vex us, every one of them arising out of our boundless fecundity, did not exist—but I refuse to believe that people then were any different from what they are now. Humanity does not, cannot, change significantly in the course of a mere two thousand years—and one of the ways in which it has remained set and consistent is in its homage to the past—a homage that has been paid even in *Silappadikaaram*. And Dr. Shanmukam Chetty was certainly mistaken when he said that the kings and chieftains of those times were never autocrats or dictators. Poets who lived either before, or along with, the authors of *Silappadikaaram* and *Manimekalai* have recorded many despotic acts—and does not *Silappadikaaram* itself depend, for its story, on such an act?

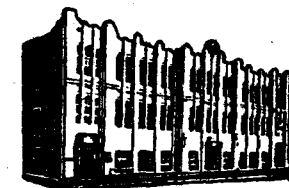
Perhaps, on the night of March 25, I was not at my best. It could be that beaten in the attempt to cope with the many problems that had suddenly sprung up all around

me, I found everything problematical, even things that had nothing to do with me personally, and that my understanding was even slower than usual. However that might be, I felt puzzled and defeated by the broadcasts I listened to that night.

First there was the play from Madras, 'Sirittadu En?'. Granted a considerable licence in plays featuring a setting from the Ramayana, granted every other kind of licence, I still could not understand the point of the play. It was obvious to every listener that Lakshmana had not smiled at his brothers or Seetha—I know how incredibly vain people can be at times, and how quick to take offence at things that do not concern them at all, but still I thought Bharatha, Satrugna and Seetha, in this play, were most improbably touchy. And why should Lakshmana have been called 'Lakman' by his own brothers? Surely that is no Tamilian rendering of the name. And why should A.I.R. have featured this play, in the first place?

Immediately after this play there was another puzzle-programme, from Tiruchi this time. I must say I enjoyed the tonal purity and the cultured verve of the Nagaswaram (all right, 'Nadaswaram', have it any way you like) recital of Vedaranyam Vedagiri, broadcasting in the Arunagirinathar-day festival. Was it some piece from the *Thiruppukhazh* that he was playing? I thought not. It lacked the cascade of rhythmic stresses, the incredibly sure and complex pattern of Arunagirinathar's poetry. The piece, and the piece that followed, had the rounded, smooth, tri-sectioned morphology of *kritis*, the kind of *kritis* that Thyagaraja wrote. I had just reached the puzzled conclusion that it was the way the cultured verve of Sri Vedagiri had transformed Arunagirinathar's jumpy, contrasty rhythm that made the pieces unrecognizable to me, when he played an unmistakable, undisguised *kriti*—'Sithapathe' in Kamas. It was rendered in a quite mellifluous manner—but I don't think Arunagirinathar wrote that piece.

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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The Indian motion pictures, which won so many international awards, failed however to get the Academy Award. But it was a matter of some gratification that 'Mother India' at least was nominated for the award. Somehow, the American film industry has always failed to give recognition to the Indian film industry, though the American film industry enjoys several privileges in India. Had there been the 'barter' system of import and export between India and U.S.A. in the matter of films, the situation would have been different.

But it is obvious that the U. S. film industry would not agree to such a barter arrangement though the U. S. State Department might, as is obvious from a recent agreement for cultural exchange signed between U. S. and the Soviet Union. According to this agreement motion pictures will be exchanged between the two countries and it covers such things as showing of feature films and documentaries, exchanging film stars, writers and technical personnel and holding a special film week in each country to honour motion pictures made by the other nation. Eric Johnston, President of M. P. A., will work out the details of the agreement. According to this arrangement about 25 feature films and fifteen documentaries are expected to be exchanged between the Soviet Union and United States; it is also likely that a plan for co-production may materialize.

But will this agreement succeed? Already, the exhibitors of U.S.A. are opposed to this deal and the opposition is voiced by the exhibitors' periodical, *Motion Picture Herald*. Editorially commenting on the U.S.S.R.-U.S. film exchange deal, *Motion Picture Herald* says "Our Government cannot force the distribution of Soviet films on any picture-to-picture basis. It cannot guarantee any theatre bookings. . . . Exhibitors here are the exclusive judges of what they will show and under what conditions"

Strangely enough, *Motion Picture Herald* has no objection to the State deal as far as the exhibition of U.S. films in the Soviet Union is concerned; is it because the Soviet Government is controlling the exhibition of films unlike U.S.A.? It is high time that the American film industry realized that the one-way traffic of American films to theatres in other countries must end. The U.S.-Soviet film exchange deal is the correct beginning; and it is high time that the Film Federation and the Government of India should insist on a similar deal so that the Indian films would get a square deal and the foreign exchange problem would be solved.

Incidentally, in this exchange deal, the American distributors will have the right to choose the Russian films and the Soviet authorities will have a similar right to choose American films. As a result, there is no chance of one nation foisting its political views on the other nation through films. Pictures like 'War and Peace', 'The Bridge on the River Kwai' will be screened in U.S.S.R.; and pictures like '41st', 'Othello', 'Idiot', 'Cranes are Flying' will be approved for exhibition in U.S.A. This cultural exchange of films is thus a move in the right direction; and it is hoped that we too will be able to have a similar deal soon and put an end to the one way traffic of Hollywood films to the Indian screen.

Columbia's 'The Bridge on the River Kwai' has bagged seven Academy Awards for best picture, actor, director, screenplay, music, cinematography and editing.

The picture is a really beautiful piece of art, noteworthy for its picturesque setting and its theme which brings out the futility of war, in a very subtle and ironical manner. The picture recounts how the British soldiers—prisoners of war in Thailand—build a bridge for the enemy under the leadership of a colonel who is a dogmatic believer in the law. More than once he says, "There will be

no civilization without law" and quotes the Geneva Convention to an angry Japanese colonel, who slaps him. The soldiers do a first class job for the enemy and the colonel fails to realize that it amounts to collaboration with the enemy. But just when the bridge is ready, and the first train is about to pass, the colonel discovers that the British Commando outfit is about to explode the bridge. In the concluding scenes, when the colonel and Commandos die and the colonel himself inadvertently blows up the bridge, the irony of the whole situation is brought out.

The British colonel's character is most brilliant. His ethical battle with the Japanese commandant and his tragic but triumphant achievement of building the bridge which he destroys, are superbly portrayed. Alec Guinness who plays this role with rare insight and brilliance richly deserves the Academy Award.

The performance of William Holden, on the other hand, lacks warmth and realism. An American naval officer, who escapes from the prison camp and returns to the scene with the British Commandos to destroy the bridge, he acts like a typical Hollywood hero. In fact, the beach scene in Ceylon and the 'sex' interest evinced by the Siamese girls in Holden, unnecessarily prolong the proceedings and mar the essential coherence and unity of the theme. But even David Lean had to make that concession for the box-office.

But for this lapse, the picture is a memorable achievement in every way and the details are beautifully worked out to give tenseness and purpose to the simple story. David Lean has used subtle irony and a wry sense of humour to bring home the 'madness' of war and portrayed the British soldier with all his fine points as a fool 'crazy with courage'. The photography is brilliant and some of the shots of tropical sun are memorable. Other roles are enacted equally forcefully. The music is superbly keyed to the drama and the whistling tune which lasts for two or three minutes as the British soldiers

(Continued on page 15)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

STATE-SPONSORED BIRTH CONTROL

Sir,—You hit the nail on the head when in your editorial, 'The Price of Prestige', you ascribed much of our misery to a dangerous desire on the part of our rulers to impose on us changes that will ordinarily take centuries. The motive obviously is personal, viz., to go down in history as the makers of modern India. For yet another reason the present time is not ripe for introducing radical changes. Most of our voters are hopelessly illiterate and ill-informed on public matters. It is dishonest to credit them with sound political judgement. Therefore, their selection of the Congress party to power cannot be construed as a clear expression of their enlightened judgement. It is well known that millions of village folk believe that Jawaharlal Nehru is the King of India, not a democratic premier who, if they wished it so, can be ousted from power. For Mr. Nehru to seek to impose on them 'reforms' which will violently alter their time-honoured patterns of living is clearly to abuse the trust so innocently placed by them in his leadership. A number of social changes which have proved indisputably detrimental to social orderliness and larger human interests and purposes over the past few decades in several Western countries are attempted to be introduced in India by Mr. Nehru. He waves aside enlightened criticism as 'reactionary' and shelters behind the plea that he is serving the interests of the masses who, of course, do not know the full implications of his reforms.

As an example, Government's encouragement of family planning through birth control may be cited. It is the experience of Western societies that this is no unmixed blessing. One of the most unhappy upshots of its introduction has been to upset and throw into great confusion the established pattern of sexual relationships. The Indian apostles of the cult of birth control may pooh-pooh my statement, but from works by authorities like Dr.

Kinsley and Wolfenden and Havelock Ellis, it is abundantly clear that birth control, aided by co-education, can completely destroy the permanent values of life without which mankind might have long ago disintegrated.

Modern life throws together young boys and girls and the intermingling is not well-regulated by cinema posters displaying young women in the most aphoristic poses disfiguring the walls in every town and village. And the reformists grandly scoff at timely marriages which they call early marriages! In these circumstances, will not popularisation of birth control methods add to the already prevalent degeneracy among our youth, by supplying them with the means of immunity to the natural consequences of illicit relationships?

The Prime Minister justifies the spreading of birth control on the plea that it will spare us the inconvenience of sharing our food with our children. If economics is to be accepted as the paramount governing factor in life, how long will it be before we face similar ruthless treatment in the hands of our children? Is it incredible that in our old age when we are unable to work for our living, our children, in order to save their food and money, will dispose of us without mercy? There may be a ring of fantasy in my words to-day, but let us not forget that until very recently the conception of birth control under government patronage outraged and horrified the sentiment of most of us.

Calcutta

R. MANI

PROHIBITION: RETHINKING REQUIRED

Sir,—Lost the failure of the enforcement machinery of Prohibition be confused with unsoundness of the conception of Prohibition itself, the Government should reconsider their policy on the basis of the principle that persuasion rather than force should be adopted in bringing about any moral

reform. The following principles are suggested:

Prevention of new entrants to the drink habit at any cost (a very firm policy in this regard).

Encouragement of moderation among drink addicts by way of permits or any other well-conceived means (a flexible policy in this regard).

Bangalore.

B. S. R.

THE HINDI STAMPEDE

Sir,—On the language question Mr. Nehru says that some persons in the South with position and prestige are creating opposition to Hindi. Taking the cue from him, lots of smaller fry set up the same cry. Can it not with equal force be said that Mr. Nehru himself is exploiting his prestige in favour of Hindi and forcing it on people who do not want it? If tomorrow Mr. Nehru changes his view, and drops the Hindi question, these self-same people will also change their views without batting an eyelid.

So far as one can see, other nations do not think any the worse of India because she uses English. It is the other way round. Having acquired a certain facility in the language of science and in the language of diplomacy, let us not lose that advantage. Let us not force our children into a vacuum which will occur during the period of transition and let us not make it once again an uphill task for the coming generations. It is not only communalism but also hatred of advanced education and finer graces of life that is masquerading as linguism. This is

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ALL OVER TAMILNAD

SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

Vol. II. No. 40

MADRAS, APRIL 12, 1958

15 Naye Paise

RUSSIAN POWER GAME

At the last summit conference at Geneva in 1955 Khrushchev had the reality of power in the Soviet Union but outward formal primacy belonged to Bulganin as Premier. This led to the awkward arrangement that for every proposal that Khrushchev wished to put forward, he had to seek the services of Bulganin as mouth-piece. This awkwardness will not be repeated if another summit conference were to be held now. There is no doubt that, from the moment that Bulganin, a habitually cautious man, made an anti-Khrushchev slip, he let himself down for demotion. If Khrushchev wanted merely to punish an unreliable collaborator, there would have been no difficulty in discovering a more faithful puppet who could have served his purpose. The combination of the two posts of Party Secretary and Prime Minister from which all power stems in Russia, in one and the same individual, registers a departure from the revolt against Stalinism with which Khrushchev had built up his position in the first phases of the post-Stalin struggle for power in the Kremlin. Khrushchev had then charged the ex-dictator with having monopolised all the power and the glory of the State in his own hands, compelling everyone else to live in the shadow of his grace or perish in the attempt to do without it. We now find this rebel against Stalinism installing himself virtually in the same position that Stalin came to

occupy, in the Russian power-machine of today.

As a result of this immense concentration of power, will there be a repetition once again of the purges and cruelties that had made the Stalin regime so oppressive and unbearable? American commentators point hopefully to the fact that the Russian masses are better educated and more sophisticated today than in Stalin's time, and they deduce from it the hope that the old horrors of the Stalin terror will no more be possible under present day Russian conditions. And they also derive satisfaction from Khrushchev's promise as Prime Minister to bring Russian living standards up to the American level. This promise, they argue, cannot be fulfilled unless the policy of heavy industrialisation with its attendant strains is given up. It is forgotten that Khrushchev who started by attacking some of the major economic policies of Malenkov, has already reverted to just the same policies. Nor is a high level of popular education any insurance against dictatorship. On the eve of the first world war, the Germans were the most educated nation in the world. That did not help to save them from Hitler.

In the democracies, it is the system of checks and balances serving to distribute and decentralise power, that has prevented hitherto the emergence and growth of dictatorship. The greatest concentra-

tion of power in the hands of a single individual, without balancing restraints, is now wielded in the modern world by Khrushchev as it was wielded by Hitler and Stalin in earlier decades. It is this compact concentration of power that is frightening, as it is always from absolute power absolutely exercised that threats to the peace of the world have emanated.

It was a characteristic of Gandhian non-violence that its influence was sought to be exerted without aid of organisational command. This was symbolised in the remarkable fact that the Mahatma was not even a four anna member of the Congress in the most momentous period of Congress history. His moral influence was thus completely absolved from any reinforcement traceable to power politics. The spirit of this healthy self-restraint was reproduced in the arrangement that separated the Congress Presidentship from the office of Prime Minister after India attained freedom. But its salutary effect has been greatly nullified by the system that has grown up of making a dummy of the Prime Minister serve as Congress President — a sort of Khrushchev-Bulganin relationship in reverse. When a divergence between appearance and reality of this kind takes place, it is perhaps better that the camouflage is ended, and the reality in its essential form is proclaimed to the world without deceptive or misleading screens.

The "Shook-Ups"

A newspaper begins today a series of articles on the "shook-up" (disturbed) youth of New York: gangs who hang around street-corners, fight inter-area "rumbles" with knives and zip-guns; drink, maul teachers, and spoil for trouble.

It's an ugly side of big-city life in the United States; a tragic waste of young blood and the resources of a nation.

What perplexes the observer is to try and estimate the influence of these neurotic teen-agers. They number, police say, 8000 in New York—not many alongside others who go peaceably to work and school; but their crudities lower the city's tone; and forecast trouble in years ahead.

Violence is not limited to America's youth. The post-war werewolves of Germany and the street-gangs of France were forerunners; even India knows something of youth undisciplined and let loose. But these New York gangs are senseless; the U. S. is no victim of a war that over-ran and destroyed the land, or of poverty. It should know better.

In the papers today also are advertisements for scientists to work on missiles and satellites. Here, on one suppliant page three firms proffer posts in Digital Computer Programming, Radar System Engineering, Weapons Systems, Transistor Circuitry, Memory Devices, and Microwave Communication.

A puzzling age, indeed, when lost youths look for wanton quarrels on street corners; and scientists, earthbound no more, search the far spaces of the sky in the mind's adventures.

JOHN E. FRAZER.

Operation Face-Lift

It is play-time in New Delhi. Ten years after Freedom, the Capital's theatre-lovers have survived as a species. In case you are keen on an introduction to the folk, you had at once better know that the winter is the only chance for you. The theatre comes to the capital during the cold season. (This year it came from Maurius Goring and

the Wayne University, as you might have read in the papers).

The hardy annual gets going early in November, when the patrons of the arts will have been back home (at last) from the holiday in the hills. It is then that the arts societies proudly announce the 'forthcoming events'.

Simultaneously starts the Operation Face-lift. It is a hectic time, a herculean affair. Theatre halls have got to be gilded. They have also got to be booked days ahead.

The pattern of the 'forthcoming event' is too, too familiar. The event usually takes place this side of the curtain. The play's the thing? Certainly not: the players are!

The auditorium is the stage for the real-life social drama ("what sights! what sounds!") Even as you enter, you will not fail to mark the lovely ushers: there's no theatre if there's no glamour.

Time yet for the curtain to rise, but drama already is in the air. Those Shakuntalas and Vasantasenas, those Baby Dolls and cats behind the scenes may learn a few lessons from the costume-designers, make-up artists and hair-stylists down here.

More brilliant and flashy than any scrap of dialogue ever heard on the stage are the sophisticated charms of high society's tongue. Here are honey-laden voices, superb medleys, where matter matters more than manner.

Those animated talking points are not only intellectual but also up-to-date. (Mr. Mundhra has been the inevitable intermission topic in the season's theatre). Notable too is the catholicity of taste displayed. All arts, plastic and graphic and governmental, are in bounds. At the Documentary Film Festival, currently put on in Delhi, you are sure to hear Ravi Shankar's recent programme, "Melody and Rhythm". The participants of the engaging

tete-a-tete will have of course gone round the Rumanian Folk Art Exhibition—which too is grist for the social gossip mill when they do go to see Satish Guzral's Krishna Menon at Delhi Silpi Charka show.

A typical theatre-loving character for me is the gracious lady whose fits of laughter when a classical comedy was on boards stole the show from a reputed cast. And a typical theatre conversation is an absorbing duologue on some such lines as:

"Aren't you coming to the Baby Show, dear? It's the event of the year".

"Oh no. I am so busy with the Military Tattoo".

S. V. RAJAGOPALA DAS

Scene on a Bus

"Critic" writes in *The New Statesman*:

The bus was full, and a number of extra passengers came on board. The conductress upstairs gave the starting signal, which was ignored by the driver. It was repeated, still without effect, so the conductress came down, decided that too many passengers were standing, promptly reduced the number to five, and again gave the signal to start. This time the driver replied with three toots on his horn, and she went to see what he wanted, returning to announce that he refused to start with passengers standing. The unfortunates having been turned off, he went on his way to an accompaniment of uncomplimentary remarks from one of the remaining passengers. 'I had always thought', said one, 'that the conductress was supposed to be in charge of the bus.' 'That may be so,' came the quick reply, 'but, you see, this driver is my husband!'

India brings home to one that the future of the human race depends not only on the constructive use of atomic energy but also on birth control. So far the scientists have failed to discover a pill which does the job; the present expensive and complicated gadgets are not useful in the primitive conditions of Asian villages. I am told that an Indian woman said to a doctor: 'I believe it is possible to limit my family. What is the cheapest and safest method?' He replied: 'Drink a glass of water.' She said: 'That sounds simple. Do you mean before or after?' He replied: 'No, I mean instead.'



Sotto Voce

How They Grow Food From Delhi

Mr. Nehru, thinking on his feet as was his wont, asked dramatically at a press conference the other day, "What has happened to the wells in South India?" Echo answers, "What?" I do not know to which wells he was referring. If he was thinking of the wells for which the Government of India sanctioned sizeable subsidies, he should have worded the question rather differently. He should have asked, "Were the wells dug?" and not, "Why were they allowed to decay?" Because though the subsidies were sanctioned and reached the ryot after a certain amount of normal seepage the wells were either not dug or, if they were dug, they yielded not water but stone.

But expenditure on these wells was, after all, a fleabite. We have poured out hundreds of crores on spectacular projects like the D. V. C. And the Public Accounts Committee has come out again with one of its monotonously melancholy reports of waste, inefficiency and corruption. Though the D. V. C. authority claims that it has executed its mission, the Committee acidly points out, not even a single part of this huge scheme has begun to bear fruit. The Project has no doubt mitigated the possibility of floods in the area, but has done nothing so far about the complementary programme of afforestation and soil conservation.

As for irrigation, though one dam was completed five years ago, the water impounded cannot be used because the distribution channels are not ready. One high-level channel has been erected—on paper!—and is still being "considered" by the Government of India. Mr. S. K. Patil, in his valedictory address to Parliament as Minister for Irrigation and Power pointed out that, when he took charge a year ago, he wanted

to do something about these bottle-necks, but he discovered that that was not his beat. Providing the irrigation was the business of his department, not the use of it.

There has been a spate of 'confession' at the highest levels in the past few years. Mr. Patil declared that co-operation between the different departments at the Centre was conspicuously to seek. Not to be outdone by his colleague, Mr. Jain agreed with Mr. Ashok Mehta that there was little chance of the dream of self-sufficiency in food grains being realised. But, he went on to add, this should not be a matter for surprise. For, with an expanding economy and a rising standard of living—not to speak of the steadily rising population levels—a certain deficiency in food production was inevitable.

Would Mr. Jain have us infer from the admitted fact of insufficient food production that the standard of living has gone up? Mr. Nehru did not pursue this interesting line of enquiry, as he well might have. Instead he pointed out that there was a limit to the amount of food a man could consume, and so the argument about an expanding economy could have validity only up to a point. But—perhaps because his colleagues had sought the confessional—he thought it necessary to supply the corrective by gently reminding them that they were overdoing the *mea culpa* business. There was nothing much wrong with the Central Government's working. As for the States, they were autonomous governments, he pointed out, and their autonomy had to be respected.

The Planning Commission has other ideas on the subject. While the Food Minister is exhorting

the State Governments to fix targets not merely for each village but for each farmer, the Commission has been telling the States that the way to make irrigation popular is to popularise improved methods of agriculture among the cultivators. Better seeds and manuring in combination with irrigation will produce better yields than the haphazard cultivation that depends on rain. And, with a courage which even the redoubtable Mr. Patil lacked, the Commission declares that the men whose business is irrigation should not confine themselves to irrigation but should turn *ad hoc* agricultural experts. Canal and tubewell staffs should be trained, it blandly suggests, in improved agricultural methods.

Thus the comedy goes on. It is regarded as axiomatic that if you 'provide' water—though it may be actually stored a hundred miles away from his field—and impress on the ryot the need to play his part, in order to multiply production by 50 per cent or even cent per cent, he will rally with enthusiasm to the call. It took a whole generation after the Mettur Project was complete, to persuade the ryots of the Tanjore uplands to avail themselves of the costly and dubious benefits of irrigation. And they are not sure today that they have gained by the change. Mr. Nehru says you should overcome the peasant's resistance to innovation by offering water, power, etc., free to begin with. They are doing just that in West Bengal. The fun will start when they stop the free service.

VIGNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS ::

Horror is expressed in some high quarters over a foreign language like English becoming the national language. Both the Prime Minister and Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan seem to feel it. If they had comprehended the distinction between official language and national language explained so frequently and at such great pains by the leaders of the Union Language Convention of South India, there would be no reason for them to be so agonisingly perturbed. What makes a language national is the fact of its being in actual usage among the masses. There are fourteen such national languages in India. The language in use in every State is the national language in that State. There is no national language for the whole country as no language is spoken throughout the country by the masses. English is not included in the list of national languages recognised by the Constitution of India. But the Anglo-Indians whose mother-tongue is English are demanding its inclusion in the list now. It is a fair demand that cannot be denied on any intrinsic assessment of right and wrong.

Neither English nor Hindi can become the national language of India. Hindi is of course already the national language in the area in which it is spoken by the masses. But in other areas, it is as much a foreign language to the people there as English is. The contention that Hindi is spoken by a larger number of people than any other Indian language does not dispose of the difficulty of the millions that do not know it, especially as its usage is not spread over all the States, but is limited concentratedly to a contiguous, compact area. Moreover, it is a contention that cuts both ways. These are days when the world is coming to be treated as one unit for purposes that formerly used to be the concern of individual States. Distances have been cut by quick means of transit, and along with it, the ramparts of isolation bet-

ween country and country are also disappearing. It has become accepted doctrine that prosperous nations cannot enjoy their prosperity in indifference to the plight of poverty-stricken ones. We have almost come to look upon American aid as something to which we are entitled as a matter of right.

People have outgrown the ideology of divided existence within strictly limited national boundaries. The world has supplanted the country as the outer circumference of normal inter-communication, and actually exploration of the possibilities of inter-planetary travel and understanding has started. The relation of English to India (and to every part of the world) is the same as that claimed for Hindi by its protagonists within India. But there is one difference. English is not merely the language spoken by the largest number of people. It is spoken by more people in each country than any other language from outside.

It is not proposed by anybody that English should be made the national language of India. What has been suggested is that it should be the official language only, that is, the language of administration at the Centre and for inter-communication between the States and the Centre. As Rajaji has clearly explained there would be no disturbance in the present position of Hindi or any of the other Indian languages. They would remain national in the areas in which they are that already, and in those areas the State administration would be conducted in the national language of the area. What is objected to is, simply, that Hindi which is the national language in the Hindi-speaking region of India, is to be treated as if it were the national language in the rest of the country also, consisting of States having languages other than Hindi as their respective national languages.

No national language can be made by decree. It is true the Government of India are making a prodigious effort to compile Hindi equivalents for all conceivable terms from other languages, but they have discovered no means by which the contents of the huge tomes prepared by their paid pandits can be put into circulation among the millions. It is to be feared, like so many other projects built at enormous expense without being put to use, the Hindi project also will represent so much of ruinously expensive effort mistakenly confounded with progress.

President Eisenhower threw out an appeal last November to American parents and teachers to scrutinise the curricula and standards in schools to see whether they met the demands of the time. In response to the President's appeal, three leading American scientists have now come forward with six suggestions. The three scientists are Dr. James Killian, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rear-Admiral H. G. Rickover, Chief of the Atomic Energy Commission's Naval Reactors Branch, and Dr. Merle Tuve, Director of the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism at the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and these are their proposals.

1. Lift the standards that have to be met by all high school graduates.
2. Fight against "the mucker pose that it's smart to be anti-intellectual".
3. Reward superior teachers with significantly larger salaries.
4. Give the high school teacher enough free time to become a scholar again.
5. Push the talented student ahead as far as he can go, rather than holding him back with the dolts.
6. Bring into the high schools all the teaching talent possible, regardless of the "union card requirements" of educational "training and teaching techniques."

The three distinguished scientists, representing the highest level of intellectual attainment in the United States, are unanimous that "if we are to have better science education, we must have better over-all education, and if

(Continued on Page 15)

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

Chidambaram: More than 300 students of the Arts and Science Hostel of the Annamalai University, after witnessing the drama enacted in the newly constructed Open Air Theatre and conducted by the lady students in connection with the Women Students Hostel Day celebrations, presided over by Sri C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education and Finance, on March 29, returned to their respective rooms at about midnight. It is alleged by the students that they were ill-treated by the watchman on duty. The watchman, it is alleged, closed the main entrance and demanded permits from the students. Some 15 students, who were not having permits with them, it is stated, were not permitted to go inside. Between the watchman and the students, there arose a quarrel. The students then went in a procession to meet the Vice-Chancellor, Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, at his Lodge and represented their grievance. The Minister for Education was then inside the Lodge. The Vice-Chancellor, it is alleged, without even sending for the watchman to nip the trouble in the bud, simply told the students to meet him at 8 a.m. the next morning.

Accordingly, the next morning, the students went to the Lodge of the Vice-Chancellor, but they were surprised to hear from him that he had delegated his power to deal with the affair to the District Collector, South Arcot. Then the students met the District Collector, who gave them a patient hearing. He asked them to wait till after the valedictory meeting of the General Council of Associations and Societies of the University to be held on that day at 5-15 p.m., which was to be addressed by the Minister for Education. But some two hours later, it was notified by the Registrar of the University that the Minister for Education had declined to accept tea or to address the General Council, and hence the valedictory meeting of

the General Council would not take place. The disappointed students, numbering about 500, then went in a procession, sat on the road side in front of the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge outside the gate and raised slogans demanding the resignation of the warden and the suspension of the watchman. The Minister, it is alleged, went through his own programme of engagements, such as visiting the town, attending parties, and addressing a public meeting. The students waited and waited, but there was no response from the authorities, then in occupation of the upstairs of the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge. The District Police Superintendent, the District Collector, a large number of armed police, were also in the Lodge and there was elaborate police bandobust in various places in the University campus. (It must be mentioned here that in their disappointment over the Vice-Chancellor's reply the previous night, the students caused damage to electric fittings, notice boards, furniture, etc. in the hostel and outside and committed various acts of disorderliness. University property worth about Rs. 2,000 was damaged by their acts.)

At about 9-30 p.m. the Minister returned to the Hostel after addressing the public meeting in Chidambaram Town. When the Minister's car was about to enter the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, the crowd of students, standing on the road side outside the gates of the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, hoping that the Minister will hear their grievances at least, welcomed his car. But the Minister quickly entered the Lodge, and had a talk with the authorities. Then under the orders of the District Collector, the students were lathi-charged and it was indeed a pathetic sight to witness. Many students were beaten. The Minister who was camping here and had come here at the hospitality of the University, it is alleged, never was kind enough to meet

the students. The University was notified as closed from 6 a.m. on 31st March. All examinations were adjourned *sine die*. As all the University hostels were closed the inmates were ordered to vacate their rooms before 11 a.m. on 31st March. Only 3 hours' notice was given to the students to vacate their rooms.

Many of the students had no money as it was the end of the month, and many travelled without tickets. No food was given on 31st March to the students and the cooks were sent away at 8 a.m. Very strict rules were newly introduced for payment of hostel dues. Hostel revenue has tripled in the last three years. But expenditure for the administration has remained the same. The University has been the hotbed of politics between various teachers and between various heads of departments and deans. This has had its effect on the students. Parents are afraid that their boys' careers will be affected as a result of the incidents and closure of the University indefinitely. The students point out that they gave cent percent co-operation during the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of the Annamalai University in February 1955 but that since then the administration has deteriorated very greatly through nepotism, corruption and the like. The students demand a full enquiry into the recent happenings in order that a clear picture of the events leading to the present crisis may emerge. It is also alleged that during the last 2 years, the hostel did not make its purchases through the University Co-operative Stores because of disputes between the Registrar and the Warden on the one side and the manager of the Co-operative Stores on the other.

You can't be always giving out; you must also take in. It is the law of life. Nature has her quiet times. After the bursting life of Summer and Autumn, there is the quiescence of Winter when the earth sleeps. Land used to lie fallow, resting, taking back. Man who is so much wiser than God says 'what a waste'. In his greed he crops and overcrops and a terrible Nemesis overtakes him — the fertile soil becomes a desert.

—MINNIE PALLISTER.

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April 12, 1958

SWARAJYA

BOOK REVIEW

PORTRAIT GALLERY

Portrait-painting is a lively branch of journalistic writing which is as difficult as it is interesting. While the temptation to sing the praise of current immortals is always strong, the writer with a perspective does not find it hard to choose his idols. Few could disagree with Mr. Iswara Dutt — whose brilliant sketches are always an un-mixed pleasure to read — when he reflects in a philosophic mood that "men of the moment or heroes of the hour are a legion; we almost jostle with them at each lamp post. They are so obsessed with their own sense of importance as to be little conscious of the darkness enveloping them. At the end of the year they dwindle, while at the end of the decade they disappear. Not so the men of real greatness. They are like guide posts and landmarks which neither distance obscures nor time obliterates".

Mr. Iswara Dutt has tried his best to restrict his gallery of portraits to men of essential greatness. This publication, coming after his excellent autobiography entitled, "The Street of Ink", consists of sketches of Indian leaders originally contributed to the daily, weekly and periodical press. The portraits are classified into five distinct groups; one, dealing with Gandhi and his great contemporaries who are no more with us; second, the small group of liberals and other intellectual giants like Sapru, Chintamani and C. R. Reddi; third, some great leaders like Rajaji, Radhakrishnan, Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Pattabhi still happily with us; and fourth, three gallaxies including Congress Presidents, some notable Andhra politicians of the past and some Andhra editors. The fifth, which stands by itself and is about the longest in the col-

My Portrait Gallery. By K. Iswara Dutt (Triveni Publishers, Masulipatam, Andhra Pradesh). Price Rupees Five.

lection, is a tribute to Mr. Nehru, surveying his life and work.

The homage to the Mahatma, which fittingly takes pride of place, is a reprint of the author's talk broadcast from the Hyderabad station of the A.I.R. soon after the fateful day of the assassination. He says of the Father of the Nation: "He walked to Dandi for making salt — and a revolution sprang in his foot-steps. He retired to an ashram in an obscure hamlet — and it became the hub of the universe. He raised the 'Quit India' slogan — and an empire was shaken to its foundations... In him the faith of a Tolstoy was allied to the fire of a Mazzini, and he stood alone on a peak". He has the artist's unerring instinct for sifting the essential from the non-essential and the landscape painter's eye for light and shade. He reveals a knack for summing up a man's whole life and character in a succinct paragraph, a significant sentence or even a picturesque phrase. The picture he gives of Motilal Nehru in his last years is as that of a wounded lion, with all its majesty and terror. C. R. Das, the dreamer on a grand scale, is described as the link and linchpin between Sri Aurobindo, the Prophet for Nationalism and Gandhi, the Apostle of Freedom. The incomparable Quaid-e-Azam is aptly apostrophised, "Vanity, Thy name is Jinnah". Sardar Patel's figure is a personification of power in repose. Sarojini Naidu, who had brought the breath of poetry to patriotism, is depicted as the singer who had exchanged the lyre for the cross. The lighter side of it is not neglected either and we are told that to Malaviyaji, who had set up records in collecting funds, goes the credit also of setting up records in missing trains!

While he is unstinted in his admiration of these freedom fighters, the author, who is essen-

tially a man of letters, seems to feel more at home in the invigorating company of intellectuals like Sapru, Sachidananda Sinha, Chintamani and C. R. Reddi. The first he had known at very close quarters and we get an intimate pen-portrait of a gentleman in, whom eminence was allied to character and nobility to modesty. Dr. Sinha, the genial patriarch, is depicted as a friendly being who was an uncle to everybody by a sort of divine decree. Of Chintamani, his one-time chief at *The Leader*, Mr. Iswara Dutt gives a vivid picture reminiscent of Dr. Johnson — we are told he was dogmatic and pontifical but pious, frank, honest and open-hearted. The warmest corner in his heart is however reserved for the star-crossed Dr. C. R. Reddi, one of the most gifted speakers and thinkers of his time, whose life was one of promises unfulfilled and of greater recognition than reward. He had kept up a regular correspondence with him and the extracts from his letters quoted in the book bear testimony not only to Dr. Reddi's genius for phrase-making but to his keen sense of perception.

The group of distinguished living men from Rajendra Prasad and Radhakrishnan and Rajaji to Mirza Ismail and Sardar Panikkar represent the cream of Indian intelligentsia. If the fire of passion is not so evident in the mild and gentle Rashtrapati, the flame of compassion burns the more steadily in him. Radhakrishnan is shown in his private life as an exemplar of simple living and high thinking. The subtlety of Rajaji's logic and the shrewdness of his political thinking, which other politicians seem to take quite some time to understand are well brought out in the many crises that faced the Congress and the country from the early twenties down to the present time. A convincing appraisal is made of the administrative ability of Sir Mirza Ismail, with whom the author had occasion to work in Jaipur and Hyderabad. With his delightful flair for puns, he quips of the mercurial Sardar Panikkar — "he read history,

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

wrote history, taught history and has, in a way, made history".

The Congress gallery, in which nation-builders from W. C. Bonnerjee and Pherozeshah Mehta to Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose flit across the pages, gives us a glimpse of the Presidential caravan from 1885 to 1945 or so. This is a kind of etching of bright little cameos in which Mr. Dutt excels and its charm is enhanced by his inexhaustible fund of interesting anecdotes. Eminent Andhra politicians like the brilliant if erratic Gopalakrishnayya (Duggirala), the quiet and efficient M. Ramachandra Rao with his appetite for blue books and white papers, social reformer Veeresalingam and saintly Venkataratnam come back to life in another section of the gallery. From Chintamani to Chalapati Rau is a fine collection of sketches, based on close personal knowledge of famous and brilliant Andhra editors and crusaders and craftsmen of the Press who had made a mark. The tribute to Nehru, perhaps the only contribution not published earlier, gives a review of the outstanding events in his career and an estimate of his dynamic, if enigmatic, personality.

To those who would like to read history in terms of biography and politics in terms of the personalities that had influenced it, this portrait gallery comes as a rare and choice gift. To all it provides first-rate reading. There is not a page that can be put aside as dull. More than half a century in the history of India's struggle for freedom is vividly brought before the reader through the persons and personalities who had striven for it, each according to his lights. One feels thankful to the author for the inspiring company of princes, patriots and path-finders whom he has brought so vividly to life in these pages.

Tantric Discipline

Lights on the Tantra: By M. P. Pandit. Ganesh & Co., Madras-17. Price Rs. 3.

In this small but very interesting book we have a clear exposition (Continued on Page 10)

New Delhi: Time was when State Ministers used to quail in their shoes, or chappals, at the slightest whisper of the Congress High Command. And they literally collapsed if the indomitable Sardar frowned at them. They knew — or were made to realise — that in case they incurred the wrath or displeasure of the High Command, they would ere long find their occupation gone, and themselves in wilderness. When they dared to stage a revolt, the Khares and Narimans were just hurled into the political abyss. Even so high spirited, formidable and resolute a fighter like Subhas Bose found it none too easy to defy the bosses. The only Congressman in the country who could (afford to) snap his fingers at the mighty — and stand up to them in utter defiance was Prakasam. His was, however, an exceptional case both because of his own personality and the real popular backing he had. In the case of others, it led to nothing but political 'hara-kiri'. As the supreme party boss, the Sardar was a Titan; he controlled the party machinery as he willed. Till his last breath, he had the last word in organisational affairs — and he could scotch incipient revolts and reduce all rebels, including the potential ones, to pulp. The Congress has since fallen on evil days — as a party, and for all his hold on it, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has not been able to hold it in awe, while the body still known as the High Command has failed to live up to its authority; in fact, it has come to be trifled with.

Let alone Mr. U. N. Dhebar, the President of the Congress — he is but a dummy; even the strong man of the High Command, Mr. Morarji Desai, could hardly show his strength. His experience in Bangalore, on his recent visit to Mysore State, was far from being reassuring. The Chief Minister would not call on him as he was not feeling well and he would not accept the Chief Minister's invitation to tea as he (wisely) did not

like the idea of Mr. Nijalingappa putting himself to the strain of entertaining him when he was admittedly not feeling fit. The immediate reaction to this experience was that Mr. Morarji Desai asked Mr. Dhebar at Hyderabad on the phone not to visit Mr. Nijalingappa's domain. Lobbies in Parliament were buzzing with mild excitement over the Morarji mission in Mysore. Incidentally, there was a surprise that, when he visited Madras last, the new Finance Minister found none from the Government House awaiting his august arrival but only someone representing Mr. Goenka to whisk him off. Some Congress M.P.'s were old-fashioned enough to question the propriety of men in high places staying with, and enjoying the hospitality of, businessmen. They do not, however, raise a hue and cry lest they should be told that it is nobody's business, and by being squeamish about these things, they are but — what's the word? — 'little-minded'. After all, there is no businessman in India who will not claim today that — shades of Sir William Harcourt! — "We are all Socialists now".

Once again, with State after State confronting it with a peculiar set of problems, the Congress Working Committee held its deliberations in Delhi. And once again, as always, it has taken stock of the situation — the situation, however, being such as not to raise its own stock. One looks at the other, all look at Mr. Dhebar — and he just looks blank. What can the poor man do? He even lacks confidence to issue a statement to the Press without privately getting it passed by Mr. Nehru. A good and earnest man, he is not without ideas of his own. But he is taught to ask for a little guidance and direction before he moves in any matter while he, who cannot put a foot forward without propulsion, is hardly the man who can be trusted to put his foot down on anything doubtful. Mr. Nehru has no time for dealing

with Congress bickerings. Between Mr. Pant and Mr. Morarji — their attention is divided. Mr. Lal Bahadur has hardly grown beyond the level of an under study. Mr. Jagjiwan Ram feels stirred if only Harijan interests are at stake. Nevertheless, they all meet and discuss; they even take decisions. For the rest, they ex-

pect, though they do not command, disciplined obedience. But the Congress party, at the Pradesh level, has a way of functioning without too much of meek submission to central authority. The days of provincial satraps are revived but for formal visits to Delhi for feigned salaams to the Prime Minister and a stroll in the

Moghul gardens. The President's Government is carried on.

Refreshingly frank, the Prime Minister takes the Press — and the world through it — into confidence. He is feeling tired "rather flat and stale"; he wants some "freshening up"; he is giving "very serious considera-

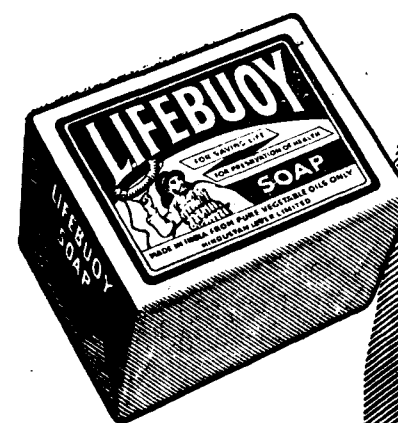
Of course mine is a safe job!

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...

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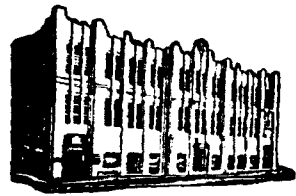
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tion" to the matter which is largely personal. It would be ungenerous to put it down as one of his occasional fits of introspection. After eleven and a half years of continuous, unrelieved strain, it is possible that he needs, or feels he needs, a break. That does not however mean that he will have it or can have it. To be fair to him, he had no doubt in his mind that some of his senior colleagues — emphatically 'flat' and 'stale' — needed, indeed earned, at least a good holiday. Indeed, he thought aloud on the subject and also spoke strongly about it. That was all; he could do nothing more about it; others — estimable men all of them — had other ideas. It is arguable that he is the master of the situation where he is personally involved. But the present climate is such as will not induce any senior, 'however flat and stale', to retire or let Mr. Nehru do anything for his own 'freshening up'. There are few Prime Ministers with larger innings, particularly continuous; there is none more widely acceptable as a skipper. The Congress team is so exasperatingly poor in fielding that without him moving about with the gloves on, it will find its morale completely shattered. And taking an objective

view of things, it must be said that while some rest (or freedom from daily drudgery) will certainly do him some good, it will do no good to the country at all if Mr. Nehru cannot persuade or force some of his tired colleagues too, to emulate his own example. But then, his exhortations will fall 'flat' and the picture will continue to be 'stale'.

Tantric Discipline

(Continued from Page 8)

tion of the fundamentals of the philosophy underlying the vast Tantra literature and of the rationale behind many of the practical aids prescribed by that literature to enable the aspirant to realise the ultimate Truth and enjoy the transcendent bliss of the Self even in this body. Even this mass of flesh and blood is verily a universe in miniature and, if it is possible to realise the Supreme Godhead in the external universe, it must be equally possible to realise It in this body itself. In fact, the objective realisation cannot be a full and complete realisation unless and until it is coupled with and correlated to the subjective realisation and both are merged in a transcendent realisation where both the subject and the object cease to be as such. The author very rightly emphasises the Vedic origin of the Tantras which are very often mistakenly taken to be the result of a revolt against the Vedic description of life.

Books on Politics

	Rs.	nP.
Encyclopaedia of World Politics: by Walter Theimer and Peter Campbell	28	44
Theory and Practice of Modern Government: by Herman Finer	51	19
Government of Greater European Powers: by Herman Finer	48	75
Politics and Morals: by Benedetto Croce	6	94
Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usages of Parliament: by Sir Thomas Erskine May	83	94
Parliamentary Government in England: by H. J. Laski	20	31
Parliament: by Sir Ivor Jennings	48	75
Russia Revisited: by Louis Fischer	20	31

K. MAHADEVAN,
22-A, Royapettah High Road,
Mylapore, Madras-4.

The other day I heard about a man who sat looking into the glass window of his wife's washing machine for an hour, complaining that the television play had no plot.

—GORDON FLEMING.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The character artistes have at last formed an association and the music directors, thanks to the dispute between the musicians and producers, have also formed a new association as the old association had ceased to function. Even the cine advertisers including poster-painters, banner-painters, poster-printers, hoarding site-holders and newspaper advertisers have formed an association of their own. Meanwhile, the Producers Association has been activated and its members are taking great interest in the association's solidarity and the common problems facing the producers.

Out of the newly formed associations, the association of character artistes is the most recent and the two character artistes responsible for starting this association are Manmohan Krishna and David Abraham. What is a character artiste? He is an artiste who plays any feature role barring that of the hero and the heroine. Most of the character artistes in India play the roles of either villains — like Mubarak and K. N. Singh — or parents. Even comedians like Radhakishen and David — yes, believe it or not, David has many comedy roles to his credit — are character artistes.

There was a time when the character artistes dominated the Indian screen. Those were the days when the stories did not revolve round only boy and girl. Those were the days of Chandramohan, Mazhar Khan, Jagirdar, Sohrab Modi — who continues to be at the top even today — Nawab Shahnawaz, Charlie and others. These artistes were paid as sumptuously as the stars; but today, the character artiste has hardly any roles to perform and talented veterans like David, Durga Khote, Lalita Pawar and Leela Chitnis, Nazir Hussain, Nana Palsikar and Manmohan Krishna are generally wasted in routine supporting roles. What is worse, barring Sohrab Modi, (who gets top billing and top price equivalent to Dilip, Raj or Meena Kumari) no character

artiste is well paid. In fact, the fabulous rise in the star prices has further affected them and even the meagre price allotted for them is often not fully paid. David once remarked that he had to recover two lakhs of rupees from the producers who had not paid him his rightful dues on some pretext or other. The other character artistes are in the same plight; the association perhaps will be able to help them to solve these problems and win back for them their former status.

The dispute between the musicians and the producers has brought the music directors together. The dispute has not yet been settled. But the producers, it appears, will have to concede most of the demands of the musicians. The choice of Durga Khote and S. D. Burman for the presidency of the Character Artistes Association and the Music Directors Association respectively is happy. Both are award winners this year and both are known to be moderate and conciliatory. Under their leadership, it is hoped that their associations will progress on the right lines.

'Night Club' is an institution which does not exist in India; and yet Varma Pictures have made a picture about it, depicting a night club as a rendezvous for all kinds of rackets. The story and screenplay by Balkrishna Mouj revolves round the efforts of police inspector Kishore and his colleague Vijay, who is killed, to bring the 'night club' gang to book.

When Vijay dies, his sister Bindu takes up the challenge and resolves to take revenge for her brother's death. She joins the gang and works smartly while falling in love with inspector Kishore. After several twists and disguises by Kishore, the criminals are caught in a thrilling duel of wits and guns.

The picture, however, never becomes tense or convincing. In fact, the highlight of the picture is the hilarious chase between Gope and Dhumal over the streets

of Bombay. This is the most enjoyable sequence in this film, which is otherwise undistinguished.

The picture has proved a good money-spinner. Had the screenplay been more taut and the songs more sizzling, the picture would have proved a big hit. Though their roles are stupid and absurd, both Ashok and Kamili play them with gusto and invest them with life. Among others Mubarak makes a good villain and Gope to whose memory the picture is dedicated, contributes a good cameo. Direction by Naresh Saigal is competent while the

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RESERVE YOUR SEATS IN ADVANCE

April 12, 1958

production values are just adequate. The Madan Mohan — Majrooh combination has given the usual type of hybrid songs without any distinction.

Mr. Ladislav Kachtik, Managing Director of Czechoslovakia Film Export, passed through Bombay last week. He met journalists at a tea party given by the Film Journalists Association on Tuesday, 1st April. On 3rd April he left for Tokyo.

Thirty-two year old, handsome Mr. Kachtik speaks English and appears to be a very amiable man. He was a Czech film representative in Paris before taking up the present assignment some months ago. During the informal chat with journalists he disclosed that the plans for the co-production of 'Ramayana', were finalized. This puppet film will be made in collaboration with the Little Cinema of Calcutta. He was negotiating for co-production with Raj Kapoor and as soon as the scenario is approved the deal would be finalised.

He averred that pictures produced in 35 different nations were being shown in Czechoslovakia. A festival of Indian films is planned to be held in early July this year in Czechoslovakia when Indian delegates are expected to visit the country.

It was revealed at the tea party that arrangements have been made to screen over 20 Czech pictures in India through Indo-Czech Films, a newly started organisation. And the money earned by these films will be utilized for buying Indian films for Czechoslovakia.

Shri M. B. Bilimoria has been re-elected President of the Film Federation of India.

Vasant Joglekar is launching a historical film 'Rajmata Jeejabai' recounting the story of Shivaji's mother.

Moni Bhattacharya, who has been associated with Bimal Roy, is starting a social picture starring Nutan and Sunil Dutt.

Raj Kapoor is expected to go to Kashmir for the outdoor shooting of 'Kanhaiya' this week.

SWARAJYA

13

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

UNDESIRABLE TREND

Sir,—Since the day political leaders began to address the college associations and college forums were used for propagating party views, a change has come over the educational institutions. It is within the competence of educational authorities to stop this undesirable trend and train the students to be worthy citizens of tomorrow. In this connection, the memorable words of Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University at Kumbakonam recently are worth remembering: "Straight is the road and narrow is the path that leads into the promised land where the divine gift will be given to everyone of us, to see others as others see us and to cultivate the habit of tolerance, of love, of fraternity and of fellow-feeling."

Madras

R. S. V. RAO.

STUDENTS AND PARTY POLITICIANS

Sir,—Present-day students must know that they needn't any longer use the old-time methods of violent agitation and demonstrations to get grievances redressed, if they have any. They can be settled easily and amicably through representations, deputations and discussions round the table. Most of the student disturbances have their origin in the emotional vacuum which has been created after the advent of Independence by the leaders of the country, who have failed to offer the youth a programme powerful enough to attract them.

It is easy for some politicians to sow seeds of disruption among students. Every student should realize that by becoming a partisan, there is the danger of his losing the right to judge every question on its merits. It is time for the students to re-examine their approach to the country's various problems and change the methods of agitation to solid constructive work which alone will help the nation in the long run.

S. GOPALAKRISHNAN,
Student-Editor,
The Presidencian.

NEHRU AND THE COLD WAR

Sir,—It is not enough to attract large crowds emotionally and win laurels. One must be able to carry the masses on this vexed question of retention of English as official language. The sooner Nehru does it in the North which alone needs tutoring, the better it is for all of us, or else with Hindi as official language from 1965 onwards, we will be carried back to the position we held in the late nineties of the last century.

T. LAKSHMINARAYANA ACHAR

RESERVATIONS IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Sir,—None can deny the fact that the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes had been cruelly suppressed socially, economically, culturally and politically for centuries past by our own countrymen. But fortunately the Government of India have come to the wise conclusion that the effective way of improving the condition of this poor community is to give them concessions in the educational field and reservations in recruitment and promotions.

The principle of reservations and preference has been dealt with very carefully and accepted by not only men of eminence but also by leaders and political parties. No less an authority on constitutional law than Mr. Chagla the present Chief Justice of Bombay holds that "we must never allow ourselves to forget that one of the most cherished goals of free India is social justice". This is how the provisions for reservations have come to be made in Art. 16 (4) Part III and Art. 46 Part IV of our Constitution. To interpret these reservations and concessions as gross injustice to other communities is, to say the least, distorting facts and nullifying the very basic principle of removing social injustice.

These concessions and reservations are given not simply because one is born in the scheduled castes but because the scheduled

castes as a whole are impoverished, down-trodden, and economically crippled from ages past. It is true that all citizens should be assured equality of opportunity, but then does it mean that this should be achieved by keeping the weaker sections of society in a poor, unfortunate economic and social level?

Simple calculations will reveal that in a country like ours where illiterates form the bulk of the population, educated persons among the scheduled castes come to less than one per cent and those employed out of this one per cent are like a drop in the ocean. I wonder to what extent the insignificant percentage of people who qualify themselves from among this one per cent of the employed in the scheduled castes will affect caste Hindu employees.

If my caste Hindu brethren cannot tolerate this concession being given to such an insignificant percentage of employed and qualified scheduled caste people, then it is

hard to understand all the tall talk of uplifting Harijans.

If we continue to keep these depressed class people in the same pathetic condition of social degradation, then the day is not far off when we will witness a violent revolution and a civil war unprecedented in our national history and it will be too late then to avoid further vivisection of this sub-continent, which none of us desire.

Madras KUMARI VIJAYALAKSHMI.

INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS, NOTE

Sir,—I am a policy holder in the Mutual Help Unit (Delhi) of the Life Insurance Corporation of India. I sent my four-monthly premium of Rs. 28 by M.O. under receipt No. 1799 dated 5-12-1957 from a Madras Post Office and received back the M. O. acknowledgement on 11-12-'57 signed by one Mr. Deryal under their office seal. But premium notices were sent to me for these 4 months, for

which I wrote a reply intimating the date of payment by me and here is the reply of the Officer-in-charge of the L.I.C. :

"We do not appear to have received your premiums due from 1-12-'57 to 1-3-'58 at Rs. 3.50 each, under the above policy, remittance of which therefore may please be arranged".

Verily! They do not appear to have received the amount! Whereas I have actually got the M.O. receipt and the acknowledgement!

Will my fellow policy holders wake up betimes.

Madras. S. G. SWAMI

HIGH COMMAND'S ILLUSION

Sir,—Has not the Father of the Nation imbibed the non-violence technique from the writings of Tolstoy? Why, then, should we feel ashamed of taking the best of others and adapting the same to

suit our requirements for the benefit of the nation?

The lead given by the Linguistic Convention held at Madras averted an immediate crisis at this juncture. The Congress High Command seems however to be under the illusion that the resolution passed at Pragjyotishpur would meet the requirements of the Southerners. The reactions are contrary to their expectations.

Kakinada BILLA VEERA RAJ

CUTTING NOSE TO SPITE FACE

Sir,—If we could have most things western in our daily life, individual and national, it passes one's comprehension why we should be chary of a language that has ceased to be merely English, and which has become truly international. Instead of taking advantage of our accidental mastery of this fine language, we are, today, frittering away our energies in needless controversy and we are cutting the nose to spite the face. Nationalism requires that any interstate language must be equally advantageous or disadvantageous to all the member communities.

AN EDUCATIONIST

POLLUTION BY SIGHT?

Sir,—The charming compliments paid to the great Pontiff of the Kamakoti Peeta in SWARAJYA moved me almost to worship.

Leaving aside the Kamakoti Mutt, there is in existence in some of the Mutts, a long standing custom by which the head of the Mutt will not see a Hindu widow whose hair has not been tonsured after her husband's death. It is said that the sight of such a widow causes pollution!

I have consulted several people who are expected to know these matters on this question, but their answers carried me nowhere. If this practice is born out of some religious dogma, it is high time that our Pontiffs, who are "embodiments of the catholicity and tolerance of Hinduism" put an end to such superstitious customs.

The Paramatma, who is in the bird, beast and the human being irrespective of his being a king, a religious head, a beggar, or a

Sakesi is the same and the realisation of this Paramartha is the goal of life.

Guntakal. P. SEETHARAMIAH

RIGHT MAN FOR EDUCATION

Sir,—India has lost one of her noble sons due to the demise of Moulana Azad. As a man of letters, erudition and scholarship he had no equals in the North. He stood for Hindu-Moslem unity. Nehruji is really anxious to find a suitable person to hold the portfolio of Education. In recent years Education has suffered a serious fall in standard. University education has failed to develop the qualities of leadership. Hence our country requires a dynamic personality of vision and courage to hold this portfolio. Rajaji is eminently suited for this. His ability to exercise control over the States and restrain the Centre from going ahead with their ill-conceived and out-dated policies will go a long way to repair the damage caused hitherto. As a Minister for Education he will serve not only the cause of education, he will also educate at the same time the men at the Centre on all subjects. He stands for North-South unity and he will accurately and dispassionately interpret the feelings and aspirations of South India.

Annamalainagar V. R. KRISHNAN

IS IT SO?

Sir,—I would not have written the following words if the problem is not connected with a text-book in Telugu prescribed under Part II for B.A. students of Andhra University.

It is a well-known fact that those who first started writing tragedies in Telugu bore in mind the titles of Shakespeare's plays of the folio edition and the subsequent editions which did not bring in any major changes and naturally the titles of early tragedies in Telugu give a hint that they were based on imitation of the titles of those plays — "The tragedy of Hamlet", "The tragedy of Macbeth," etc. The one that may be remembered easily is "Vishada Sarangadhara".

The book in question now is "Vishada Timmarusu", written

by Sri D. V. Krishnamurthy of V. R. College, Nellore. Some of the guides are of opinion that Krishnadeva Raya who caused the death of Timmarusu is the hero of the play.

Anyone who has an elementary knowledge of the principles of tragedy can safely conclude that Timmarusu is the hero of the play. However, I wrote to the author requesting him to clarify the matter. Very kindly he gave me a prompt reply.

His opinion is that Krishnadeva Raya is the hero of the play: Now the time has come for me to be a little surprised at the decision of the learned author himself!

According to him, the hero in any tragedy is not the one who dies but he who causes death!! And to illustrate his statement he says that Othello has become the hero of the play by killing Desdemona!!!

I shall be pleased if those learned men who are interested in this express their opinions also.

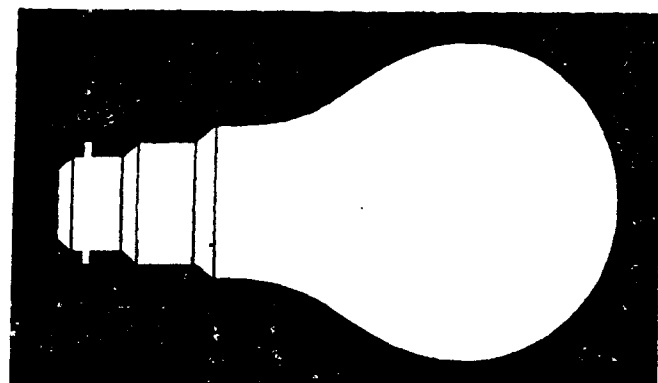
V. K. M.

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

we are to have better over-all education, we must have a shift in values so that intellectual interests are not minimised and ridiculed." They plead for the break-up of the "equal pay" tradition so that the outstanding teachers may receive significantly larger salaries. Judged in the light of these recommendations, the Indian record in these past ten years of freedom has been most dismal. Ignorant men rule in our cabinets today. They have an anti-intellectual bias. They have given a special status to backwardness, pampered it with special privileges and run down talent as if it were a national liability. The wastage of intellectual resources is the most unforgivable of the follies of Congress rule, and for tolerating this if for nothing else, the Nehru regime stands condemned. Even now the education of the young continues to be at the mercy of ad hoc politicians haphazardly chosen, witness, for example, the board of education just formed by the Madras Government. SAKA

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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

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15 Maye Paise

J. P. AND P. M.

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan has suggested that Pandit Nehru should retire from the office of Prime Minister, hand over the administration to someone of his choice and guide the Congress without being burdened by governmental responsibility. This suggestion of the Socialist leader does not reveal a proper understanding of the importance and dignity of the Prime Ministership. It is a post which nobody is entitled to hold at another's grace. Nor is the Prime Minister competent to pass it on at will to someone else of his choice as though it were a household position entirely in his control.

Pandit Nehru as Prime Minister had eleven years of almost absolute power in India. At the end of it all, for all the grand projects put through and the thousands of crores spent over them, there is no general feeling of hope, optimism or fulfilled achievement in the country. The prevailing atmosphere is one of failure, frustration and depression. Two causes have led to this result. First, proper care has not been taken of the personnel to fill the legislatures. Tried servants of the public interest have often been abandoned in favour of rich men and others locally influential on communal grounds. Often Congress tickets were given to persons who had very little of loyalty to Congress principles and had even ridiculed and opposed them in the past.

Secondly, the intellectual resources of the country were permitted to be dissipated. If, eleven

years ago, the Congress had started a vigilant search for talent throughout the country, and from the elementary school stage onwards, nursed it zealously with every encouragement in its power, the nation would be having at its command now the nucleus of a competent body of young leaders capable of directing development in every important field. But there was not sufficient patriotism at the seats of power to see to this simple requirement. The Prime Minister failed to deal firmly with those who played with the national interest in this particular for the sake of minor selfish considerations.

Even now, it is only by correcting these two great follies of the past, that the future can be placed on a better footing than the past eleven years of Congress rule. Pandit Nehru as Prime Minister with administrative power in his hands, will not be less able to render this service than if he were to retire from the government. What is needed is that, instead of making unprincipled compromises in the vain hope of prolonging the Congress tenure of office, he should stick steadfastly to the two requirements of national welfare outlined above, and allow nothing to interfere with their faithful implementation.

How to end Cold War

At last the Prime Minister has openly admitted that the language issue can become a grave danger to unity. He has seen also that the particular Hindi on whose behalf the most vociferous claim to the throne is made is an incompetent pretender. Sri Nehru declared further that there is "no need to boggle about an amendment of the Constitution". If he therefore asks his party—and it always obeys him—to vote for a suspension of Part XVII of the Constitution for 42 years, the 'cold war' of the South will automatically cease. It will be statesmanship and it will end the unrest in his own heart, for he has been forced to advocate something which he thinks is desired by the masses and their local leaders but

which he himself does not approve. This will release his energy for the things of real and great importance.

The Gauhati resolution has not achieved its purpose viz., to allay the fears and suspicions of the non-Hindi people. That object can be fulfilled only by a parliamentary resolution to suspend the articles of the Constitution dealing with language and a constitutional amendment giving effect to such a resolution. Otherwise the fears and complaints of the non-Hindi people are bound to grow in intensity and volume. Apart from the demand of people who have definite hopes of discriminatory advantage issuing from the change-over from English to Hindi, there are more compelling and more

AMERICA'S CHANCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Men at some time are masters of their fates.—JULIUS CAESAR.

For the first time in political history we have an example of unilateral action and an experiment in the law of spirit in a field hitherto dominated by materialistic calculation ending in agreements based on mutual fear and suspicion. The initiative taken by Russia without waiting for previous agreement does not cover all that one would have desired but it does set a great example, and a new kind of competition may be induced thereby to take the place of the pernicious race in the production of nuclear weapons to suit newer and yet newer ideas of mutual destruction.

The occasion is one for great satisfaction and I hesitate to mar it with even constructive criticism. But after expressing fullest appreciation, it may be useful to think aloud about the immediate future.

Russia has taken a Gandhian initiative. It would have been complete had not Mr. Khrushchev chosen to be cautious and added an anticipatory warning as to resumption. This was consistent with the fears expressed by him in reply to my letter to him last December, but it does give the initiative again to America. It only remains for us to hope that America will read the future aright and abstain from her programmed tests.

If America obstinately persists with her test-explosions and the poisoning of the world with radioactive fall-out, and Russia even then does not yield to the provocation and abstains from resuming the tests, what will be the moral position? It will be much worse for America than before; for the

peoples of the world who hate this process of poisoning will condemn American action with redoubled justification, and Russian forbearance will attract universal admiration and be irresistible with its moral force.

However inadequate it may be, the step taken by the Russian Government is a step in the right direction. It is a great step because of its being the first of its kind in history. It can be dubbed and sneered at, because it does not mean a cessation of activities in the production of nuclear weapons already tested, and on the ground that the declaration does not prevent the use of the present stockpile. But that would be ignoring the value of a first step in the right direction.

We should be careful but we should also be just. America would be wronging herself if she ignored the value and the importance of the Russian step and proceed with her test explosions as if nothing had happened. It would be sure to produce most adverse reactions in the minds of all the unbiassed peoples of the world and offer to Russia just that propaganda material which America in her own interests ought not to give. It would be firmness and faith in her own rectitude, but of a degree that would be injurious to herself. America's moral asset is bound to be considerably damaged by such a policy and Russia would correspondingly gain with accelerated pace.

To think of unilateral cessation of tests after going through the tests already programmed is so obviously inadequate that it will draw ridicule. Men would look upon such a unilateral proposal as on that of one who declares he

would confess and repent but asks for time to complete the crimes already planned. The essence of unilateral action will be prominently absent in it. If the tests have to be stopped on account of their highly poisonous character, the analogy far from being a caricature suffers for mildness.

What the genius of America calls for is not defensive argument but a counter-initiative by way of unilateral action. If America takes a step of even greater significance than that of Russia, for example, if America definitely declares, without waiting for any agreement on the part of Russia, that she will not use H-bombs under any circumstances, it would be a shining act that will draw forth peals of congratulations from all over the world. Indeed if such a declaration were made by America, a new enthusiasm will develop for mutual trust and integrity of purpose which will be irresistible. It will begin at once to remove the dark clouds of destruction that today hang over this wonderful planet and let the rays of renewed hope pierce through. It would make for true world peace. America should pause and ponder now and not be hustled by the mongers of obstinacy. She should see her way to take some unilateral action greater than that of Mr. Khrushchev's. Let carping comment cease and let jealousy give place to thoughtful emulation. America has a choice at this turning point in history. She can reject the proffered hand and meanly nullify Russia's glorious act or she can herself seize the initiative and declare no H-bombs at all and earn humanity's gratitude.

obvious reasons to retain English as the official language of the Indian Union than there are for remaining in the British Commonwealth whose attachment to nuclear weapons is stronger than any respect for Indian opinion in this all-important subject affecting the life and health and civili-

zation of the entire human population. What is asked for is the relegation of the language issue to posterity and to continue English until a future generation decides to give it up as the medium of inter-State and high level administration and adopt any other language in its place.



Sotto Voce

A Modern Pilgrimage

I have just returned from one of Mr. Nehru's modern pilgrimages. Bhakra-Nangal is impressive; the policeman whom, standing on the ledge where the Information booth is located, I saw on the apron below, looked like a midge. It should be even more imposing when the 400 square-mile Sutlej water-spread is a reality. Omelettes are proverbially not made without breaking eggs. But the thought of so much land deluged—the capital of the old time Bilaspur State will be among the casualties—appals me. Will the price, in terms of not only money but of human happiness, be worth paying?

Nangal, to be sure, has a huge power potential. But does bigness of this magnitude pay, especially with electricity which to my lay mind has always seemed a very leaky thing, notwithstanding the economy of the grid? Out of all that abundance of water not a drop will be available (for economic reasons) to slake the thirst of sun-parched Chandigarh, seventy miles away, much less to attract industries which in the long run might help it pay its way. But when it comes to beautifying his creation, cost is no consideration with M. le Corbusier. He is training water from the foot of the Kasauli Hills to fill his artificial lake. His Parisian soul no doubt hopes that some day the promenade on its bank will recall the delights of the boulevards.

But it will be decades before Chandigarh is clothed in flesh and blood, let alone growing roses on her cheek. At present Chandigarh is hardly more than miles of asphalted road dumped on the flat, arid country where nothing seems to grow easily. (An avenue of our familiar *kalyana-murungai* was putting up a brave fight against the pitiless sun and actu-

ally blossoming. But did M. le Corbusier, who is so knowledgeable, not know that these are extremely fragile trees?) The new city with its meticulously numbered sectors, planned as self-sufficient communities, is still largely empty, but for a number of public buildings with enigmatic exteriors and long ribbons of elongated flats with facades suggestive of some asymmetrical geometry,—as if one saw in a nightmare a railway junction with its rails and trellised stairways jump at one in all directions.

I had no opportunity to see what the flats were like inside. A friend who lives there assures me that they are highly efficient, functionally speaking. But if I had to live there and to look out on the passing scene through those deep square sun-breakers I should feel as irretrievably lost as a kaffee victim. The sun-breakers are divided into numerous deep and equal recesses. And with what I thought was an odd and rather typically French touch of thrift only those squares into which a window opened were distempered!

M. le Corbusier has no use for building in depth any more than for exteriors that do not stun one by their oddity. A two-room deep building, it seems, has the great merit of simplifying the problem of ventilation. But the Secretariat looked, as you approached its flank, like nothing on earth so much as the stationary truck that does duty for the stationmaster's cabin at the flag-station. To break the monotony of the vast perpendicular unplastered end-walls, with never a hole in them — and they are the rule in private as well as public buildings — the artist has permitted an occasional cabbalistic diagram in white or what looked from below like huge knobs.

There are ramps for the weak-kneed up which the young bloods cycle to the sixth floor. The pavilion on top of the Secretariat building with its sloping awning strangely reminded me of the perilous platform on the top of a hill at Sittannavasal where in the old days the Jain monks performed *prayopavesa*. As for the High Court, from the rain-breaker pools at either end with angular blocks to the Picassoesque interiors which are calculated to strike terror into the heart of the malefactor, everything about it is unique. Their lordships must be extraordinarily tough-minded not to succumb to claustrophobia in those unbelievably high ground-floor court rooms from which natural light is carefully excluded. It was heartening to hear that the macabre back-drop with futuristic designs that had covered the entire width of one wall had been removed (in all the rooms but one) at the judge's insistence.

That is what comes of buying abroad our requirements in bulk. We buy architecture and town-planning from assorted artists ranging from the late Sir Edward Lutyens to M. le Corbusier, fiscal policies from Mr. Kaldor, machinery from America, talent from Russia. The idea of conjuring up a whole city out of the void is impious, trenching as it does on Brahma's exclusive right! Our cities were always built — or rather imperceptibly grew — from a central nucleus, a temple or a palace. Chandigarh, on the other hand, is all circumference with no centre. The folly of throwing away crores of rupees on such an adventure when hardly forty miles away there was Patiala, admirably suited for development, would be inconceivable anywhere except in the snob's paradise which is modern India.

VIGNNESWARA

A society is the richer for producing people of varied individuality, with varied patterns of living and thinking; but it is the poorer if it produces classes so diverse in experience or ethic that they cannot communicate or work together.

—SIR GEOFFREY VICKERS.

SWARAJYA

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SIDELIGHTS ::

The Wayne University Theatre Group presented a series of plays in Madras last week before highly appreciative audiences. The appreciation the players received was due as much to the quality of the audience as to the merit of the play. Western dramatic art is built on the support of a trained and sophisticated public. Its motto is naturalness. There are no overtones. The performers place themselves in the situations created for them by the dramatist and attempt to speak and behave exactly as persons actually living in such situations would. The stage is thus a replica of life presented in suitable settings.

In India the stage has been almost ousted by the cinema. The enormous taxation to which the cinema is subjected, has driven small producers out of the field. Producers have to capture a huge market if they are to survive at all. Even to make a slight profit after payment of the taxes, they have to make big money. The limited market of the linguistic State is being got over with the device of dubbing, each picture being copied into two, three, or more languages. Film stars have become, in this process, bilingual, tri-lingual, and even multi-lingual. To be able to appeal numerically to the largest possible multitude of the population has become the requisite of a commercially feasible picture. Ordinarily in the realm of art, quality counts, and a painter or sculptor need bend to no box office yranny. He can win fame and attain success with the patronage of the elect without having to dilute his integrity as an artist to capture the enthusiasm of the masses.

But the position of the film producer is different. It has forced him to mix drama with dance and music to multiply the popular appeal of a picture. If the classic simplicity of the Wayne University Theatre could be transported into the cinema, the resulting production would have fallen flat and turned out to be a dismal failure. It has become imperative for com-

mercially successful film-making in India that naturalness and other classic standards should be abandoned and replaced by dexterous manipulation with an eye on the box office. Sri S. S. Vasan is the greatest modern exemplar of the imperatives of victorious fulfilment fashioned by historical and other necessities in the making of films.

His pictures fall into a pattern which reveals much psychological adeptness in discovering and responding to mass needs. These fall roughly into two main streams, the religious and the profane. For the satisfaction of the insatiable religious urges of the community he has provided *Avvayyar*, putting into it seven years of relentless effort. For the gratification of its less exalted needs he created *Strange Brothers* and *Chandralaksha* and now added a third to the list, *Vanji Kottai Valipan*. In these pictures there is no portrayal of life as it exists. People know life at first hand and they are not likely to pay for the privilege of witnessing second-hand reproductions of something generally not over-pleasant, which they would like if they can to forget for a while and banish out of their consciousness. The thing to do is not to depress people with too ruthless faithfulness to existing realities, but to throw into them liberal and delicious chunks of entertainment. So Sri Vasan who regards himself primarily as an entertainer has thrown into his latest picture an unprecedented volume of entertainment in the form of songs and dances, flamboyant declamations, decorative effects, thrills and excitements, glamour and beauty. The net effect of all the sensationalism is a vicarious enjoyment of something very different from ordinary drab experience, for which thousands of people will cheerfully pay, not once, but again and again.

Even accident seems to reinforce design in Sri Vasan's film statecraft. At the press show of any picture in a big cinema hall in the city, nearly a thousand persons are present, all potentially

lost to the box office. But such a thing will not happen in the case of this press release of Sri Vasan's latest picture. It happened that the last five or six hundred feet of the picture could not be shown as they had not been got ready yet. I have no doubt that every one present at the press show will want to see the story to the end and will not miss seeing it on his own at one or other of the picture houses where it is now on show.

As an example of devotional emphasis in a film, Sri B. A. Subba Rao's *Chenchu Lakshmi* is noteworthy. It is the story of Prahlada and there are occasions when it draws tears from one's eyes. Certain passages in the Ramayana have this same effect on the reader. It is a great thing to be able to affect people in this way.

SAKA

A NEW YEAR STORY

Madras moved into VILAMBI sanctified by the divine presence of Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam. On this occasion thoughts flash in the mind of the dynamic leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. South India remembers the contribution to national life by the sagacious statesman C. Rajagopalachari; the sense of construction and reverence for life of M. Visvesvaraya and M. Venkatasubba-rao; the scientific humanism of S. Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, S. V. Ramamurti; the artistic harmony of Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar, Rukmini Devi, M. S. Subbulakshmi, Sri Prakasa, P. V. Rajamannar, Dwaram Venkateswami Naidu; the pervasive fragrance of Kasturi Srinivasan; the administrative resilience of C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mirza M. Ismail, A. Ramaswami Mudaliar; the samaritan service to lighten life's sorrows by Lady Venkatasubbarao, S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Durgabai Deshmukh, B. Jagannadhas and V. V. Giri. Inviting public co-operation as a journalist of 25 years' experience, I propose to present the magnificent story of Madras and the South with the publication of the MADRAS THANKSGIVING NUMBER in English, as my reverential offering.

Vuppuluri Kalidas, B.A.B.L.,
Editor, ANANDAVANI.

12, Thambuchetti St.,
Madras-1.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It is a gloomy year for the Congress and quite a disturbing one for the Prime Minister. Nothing seems to happen to add to the sense of confidence of the organisation or to the cheer of its only leader. Not a day passes without bringing in its wake deafening reports of different kinds of trouble from all quarters. Few Congressmen are seen these days walking with their heads erect. They are painfully conscious of things going wrong, here, there, almost everywhere, but they hardly know what to do about it all. Though divided in the apportionment of responsibility for the crisis and of blame for the debacle, they are fairly well united in bemoaning their lot. The more earnest and serious among them are prayerfully hoping that recent reverses will have the cumulative effect of stinging the entire party into wakefulness before it is too late. Committees are meeting in the Congress office for stock-taking, for post-mortem, and for devising the best means for the entire overhaul of the Congress machinery. And it is typical of the hour that while all are pretty sure of the diagnosis, nobody is even reasonably hopeful of the recovery of the patient since correct prescriptions elude them. This is, in all conscience, bad enough when something worse happens to focus attention on the growing unpopularity of the Congress in the country.

And the bolt comes from the skies where the prestige of the Congress used to be sky-high, so much so that those who strode the earth beneath counted more than their compatriots elsewhere. For, has not the U. P. of the Panditjis and the Pantjis, and the Acharyas and all 'the avatars', come to be the cradle or the nursery of political ambition and personal ascendancy? Not till the ground slips beneath Congress feet at the Triveni Sangam or on the banks of the Ganga, will the

policy-makers and the law-givers of the Congress realise the intensity of any problem, confronting the Congress or the country. There is no pretence of any complacency now or any kind of pretension in evidence. The Congress forces inside the State which met at 'Philippi' to bring Mr. C. B. Gupta back to office and power,

Western Reactions

"They have done all the tests and they now declare they will not have any further test explosions. What is there wonderful in this?"

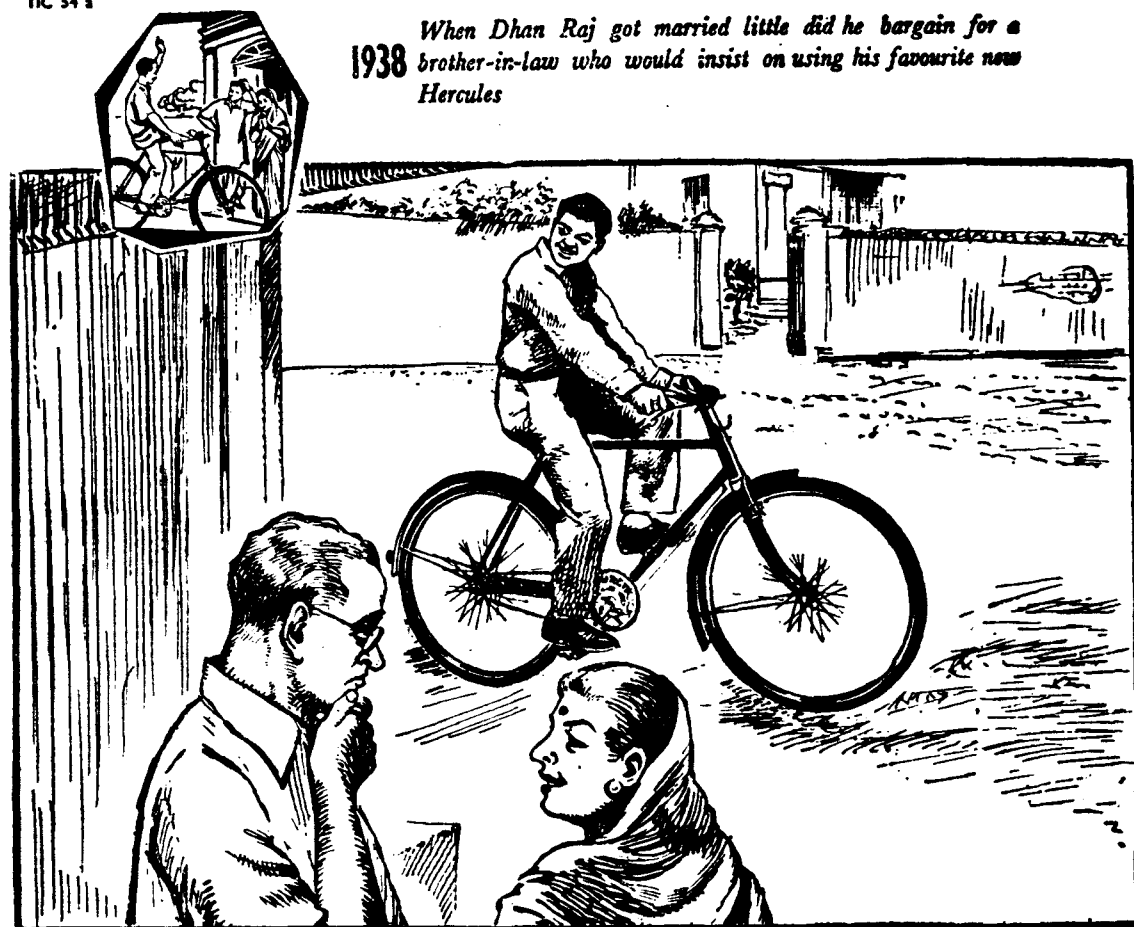
But what prevented you from doing similarly before March 30? At any point of time when a unilateral step is taken by anybody, the same thing may be said. "They must have finished their tests", the carping comment can be made. So every good act can be belittled. Are the Russians so superior that they have done all their tests with a much smaller number of radio-active explosions and before March 30, 1958, while the West has still to run the race of poisoning the world before finding its own holy grail? These arguments will not make any impression on those who do not want to be poisoned and who do not want their progeny to be born defective or monstrous. The West must confess morally beaten if they have not the courage to follow with their own unilateral action. Is there any sense in Britain or America saying that it has the right to stop its tests unilaterally after completing its investigation? Who contested that 'right'? The question is: are you prepared to stop before achieving your purpose and in order to induce trust and goodwill by your courage to face a disadvantage for that sake?

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

with the blessings of the High Command, have been easily chased and given a hiding. And to add to his discomfiture it is, for Mr. Gupta, both a second rebuff and a case of feminine thrashing. The defeat is, however, more than personal; it is the Party that is rudely jettisoned. The anti-Congress feeling is now running so high that even if Pandit Pant contests (as some say he should) for Lok Sabha, he will not find the Gomti flowing in the right direction or the Kumaon hills smiling in the sun. The bye-elections since the last General Elections have conclusively proved that the Congress is all but extinguished as a Parliamentary force or a force in Parliamentary life. Today there is no trace left of the sublime confidence in which the Congress was somehow muddling through in Free India.

Bye-elections may not alter the perspective or affect the fortunes of parties. But they show which way the wind is blowing and what is in store later. And apart from political repercussions, they have an undoubted psychological value. It is one of the ironies of Parliamentary Democracy that when fate begins to mock maliciously at a party, even some of its best or strongest men fail to find safe seats. There is always something freakish about the so-called electoral fortunes, anywhere. In 1922 Baldwin was unable to find a seat for McKenna whom he wanted as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1923 Ramsay MacDonald found it equally difficult to 'bung' his Solicitor-General in. There is likewise no seat today within the grasp of the strong man of the U. P. Congress, despite the longest arm stretched over the chimneys of the Cawnpore mills. Which friend of the big business can convince a reasonably alert electorate that he is pining for the socialist pattern or the egalitarian order? Tomorrow it will be Mr. Gopala Reddi's turn to woo that fickle jade—the electorate in Andhra. Once again the Congress will be on trial, with the trophies of its opponents staring it in its face. The days are gone when mere slogans and names will do the trick.

TIC 54 a



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Perhaps the Congress will yet take time to realise that the 'socialist pattern' of Congress brand is 'an unsaleable drug in the market', which no amount of advertisement would make the people swallow, without the feeling that something will stick in their throats. It may be a potent drug. But its salesmen are an argument against its efficacy. The Congress must set up a high-power commission to probe into the various maladies and corruptions which beset it today as a party—and a ruling one at that, and courageously face the aftermath, if it still hopes to keep its flag flying, country-wide. It has tinkered for too long; it is asking for being trifled with. It is a double tragedy that even its greatest asset is feeling insecure about its inherent virtues. It is becoming a story of Denmark (where something is rotten) as well as a story of Hamlet. Truth to tell, the choice is very much limited: it lies but between action and abdication.

Post Script: And this has happened; it could have happened only in Delhi. Having reached Delhi as Minister-Designate for Economic Affairs, indeed having been sworn in as such, Mr. Gopala Reddi now finds himself divorced from Economic Affairs and wedded to Revenue and Civil Expenditure while his erstwhile and for an all-too-brief-while Deputy, having nothing to do with his "Revenue" or (Civil) 'Expenditure', will look after 'small savings' under the direct supervision of the all-knowing Mr. Morarji Desai. As Deputy Minister (Economic Affairs) hers was, however, the privilege of having marked for Sri Morarji relevant passages in a book on the subject, so that he might more easily digest what was recommended to him for chewing. Mr. Gopala Reddi's tenure as Minister for Economic Affairs was more than the proverbial nine days' wonder: it was ten days' *tamasha*. Not an uninteresting prelude to interesting experiences at the Capital!

NO INDIAN BACK-PEDDLING IN ARABIA

By ANDREW ROTH

Beirut: Few people can peddle backwards gracefully—either a bicycle or a foreign policy. But India has been saved this necessity in the Arab world by the sympathetic understanding which it has accorded to Col. Nasser and Egyptian aspirations, even when they went against the grain of Indian interests and tastes.

This makes it possible for India to adjust itself painlessly to the revolutionary change which has transformed the temper of political life in Arabia in the few weeks since the proclamation of the United Arab Republic a few weeks ago. This first great step toward the realization of the 700-year-old dream of Arab unity has so galvanized opinion as to introduce a qualitative change in the Arab nationalist revolution.

There is little doubt that today Col. Nasser is almost the complete master of the twin streams of political power here in Arabia: the craving of both the masses and intellectuals for a united independent Arab world and the jettisoning of the corrupt and medieval pashas and kings. By convincing both the masses and the intellectuals that he is history's instrument in realizing these dreams, Col. Nasser has become a near-god and has his enemies and critics on the run. The Lebanese Government has stopped praising the Eisenhower doctrine. The American Embassy here has started entertaining pro-Nasser journalists.

Many of these journalists are among Nasser's shock troops. Although Col. Nasser holds a military title, his real genius is as a propagandist in the political warfare peculiar to the Arab world. "When I turn on my radio at 8-30 to hear the Egyptian radio news," an Arab economist told me, "I hear the same station echoing from all the apartments around me. But almost no one listens to the powerful new station the Iraqis are operating." If they listen to the other half-dozen

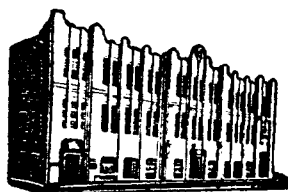
secret stations operated by the British, French and others, the virulent attacks on Nasser only seem to turn them more toward him. The anti-Nasser stations cannot tell the Arabs what they want to hear: that Nasser is forcing the West, the Zionists and the Pashas to their knees.

"Nasser's domination over the Arab multitudes today enables him to rule them no matter who their official sovereigns are." This is the opinion of moderate, analytical Ghassan Tuani, the American-educated Christian Arab owner-editor of Beirut's *An Nahar*. When he was a member of Lebanon's Parliament last year he supported Lebanon's acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine—the only Arab State to do so openly. "In the Arab world today," he pointed out, "every testimony . . . will find believers so long as it is backed by Nasser. . . ." This explains why the story that King Saud tried to bribe Syria's Col. Serraj to kill Col. Nasser and disrupt the UAR found such quick and immediate acceptance.

For an outsider the most astounding aspect of the hold of Col. Nasser and his propagandists is the picture he has managed to have accepted by the rest of the Arab world of what happened to Egypt as a result of the Suez attacks first by Israel and then by Britain and France. "Everyone believes Nasser won that battle," said Editor Tuani, shaking his head. "Sometimes you wonder whether what really happened is as important as what people think happened." (He recalled to my mind by old history teacher's insistence: "One of the most important things about history is who gets to write the history books." He was pointing out to us at the time that the War of 1812, which is presented in American history text-books as if it was a victory, was really a humiliating defeat which Britain didn't bother to follow up.)

Col. Nasser and his subordinates

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are not leaving to chance who is writing current history. The press in Cairo, the leading Arab publishing centre is, of course, controlled by Col. Nasser's regime. And in Beirut—the Arab world's second publishing centre—a scarcely-disguised torrent of Egyptian funds is buying up paper after paper or subsidizing struggling papers, to provide the difference between loss and profit. In January an entirely new paper, complete with new presses, was started by the Egyptians and, according to an old Lebanese journalist friend, a colleague of his had just been provided with enough funds to start another. Estimates of what the Egyptians are spending on the press in Beirut alone vary from the minimum of £100,000 yearly guessed by a pro-Nasser economist to between £5,000 and £1,000 estimated by a Western diplomat whose doleful job it is to watch the erosion of Western influence from the press of normally pro-Western Lebanon. Of the Moslem-oriented half of the press, he mourned, only one paper remains which is neither subsidized nor owned—through nominees—by the Egyptians. And this despite the organized effort of Western business interests to aid the shrinking number of friendly papers by placing their advertisements in terms of political orientation rather than circulation figures.

"Colonel Nasser reads the Beirut press every night," I was informed by Saeb Salaam, leader of the pro-Nasser Opposition and a former Prime Minister of the Lebanon. And well he might—to see how his press warriors are carrying out their guerilla attacks into the camp of Nasser's shrinking band of opponents. It is only necessary to read the popular Arab press in translation and translated transcripts of Egyptian radio broadcasts to realize how virulently and well the pre-medieval regime of the spendthrift King Saud was brought to its knees very largely through press and radio propaganda, operating on a very shaky situation within Saudi Arabia. King Saud was described in the most virulent terms as an American-paid enemy

of united Arab nationalism and the most depraved example of the money-squandering feudal class. To prove this last point there was a lurid description of the American-built push-button "comfort couch" which King Saud was alleged to use to "service" his large harem with least wear-and-tear on himself.

This sort of propaganda could not, of course, succeed unless it conformed with both the prejudices and aspirations of the Arab peoples and was used to hasten the neutral course of history or take advantage of an opponent's effort to swim against the tide. In the case of King Saud, of course, Col. Nasser's propaganda warriors had the perfect sitting target. King Saud offended Arab nationalists by trying to thwart Egyptian-Syrian union; he offended the urge toward social revolution by the incredibly extravagant way in which he squandered the millions from oil revenues while his people lived in medieval destitution; but worst of all he offended the Nasser-worship of the whole Arab world by allowing himself to be depicted as the organizer of plots to kill Nasser. Nasser today means to the Arabs as much as Roosevelt at his most popular meant to Americans, or Churchill at his 1940 peak meant to the British or Gandhi to the Indians. To attack Nasser today means to attack Arab pride and his desire for social reform. Even the comparatively enlightened American attitude during the Suez crisis only partially obliterated the American anti-Nasser campaign in the weeks surrounding the breaking-off of American aid to Egypt and Nasser's seizure of the Canal. "I'll never forget or forgive the 'Nasser Must Go' line of the Americans then," said one Arab nationalist leader in Beirut.

So much is the foreign country's attitude toward Nasser the criterion by which it is judged that Arab admiration for the Russians has sagged recently. "We still are grateful that they gave us arms to defend ourselves when you in the West refused it," said one pro-Nasser lawyer. He also approved of the Russian way of supplying equipment or services, which

could not be misappropriated. "But we are not happy with the Russians right now because they do not seem enthusiastic about Nasser's United Arab Republic."

The British and French, of course, virtually destroyed their remaining political influence here by their invasion of Egypt in 1956. What little political sympathy there remained for France has now been virtually completely obliterated by French actions in Algeria. Apart from pockets of local investment, remaining French interests here are mainly cultural. There are still enough people here educated in French to make the Beirut French-language *l'Orient* the most widely-read non-Arabic paper and to make it seem worthwhile to launch recently a French-language picture weekly *Le Magazine*, styled on *Paris-Match*.

"Of course," the British here say somewhat defensively, "the basic struggle for the Arab world is between Baghdad and Cairo and, for the long haul, our bet is on Baghdad." Certainly they have spared no effort, particularly since Eden fell out with Nasser in 1954-55, to strengthen the Iraqi Government, which is dominated, in Government and out, by Nuri es Said. The Baghdad pact was organized—as Sir Anthony Eden virtually admitted—largely as the cover demanded by Nuri for the renewal of the Anglo-Iraqi defense agreement.

In the long run the British are probably right in assuming that Iraq, with a small population, plentiful arable land and plenty of oil revenue can overtake Egypt economically, since Egypt is overpopulated for its arable land and has no oil to export.

The crucial question in Arab affairs, however, is whether the Iraqi regime will have a long run. The elder generation of strong-armed feudalists headed by the tough, shrewd and exceptionally cunning Right-wing nationalist Nuri is almost completely out of touch with the opinion of normal Iraqis. Most Iraqis say that the overwhelming majority of Iraqis are pro-Nasser; an official British report is said to put the pro-Nasser total at 85%! The economic

development of Iraq has brought water to the land of large land-owners, enriched certain favoured contractors, and provided lucrative jobs for the few Iraqi technicians and engineers. Nuri has learned from Farouk's mistakes and pays his senior army officers very well, installing them in attractive villas. But the gulf between the rich and poor has grown.

It is almost difficult to find out what is happening within Iraq as it was to form an opinion of events in Saudi Arabia before King Saud was superseded. Nuri, or whoever is his 'stand in' as Prime Minister, suppresses free opinion with a very heavy hand, jailing the most moderate of critics and suppressing their papers on the flimsiest of pretexts. Elections are rigged so crudely that even the most cynical British expert blanches. What is likely to happen? "The place will probably explode," said one knowledgeable observer, "when a group of Nasser-minded young Army officers can assemble a thousand determined soldiers to seize power. Then the whole house of cards will come tumbling." Even the most sober of Arab experts, like

the Francophile moderate, George Naccache, owner-editor of *l'Orient*, feel the West's dependence on unpopular pashas like Nuri is suicidal.

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The Iraqi Government is clearly on the defensive already. Its adoption of bankrupt Jordan in the Arab Federal State a fortnight after Nasser proclaimed the United Arab Republic was clearly a British-encouraged move to prevent Jordan from dropping into Nasser's lap. At the beginning of March Nuri dropped his second-string stand-in and assumed office again himself with a Cabinet including all of Iraq's traditional Right-wing strong men. "The truth of the matter," commented editor George Tuoni, "is that Nasser's campaigns against Baghdad are, in so far as effectiveness is concerned, different today from what they were yesterday. To Baghdad, Nasser is no longer the danger on the banks of the Nile. Nasser has established himself on the borders of Iraq.....We would not be unfair to Iraq if we said that it may be playing its last card. For should these Iraqi leaders fail to face up to Nasser's challenge, Iraq may well then seek a new course and a new regime....."

So thin and brittle is Iraq's top layer that few Arab experts can conceive of this resulting in anything but the merger of the Arab Federal State with the United Arab Republic under Col. Nasser's leadership. It would be difficult then for the Saudis and others to escape joining if only on a federative basis. In short by dint of brilliant political warfare and propaganda Col. Nasser may accomplish in a few months the dream Arab unity which even optimists thought would take many years, if not decades.

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THE 'RECESSION' AND THE LAYMAN

By S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

The 'recession' has made physicians of us all. It is like the common cold; every one has a cure for it, a simple, straightforward remedy which those in power will not see. But what is a 'recession', and how is it different from a 'depression'? *Time* magazine gives the answer. "A recession is when you lose your job; a depression when I lose mine." That may be so from the point of view of an individual, but the economists and the statesmen of America see only a 'saucer recession', a slight pause to take breath before another catapulting into prosperity. There is a Napoleonic refusal to recognise the word 'depression'.

We need not quarrel over words. Let us follow the USA and call it a 'recession', and examine the more relevant point of what it means. The orthodox economists who learnt their socio-pathology during the era of the inevitable trade-cycle (the astrologers call it Sakata Yoga) describe it by its symptoms, such as falling demand, lower prices, unemployment, weakening prices on the Stock-exchange, a closure or two, and an occasional suicide by an industrialist. In plain language, during a depression there is less money all round, and the economy feels tired and refuses to gallop as before. But the question, which is the cause and which is the effect is a thorny one and is like the pristine problem of which came first, the hen or the egg; and also of the same order of futility.

But the present recession has created a problem without a precedent. It is not running true to form. The novelty in the new recession is that it combines a falling demand with high prices.

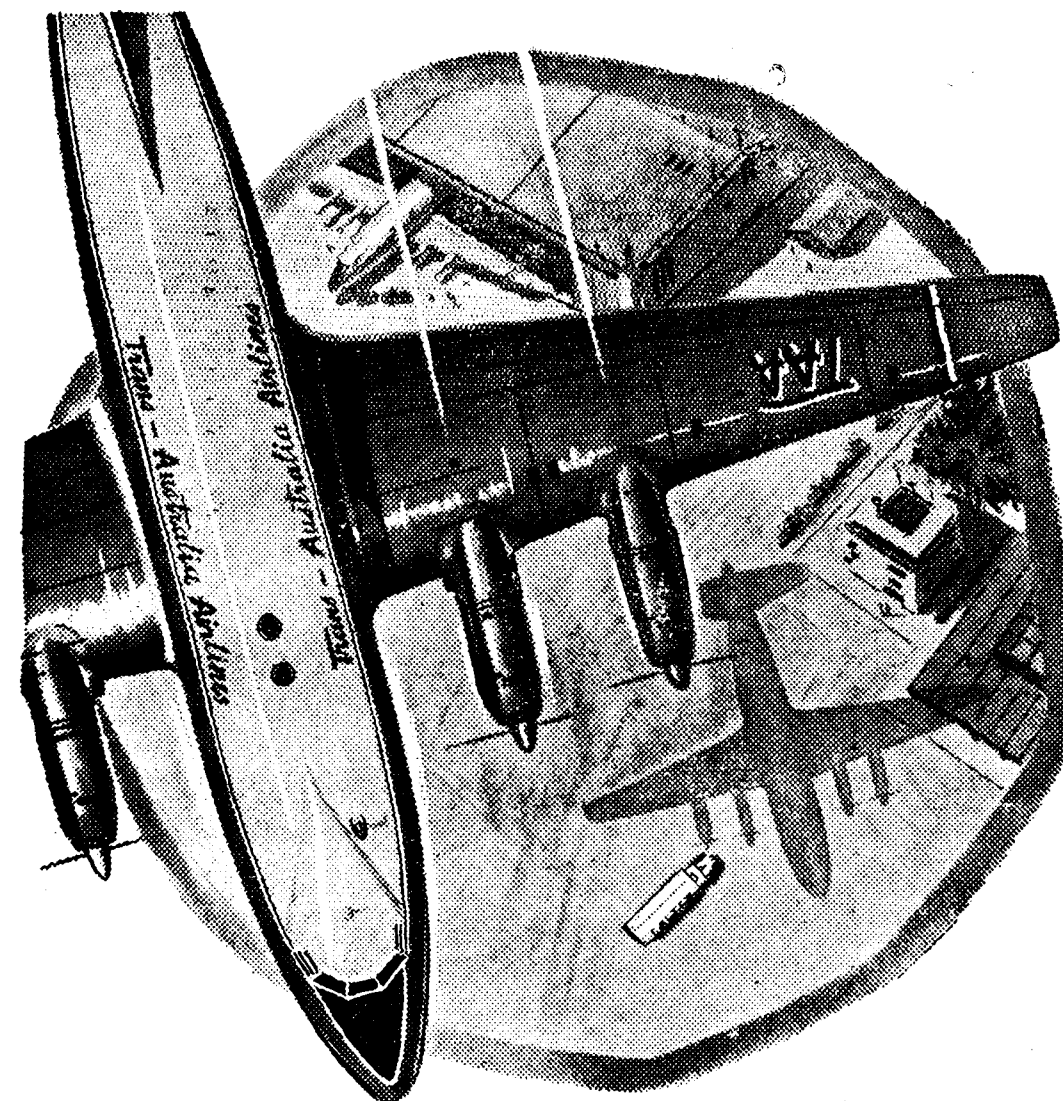
Why is the price of a commodity high? It is firstly due to high cost of production. Secondly, it is due to the reluctance of the producers to reduce profits which are added to the cost. Thirdly, it is

due to taxation, which is added on to the company's price.

Let us see if one or more of these causes have played their part in maintaining a high level of prices.

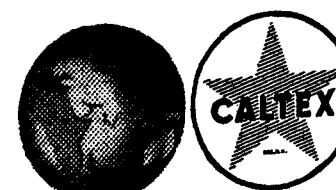
The cost of a commodity is made up of labour (including management) and materials. These are paid for either from internal resources, or more commonly, from bank borrowings. The rate of interest on loans has a direct effect on the volume of borrowing. The common economic theory is that a rise in the bank rate reduces borrowing and the resulting flow of funds which will lead to higher prices, or in technical words, it prevents the onset of inflation. When it is feared that an inflation is imminent, the bank rate is raised. On the other hand, when it is feared that a recession is overtaking the economy, the rate is lowered so as to make money available more easily and stimulate production and employment. It is this theory that has directed recent American policy. The Federal Reserve Bank has reduced the discount rate thrice in four months. It has also cut by 1/2% the minimum cash reserves that must be maintained by its 6,400 member banks to back demand deposits. It is estimated that this will free \$500 million, with a greater credit potential.

The policy of Great Britain, however, is different in some respects. In 1957 Britain was faced with two difficulties. One was a run on the pound. The other was the pressure of inflationary tendencies. So they raised the bank rate to the high figure of 7%. The pound recovered. It is not necessary to branch off into a discussion of how a currency recovers its foreign prestige and consequent exchange ratio and demand, for, that will be like the Panchatantra story, one leading to another, without end. Suffice it to



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say that for a country with a huge volume of exports and imports, the value of its currency in relation to other currencies and its reserves of certain important currencies like the dollar are the very life breath of economic stability. The recovery has taken place. But inflation has not been halted. The conservative British view is that it is too soon to be complacent about the pound. *The Times* says "But does the fact that the sterling crisis is over for the moment and that rates are falling in other countries (often for quite different reasons) justify a cut of a full 1% here? The fact that a trade recession is in progress in the United States strengthens rather than weakens the need for caution about relaxing the pressure here too soon. After all, only the first glimmerings to a halt to the rise in prices



have been seen so far on the home front, in spite of a 12% drop in the prices of imported materials over the past year. Certainly the remedies are working, but a false step at this stage might easily undo all the good work of the past six months."

We are thus confronted with two opposing views, one from USA and one from U.K. The former is concerned with unemployment which is rising and the need to stimulate the huge internal demand. The latter is concerned with the stability of the pound which is essentially a "foreign" level, and is bound up with an import-export economy. (The demand for the pound means demand for the goods which are to be paid for in pounds.)

The money position in India shows a special aspect of our economy. The official rate of the Reserve Bank fluctuates between three and four per cent. But it is notorious that what is called the bazaar rate is today nearer twelve per cent than anything else. This conspicuous divorce between bazaar fact and Reserve Bank fiction robs the bank rate of much of its significance in the Indian economy.

By and large, there is a conflict of approach to the problem of making money available to industry and trade. "Too many programmes" is the caution of

the Cohen Committee on Production and Employment. U.K. is reluctant to cheapen money. But all out employment is the cry in USA.

The part played by labour in keeping up a high level of prices needs special mention. There is a tendency to look upon labour as a weak link in the chain of production, but that is ancient history. In USA organised labour is a potent force and the labour bosses have to be reckoned with. Says a recent review: "Last week, as the recession appeared near the bottom of the slide, few thoughtful businessmen were anxious to force the tired bull to his feet too soon. They fear the speedy return of inflation, since prices, which normally drop in a recession, have held up surprisingly. Though many retail prices and some wholesale items dropped, the level of the nation's basic commodities remains unchanged. The reason, say businessmen, is the organised labour philosophy, that good business or bad, wages—and thus prices—must go up every year. Therefore steelmen refuse to cut prices, not only because they say it would not improve business, but also because they face an automatic wage increase next July. Detroit refuses to lower auto prices largely because it must negotiate auto contracts this summer, expects that it will have to grant the U.A.W. a boost."

Thus in U.S.A. "Organised labour has already jeopardised its interests by pricing many of its goods and services right out of the market".

While the labour aspect does not appear to be receiving sufficient attention in U.S.A., and is taken more as a factor to be reckoned with than as something to be changed, in U.K. the experts have definitely stated that a readjustment is called for on the labour front. Says Beveridge: "At the moment we in Britain are threatened with some decline for our products by the recession in the United States. That may naturally send up our unemployment percentage unless and until demand grows elsewhere. This

risk is a price worth paying for the economic advantages of international trade. Second, among the internal problems of full employment the most difficult is the method of determining wages. Full employment strengthens greatly the bargaining power of employees and their trade unions. If, with this change, wage bargaining continues to be conducted exactly in the same way as hitherto, the result may be unfortunate. There is a real danger that sectional wage bargaining, conducted without regard to prices, may lead to a vicious spiral of inflation, with money wages chasing prices, and without any gain in real wages for the working class as a whole."

In India, in spite of the serious accumulation of stocks in the textile industry, the demand was made for a 25% increase in wages in all industries. It was rejected by the Minister for Labour.

The foregoing analysis brings out, significantly, that both money and labour are dear and that part of the high prices are due to them. But employment and the creation of purchasing power more than the price level is guiding concern in U.S. policy, while, in Britain, the dependence on foreign markets makes inflation a more direct disease to be controlled. In India wages are high in relation to efficiency and output, and they have come to play an important part in the maintenance of the price level. Money is in fact dear in India, but a false security is engendered by looking at official rates.

What of profits? Labour always points to the continuance of profits to justify its demands. The fact that the shares of industrial concerns are bought and sold in the market has a financial and a psychological effect in urging the maintenance of minimum profits. Indeed, some businessmen justify the existing prices on the ground that they are necessary to keep the industry going.

That the heavy taxes imposed by the Governments push up prices is self-evident. This form of taxation is the bane of the less developed countries where the

scope for increasing the yield of direct taxes is meagre. The excise and other commodity imposts are spread over several commodities and they are imposed by the Central and the State Governments, and the total is a sizeable addition to the cost of the product.

We may therefore conclude that all the three factors, basic cost of money and labour, the profit of the industry, and State policy of taxation have combined to maintain a high level of prices; such a level, in fact, that it has inhibited demand. The point for consideration is whether the lost demand should be regained or whether the tempo of supply and demand should both be slowed down in response to a more permanent realism. In the U.S.A. the policy is based on the limitlessness of the possibilities of prosperity. So the aim is to place more money in the hands of the people by unemployment benefits, public spending on works like roads and buildings, tax relief and similar measures. One may well question the basis of the Keynesian-Roosevelt remedy of public expenditure when the disease to be cured is not falling prices and uneconomic production, but high prices and consumer resistance at certain levels of living which have not been touched so far. One may well question the wisdom or even the economics of buying a new car every year and calling the failure to do so as a 'recession'. The British approach is the more reasonable one. So eminent an economist as Beveridge has confessed to a feeling of alarm at the present level of prices, and has asked for an impartial and remorseless enquiry. He says "Who has done it? In that enquiry no one must be spared—Government, Bankers, Employers, Trusts, Trade Unions, Organisers of hire purchase. I should be quite prepared to learn from such an enquiry that not only these, but several or all of them or others not mentioned above were helping to make our trouble, and must somehow change their ways to make stable money possible again."

What is the lesson for India? Just this, that while satiety

comes at a high level in a land of plenty, it can come at much lower levels where the general level of income is low. The remedy is to leave larger margins of purchasing power in the hands of the people. To this extent the American example is worth following, but not any further, because, the bringing down of the price level is important. Here the general search by all concerned for price stability advocated by Beveridge is useful. Labour should be told that real wages can never be stabilised at a reasonable level if the increase in the cost of living is taken as a cause and money wages stepped up again and again. That process can have no end except in disaster. At the same time a moratorium on profits beyond an agreed level should be declared and prices stepped down as part of deliberate policy. Needless to add, Government taxes on commodities should be reduced and abolished where possible. This will mean a smaller Budget, lesser spending on capital works, and the putting off of the millenium, but it will tend to stabilise our economy at a more reasonable price level. It may be that the problem of unemployment is not solved, but is rather aggravated by this remedy, but here again, let us not be carried away by the percentages quoted by the highly industrialised countries. The burden on a weak subsistence economy is not quite so formidable, and in any case, what is the employment in relation to the total population that our plans can guarantee?

We need a slowing down all along the line. It can come about only by an all round compact for reducing wages, profits, taxes. If such an agreement is not arrived at, and each section—labour, capitalist, Government—persist in blaming the other two, then, one may seriously doubt if prices can be brought down; and unless prices can be brought down voluntarily, they will fall by way of falling demand against which the opposing attacks of labour to have high wages and Governments to claim high taxes will both fail and in the process of failure, cause untold misery.

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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: This has been an exciting week in the film world. One of the happy events of the week is the agreement arrived at between the producers and the musicians, thanks to the efforts of the music directors. According to the six-point compromise formula, the cine musicians will get a 15 per cent rise in their rate per shift. As a result, the sound-stages have become very active since Wednesday 9th April and all the musicians are busy working round the clock recording songs and background music. Over a dozen pictures presented to the censors were held up for recording of background music. These pictures are now scheduled for release on Id day and subsequent weeks.

The other happy and most discussed event is the news of State awards. After two years, a Bombay producer has won the President's gold medal again; during the last two years the awards went to Bengal. The deserving recipient of the award is V. Shantaram, who has contributed a great deal to the development of motion picture art on progressive and purposeful lines. Apart from its artistic quality, 'Do Aakhien Barah Haath' deserves the award for its bold theme of prisoners presented in a daring and convincing manner. This picture, based on a true incident, has nothing in common with Stanley Krammer's 'My Six Convicts', except that it deals with six convicts. It is again the subject and the theme and the realism as well as the artistic presentation that have contributed to the choice of Shantaram's 'Do Aakhien Barah Haath'.

Equally significant is the choice of A.V.M.'s 'Hum Panchhi Ek Dal Ke' for the Prime Minister's gold medal and cash prize for the best children's film. This is the first time that this award has been given; and it is significant that his award has been won by a regular producer and not by the children's Film Society which specializes in the production of

children's films. It is also significant that while children had to be mobilized to see the Children's Film Society's product (exempted from entertainment tax) 'Hum Panchhi Ek Dal Ke' was seen by adults and children alike as an entertainment. And Sadashiv Rao Kavi, who has already proved himself a distinguished producer of Marathi films richly deserves the honour bestowed on him. Thanks to him and Santoshi, this is the first time that A.V.M., or for that matter, any South Indian producing concern has won the gold medal.

Bengal has kept up its reputation by winning the second prize in both categories of feature films and children's films with 'Andharey Alo' and 'Janmatithi' respectively. 'Mother India' and 'Musafir', 'Lohua Kapat' and 'Harno Sur' have been awarded regional certificates of merit. It is also significant that while silver medals were awarded to Bengalee, Marathi, Hindi, Kannada and Malayalam films, no Tamil or Telugu film was found worthy of the silver medal, though quite a number of pictures are produced in these two languages.

The fresh cut in import of raw film quota by 20 per cent has caused great excitement and it is feared that it will further slow down production. The producers are seeking revision of the policy; and they are making a strong plea to the Government.

Among the significant events of the week was the celebration of 60th birthday of Paul Robeson, the great Negro singer-actor. This birthday of Paul Robeson was celebrated in 28 countries. In India it was celebrated in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta. An All-India committee was formed under the presidentship of Shri M. C. Chagla. Several prominent film personalities have associated themselves with these celebrations including Prithviraj, V. Shantaram, Bimal Roy, Acharya Atre, Mehtab, Hiten Chowdhary, Salil Chowdhary, David, Sumati Gupte, Baburao

Pendharkar, Balraj Sahni in Bombay and Satyajit Ray, Shambhu Mitra, Dr. Shupen Hazarika and Modhu Bose in Calcutta.

In Bombay, film poets like Majrooh, Sahir, Shailendra, Prem Dhavan and Ali Sardar Jafri composed special songs about Robeson. And at a special show, these songs were sung by Manna Dey and Mukesh while Dev Anand and Balraj Sahni recited poems written by these poets in honour of Paul Robeson. Dilip Kumar made a speech on Paul Robeson while Raj Kapoor sang Robeson's famous song 'Old Man River'.

The tributes paid by film personalities to Paul Robeson were well deserved. For, Paul Robeson has acted in many films including 'The Proud Valley', 'Sanders of the River', 'Showboat' and 'Tails of Manhattan', which was his last picture. Since then he vowed not to appear in Hollywood films.

Paul Robeson is a great humanist. He has identified himself with all struggles for freedom and progress; he was identified in the thirties with the Indian struggle for freedom and sang 'Vande Mataram' song in Britain. He fought for equality of Negroes; but his political views invoked the wrath of the State Department and he has been denied passport to travel to Europe.

Paul Robeson has been invited to India and he has accepted the invitation. In his message to India Paul Robeson has said "Soon I hope to stand on the soil of beloved India, to sing for you and for you to sing with me".

Gemini's mammoth spectacle 'Raj Tilak' was released this week. The story is nothing new. A mythical state ruler is murdered by Durjay Singh, his brother-in-law, who captures power with his sister as titular head. The 'loyal' Minister saves the heir apparent and the princess and takes them away while his own wife languishes in jail and his son and daughter are picked up by a ship-owner and brought up. It is mainly the story of Chandar, the Minister's son, whose sister dies in trying to escape from Durjay Singh's hands and who decides to avenge her death. Chandar meets his mother in pri-

son and after many adventures and escapades succeeds in rescuing his father and bringing Durjay Singh to book.

Both Vyjayantimala and Padmini are ornaments without any decisive role in the story. And but for the dance duel between them beautifully executed, their dancing talent is not fully exploited. The decor, the acting and other production values only emphasise the fact that Gemini are still living in the ten-year-old era of 'Nishan'.

Filled with opulence and the familiar ingredients of entertainment 'Raj Tilak' will appeal to those who like this kind of fare. The dance duel between Vyjayantimala and Padmini, however, is an artistic and delightful feature for the discerning picture-goers.

Kamil Rashid, the dialogue writer of 'Naya Daur' and author of 'Mehendi' is reported to be ill for the last several months suffering from T.B. His friends are trying to secure funds for his treatment.

Rehman and Ameeta are featured in Filmistan's next picture based on a screenplay by Pandit Indra. O. P. Datta is the director.

Naresh Saigal is making 'Pathar ki Lakir' for Parijat Pictures. Based on a story by G. D. Madgulkar, it will star Mala Sinha, Pradeep Kumar and Rehman.

School Libraries

Before the levy of library fees, indents of books for libraries used to be submitted by the Correspondents of schools to the D. P. I., in April; orders sanctioning purchase of proper books would be communicated in the course of a year; books approved by the Department would be purchased before the period fixed; and grants would be paid in the order of priority. After the levy of library fees, 70% of the special fees collected under this head has to be utilised for purchasing books for pupils' use; and heads of aided secondary schools are permitted to utilise 30% of the total library fee collections for buying reference

books for teachers. The collected fees of each year should be spent within the school year itself.

This privilege enjoyed by heads of aided secondary schools is denied to heads of schools under local bodies. These headmasters are not permitted to buy from the library funds any books of reference for teachers. Municipal councils and district boards should purchase reference books from their general funds only. It is not an easy affair for either publishers or heads of schools to advise managements of local board schools to buy books of reference from general funds. The differential treatment between aided schools and schools under local bodies should be abrogated. These schools have to forego the benefit of the publications of the year, however useful and inspiring they may be.

There are certain schools, and colleges too, heads of which are not vested with powers to buy even a book worth a single rupee. Correspondents should forego this privilege and trust their heads to choose and order suitable books for their libraries, out of the library special fee collections.

Some heads of schools under local boards buy reference books for their schools, with the oral approval of the D. E. Os., trusting to the pleasure of the individual D. E. Os. Again, the approval of the D. E. Os. of the purchase of reference books is based on the list of books commended by the D. P. I. or now the Director of Public Libraries from time to time for use in public libraries. There is misapprehension in certain quarters that purchase of books not found in the D. P. I.'s "commending" list should not be approved. What the D. P. I.'s "commending" circular means in respect of public libraries and educational institutions needs to be explained in detail. Educational institutions are not prohibited from buying books from outside the list, provided they are not proscribed.

In recent years, the Government of India have been sanctioning library grants for certain secondary schools every year of Rs. 5000 each to be utilised within

a short period. Heads have not sufficient time to prepare the lists of books needed for their schools, and are obliged to place orders with some local bookseller who selects books out of the stock he has or could gather, and supplies them, not necessarily, in most cases, the books needed for the school. A scrutiny of the purchases covering the amounts of grants sanctioned by the Government of India would show that the Government grant had been spent, not necessarily for necessary and useful purposes.

Each school must submit its requirements in respect of library, laboratory, craft organisation, technical subjects; and grants must be sanctioned on the basis of what they have and what they further need. The present policy of the Government of India sanctioning a round sum to any school, without considering whether it is a long-established school with already good equipment, or a recently started one with poor equipment should be given up. Schools for award of grants should not be chosen in a haphazard fashion; and schools selected for various types of grants should be given sufficient time for making the purchases.

R. SRINIVASA MENGAR.

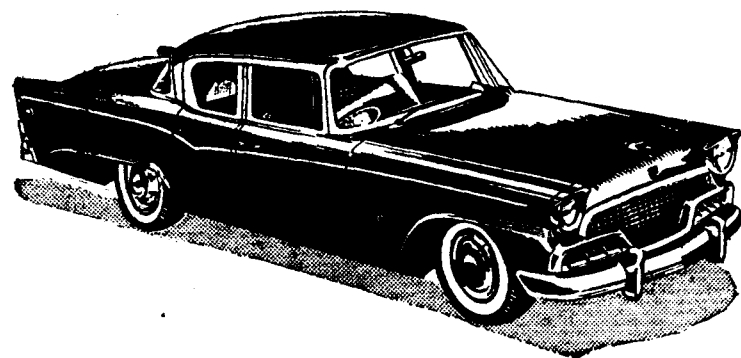
NEW BOOKS

<i>The Roots of Heaven</i> : A novel by Romain Gary (Book Society Choice)	13 00
<i>A Love Affair in Rome</i> : A novel by Ercole Patti	11 00
<i>Five Men and A Swan</i> : Scottish tales and verse by Naomi Mitchison	10 19
<i>The Wisdom of Balahbar</i> : A Christian legend of the Buddha by David Marshall Lang	12 19
<i>The Portent of Milton</i> : Some aspects of his genius by E. H. Vasiak	12 19
<i>The Best One Act Plays of 1956-57</i> : Selected by Hugh Miller	12 19
<i>Restless Heart</i> : A play by Jean Anouilh	8 56
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SWARAJYA

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15 Naye Paise

PSYCHO-THERAPY FOR CONGRESS

Whenever electoral reverses create a heart-searching 'in Congress circles a cry is raised for mass contact' and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru issues a statement that the Congress organisation is sound although sometimes the nominal head of that organization speaks a different language. It is good psycho-therapy to say every morning as you rise from an electoral reverse "I am strong; I am not weak; indeed I am getting stronger, and this is just a symptom of growing strength". The quacks in field work insist that what is wanted and the lack of which brought about recent reverses is 'mass-contact', whatever that may mean. It is a mantra that has come down from the time of the struggle against the British and like many other things has survived its utility. The notion is that by deceptive talk and boosting we can make people believe that everything good that is happening is due to Congress virtue and everything wrong due to the vices of those who oppose the Congress. People are asked — and this is mass contact — to accept the falsehood that all that is made out of taxation money and government power is entirely the product of the special nobility and philanthropy of Congress and to let that river of generosity to flow the electors should not misbehave.

All this is as wrong in diagnosis as in treatment. The fact of the matter is that people have found out that the average character of

Congress party men and Congress party managing agencies has gone down and that they are not living for but living on their alleged beneficiaries and people would much like a change if it could be for the better. They are not sure of this happening and so they just gamble on the chance here and there.

Instead of seeking "mass contact" and more opportunities to deceive it would be the right thing honestly to do what is called introspection. Does the organization

keep out good men? Do the managing agencies — this is just what the provincial Congress chiefs are — run a closed shop everywhere and pretend to represent the people who are however carefully kept out from changing the managing agencies? Do Congressmen earn an honest living or have they become parasites either on the organization *cum* government support or on the number ones in motor transport or in the film business or in the restaurant trade, for it is in these small and quick return services that there is money in the present days. It is also in these professions that governmental favours play the most effective part and are much needed.

Parasitism has taken the place of patriotism but the disease is being wrongly diagnosed, the doctors being themselves under the spell of ego-centred delusions. It is like an optimistic consumptive patient imagining that what he needs is more exercise and if that were supplied he would get strong. As if one error were not enough, we have another constantly coming up for public announcement and silent amusement. All unfavourable symptoms are taken as due to lack of 'discipline'. So those who disapprove of the managing agencies and have the courage and resolution to put their disapproval into practice, are suspended, expelled and squeezed into obedience. The courage of dissidents often does not last long and a desire to live compels them to apologise, confess

Pro-Nuclear Test Drug

Numerous are the forms which pro-nuclear propaganda takes in certain circles in certain countries. The latest is news from San Francisco that Dr. Lindenbaum has claimed to have developed a tasteless yellow drug (to which he has given an attractive name) which if administered to Fall-out patients will eliminate the strontium. So let the tests go on! The *Lindenbaum drug is tasteless*, so it can be easily swallowed and we are then perfectly safe whatever be the number of Pacific Ocean tests. Japan and Asia should at once order large quantities of the new drug from San Francisco, as a precautionary civil defence equipment.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

SUMMIT CONFERENCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

What hopes can a Summit or other conference raise if the principal member-powers are most unwilling to come together and have to be almost physically dragged to it? So many hurdles are placed deliberately by the invited parties making their unwillingness so obvious. Again, of what use can any conference be when on issues so vitally concerning human life and civilization and not merely the so-called security of this or that power, some of the heads of governments concerned (and they are very powerful units) meet beforehand and come to agreements as to points likely to arise for discussion at the conference — sealed against breach at the conference and sealed before that from the rest of the world's knowledge. Of what use can a conference be if the members are afraid to meet lest they be forced by reason to come to an agreement? If the minds are closed against fresh thoughts and

views and sold and sealed to previously and separately arrived at conclusions, closed even against fresh information, what hopes can be entertained about the Summit conference? We shall have at the conference a replica of democratic parliamentary debates and voting where each group has previously made up its mind as well as its vote, and party 'discipline' overrules reason and wisdom. Such a conference would really be the summit of folly and waste. If only closed minds must meet and no one can change his views, it will be a play, not a conference. Let us hope and pray that when so much unwillingness is overcome by the compulsion of world opinion, we shall not have a conference of mere automata but of human thinking souls.

The idea of having a conference of 'Summits' and not of intervening ministers or officials is based on the belief that at the conference minds would be open

and discussion would be free and the members powerful enough to modify opinions or even accept previously rejected views and come to new conclusions. If this basis of the plan is sabotaged by anticipatory negations arrived at between some of the participants, the conference will be no better than a Security Council debate wherein briefed representatives really talk to the world press while pretending to discuss. The presence of representatives of non-bloc states cannot make any difference when the powers primarily concerned come with closed minds and secret agreements holding them to unalterable positions. The play will become a tragedy and the pain more poignant. After the dispersal, the world will have been familiarised to one more frustration and the sum of hope definitely reduced.

Indeed when the Summit conference comes off, I should like each of the heads of States to be asked to swear or affirm solemnly that he sits down for discussion with an open mind and has not bound himself beforehand to any conclusion on any point.

and obey. Alas, that without knowing it, our once finest organization is degenerating into completely totalitarian ways. What is called indiscipline is either the backwash of ubiquitous corruption or a symptom of disapproval which should be taken note of and not treated allopathically. We can practise coercion to produce obedience, but there is a limit to such proceedings beyond which you produce careerist pusillanimity or a new splinter group.

The Congress illness requires ayurveda and not quack allopathy. Ayurveda is the science of life. Allopathy is the allaying of symptoms by counter-measures. This distinction is just what Congress well-wishers should have in their minds when they take measures to heal the too well-known diseases in the Congress organization. All life in that organization is now concentrated in the managing agencies and what is called for is a new Companies' Act.

International Law Forbids

Never before in the history of the world has there been such a large scale invasion or such a persistent or such a terribly injurious trespass on other nations' fundamental rights and such an obvious breach of international law of such magnitude as are involved in the obstinate programmes of nuclear tests carried out by the Powers in the face of the most convincing and emphatic evidence of scientific experts of the highest acknowledged status and the protests of the most illustrious humanists of the world. We have now a pronouncement from the international lawyers of Germany which may sooth the troubled spirit of Hugo Grotius although it is too much to hope that there will be penitence in the hearts of the nuclear criminals. The news item embodying this pronouncement is reproduced below:

Kiel, April 15: International law forbids the use of nuclear arms by any belligerent, according to a report drawn up by experts of the University of Kiel International Law Institute for the West German Defence Ministry.

Prof. Eberhard Menzel, a member of the Kiel Institute, stated at a press conference yesterday that directives of the Western European Union or North Atlantic Treaty Organisation could not release countries from their obligations under International Law.

Prof. Menzel said the only possible exception would be a reply to an atom bomb attack. But he said it would have to be established that such an attack had in fact taken place and the reply to such an attack could not be decided on the mere presumption that there was going to be an enemy attack, or on the mere spotting of enemy planes on a radar screen.

"Any other use of atomic arms involves the full responsibility of the leaders of the country concerned and also of each of the individuals participating in such an operation," the legal expert declared.



Sotto Voce

The Arcane Department

In the debate on the Defence Budget Mr. Krishna Menon flew into a temper. That does not surprise one because Mr. Menon thrives on indignation; he is always at the epicentre of self-directed earthquakes. But what is astonishing is that the normally cool and academic Mr. Ashok Mehta should have taken this flare-up so much to heart that he declared with unwonted emotion, "It would be doing injustice to myself and to the cause that I have come here to represent if this is not cleared up". Even Mr. Menon was so struck with the force of that tearful argument that it was cleared up in a way.

What Mr. Menon had said was that the Opposition had cast reflections "for the purpose of political argument" against "the gallant men of our fighting services." It is, of course, axiomatic that all fighting men are 'gallant' just as all judges are 'learned' and all officials are 'able'. But how did Mr. Goray offend against this epic epithet? He had asked, "Does our soldier know what he is fighting for?" A rather pointless question, at any rate not one that can be answered with a simple 'Yes' or 'No'. Suppose someone asked, "Does the taluq office clerk know what he is 'fighting' for?" The correct and edifying answer would no doubt be, "Yes, he knows he is fighting for the Plan," as the answer to Mr. Goray's would be, "He is fighting for Democracy".

But the one no more bothers about the Plan than the other about Democracy. And so long as both do their work conscientiously the country has no reason to grieve. In fact the sentimental-cynical attitude towards the soldier, of the poet of *The Shropshire Lad* has done more harm than good. In any case it is outmoded in these days when, should

there be a global war — and all wars have a habit of becoming global — everyone will be in it, willy nilly. There is, of course, need for intelligently educating the potential soldier, just as there is for educating the civilian in his duties as a citizen. But that is a different thing from treating him as if he must be preserved in cotton-wool.

It suited Britain as a colonial Power to maintain this ostentatious distinction between sepoy and civilian and condition the sepoy into an illusory "bhai-bhai" spiritual kinship with Tommy Atkins. Mr. Menon and his critics alike are still under the domination of that policy. But the temptation to play politics is fatal to discipline, whether in the army or the civil services. When you talk of extending Trade Union rights to men in the civil services — and the Congress professes itself no less anxious to do this than the other parties — how can you very well deny these rights should military personnel come to demand them?

The critics of the Defence administration complained of Parliament being kept in the dark regarding defence policy, the equipment of our forces and so on, while foreign papers seem to be well posted in these matters. They alleged that obsolescent weapons were being brought, that hole and corner methods of stores purchase were resorted to and that firms with "a notoriously bad reputation" were being favoured. It was not as if the Opposition alone were having a cocoanut-shy at the Minister; the Congressmen were almost as vocal. Mr. Menon's reply was unenlightening and perfunctory. But, perhaps because of that adroit diversion for which Mr. Goray gave an opening, the debate petered out.

Asked why the public here couldn't be given as much information as the British Parliament was given on Defence matters, Mr. Menon made the mystifying remark that while Britain was talking from a position of strength "they in India were talking in the context of the defence of the country". Does it mean that in the British Parliament they bluff to impress the rest of the world? And if we have to be so vigilant in keeping our defence secrets, how comes it that the secrets are, according to Mr. Patnaik, no secrets at all for quite a few foreign newspapers? "Supplying the Defence Committee such information as it asked for" and giving, "in certain cases", information to the Committee's chairman, "with discretion in regard to its publication", could, properly handled, obviously dishearten the most persistently curious Committee.

To the charge of buying obsolescent material the Minister replied that they were the best we could afford. But he intriguingly added that they were also the best for "our purposes". That is indeed a lucky coincidence. But it doesn't throw light on what "our purposes" are, which could be so ideally suited by obsolete weapons. As for stores purchase, it seems the purchases are made through the Ministry of Works. It is all the more striking that, as I have reliably heard, certain U.K. firms with a nominal capital of £5 should have been considered for the supply of goods which they had never handled before. It is all so reminiscent of the jeeps story.

The attempt of Western Governments — vociferously assisted by their paid scientific advisers — to mislead the public about the problem of monitoring nuclear tests is now approaching the dimensions of a scandal. For some time, public confidence in the professional integrity of government scientists has been waning; it has now vanished completely.

— *New Statesman* of April 19.

SIDELIGHTS ::

Dr. V. K. Sundaram, M.B.B.S., has shown me an interesting correspondence which is of considerable public interest. In response to an advertisement published in *The Hindu* on 21st January 1957, calling for applications for the post of research fellow on an I.C.M.R. (Indian Council of Medical Research) enquiry at the All India Institute of Medical Health, Bangalore, he sent his application for the post a week after the advertisement was published. He received by express delivery a memorandum (dated 18th Feb., 1957) signed by Sri P. S. Doraiswami, Registrar of the All India Institute of Medical Health, Bangalore. It informed him that the Selection Committee will interview him at 10 a.m. on Sunday the 24th February, 1957, at the Mental Hospital, Bangalore, and that no travelling allowance will be paid. The applicant appeared at the appointed time before the Selection Committee and was examined by it. After waiting in vain more than three months for some intimation of the result, he wrote to the Director of the Bangalore Institute on 1st June, requesting to be informed whether he had been selected or not. On 4th June, the Registrar sent him this reply:

"Reference your letter dated the 1st June, 1957. You were recommended for the award of an I.C.M.R. research fellowship at this Institute for a period of three years. It is regretted that the I.C.M.R. has not accepted the recommendation."

After waiting for more than a month, Dr. Sundaram wrote to the Director of the Indian Council of Medical Research, Delhi, on 15th July, seeking further elucidation. The Director's reply (dated 12th August) was to this effect:

"With reference to his letter dated the 15th July, 1957, Dr. V. K. Sundaram is informed that he was not selected by the Selection Committee on the 24th February, 1957, for the post of research fellow."

"The Council, however, also awards research fellowship for research and higher training to those candidates, who hold teaching appointments in medical institutions. The sponsoring authorities have also to give an assurance that the candidates on completion of the fellowship will be absorbed in a teaching post. Since Dr. Sundaram is not holding any teaching appointment, it is regretted that he cannot be considered for the award of this fellowship."

In this correspondence, there are two curiosities worth noting. While the authentic spokesman of the Selection Committee tells the applicant that he was recommended by the Committee, the appointing authority categorically asserts that no such recommendation was ever made. And it introduces, as a condition for the award of the fellowship a qualification not mentioned at all in the advertisement, teaching experience in a medical institution and a guarantee of re-absorption in a teaching post on completion of the fellowship.

The selection or non-selection of this or that individual appli-

cant for any advertised post is not an important matter. However fairly a selection is made, some have to be excluded, and the discontent of the excluded is not a legitimate ground for criticism against the appointments made. But appointing authorities have no right to play with candidates as with a football, sending them hither and thither with untenable replies, or to confront them with new conditions out of the scope of the original advertised requirements. The documented disclosure of Dr. Sundaram's case strengthens the general suspicion that the advertisements that often appear in the newspapers calling for applications to vacant posts symbolise a post-dated formality to invest with an air of competition and discriminating choice, decisions already taken.

It also indicates lack of proper integration of ends and means. We have most elaborately equipped scientific and technical institutions but no care is taken to ensure that they are supplied with the talent they need. Our irrigation projects create vast reservoirs of impounded water, but the requisite distributory system of canals to take the water to the land is not planned and provided in time. The Government make a great show of encouraging the film industry by awarding prizes and gold medals to producers and artists, but they cut the ground from under its very feet by placing harassing restrictions on the raw material it needs. There is an extensive and complicated machinery for the recruitment of personnel to the various administrative and other services, but it has failed to win prestige through lapses of the kind revealed in Dr. Sundaram's case, cited above. The sum-total of all these discrepancies between advertised intentions and actual accomplishment works out in practice to a tragic load of inefficiency and waste. But an even more terrible consequence is the sense of injury and bitter disillusionment caused to innumerable individuals by the slipshod and slovenly treatment to which they are subjected by irresponsible authoritarians in high places.

SAKA

A FIELD OF HOPE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Barring those who have sold their hearts out to one side or the other, every lover of peace must see that in the atmosphere of fear and distrust generated by the latest weapons of destruction and the diabolical success in the technology of annihilation achieved therein by both sides of the polarised world, no agreement is ever possible. Agreement depends on acceptance of the assurances given on either side. Distrust, deep and unalterable, prevents such acceptance; what is more, it is believed that assurances are given by Russia only to be secretly broken and for fraudulently building up an advantage. If there is no room for inducing trust by assurances of the most solemn character, how can any agreement be ever reached? Both sides are eager for peace but disable themselves by their own incorrigible distrust from ever achieving what they desire.

I therefore pressed on the great-minded Americans as well as on the shrewd Russian leaders to examine the position fundamentally and find a way out of this impasse. The Russian leaders were prepared in spite of their fears and their distrust to accept assurances from the other side at face value and enter into agreement on that basis. This is a great thing to start with but America (England closely follows American policy in all such matters) would not accept Russian assurances at face value as a basis for any agreement but formulated fraud-proof inspections and controls.

As two sides must agree for any agreement on the basis of package offers, the problem became insoluble. On the other hand the race in nuclear technique and production went on so successfully that the peril of annihilation that hangs over humanity hangs now by a very slender thread.

The system of alliances has definitely aggravated this peril. It may be reasonable that America should seek bases near to Russia as the latter appears to possess inter-continental ballistic missiles

while America does not. But whatever justification this may furnish, catastrophe becomes more and more imminent as more and more people are empowered to switch it on. This is so obvious that no attempt has been made to deny it.

Under these circumstances, the Russian Government have at last accepted the doctrine of unilateral action pressed on them by me last December hoping against hope. Although the Russian Government's declaration is cautious, so cautious that their action almost nullifies itself, it is unilateral action. Unilateral action threatened to be withdrawn if no similar action is taken by the other side is however not far removed from a fresh attempt at agreement. It is only where a party is firm in its faith, whatever doubts others may cast on it and takes action irrespective of the response on the other side, that we have true unilateral action. It is for such unilateral action that great spiritual power is claimed. It is one thing to hope and believe that the moral compulsion generated by unilateral action will evoke a positive response from the other side, but it is another to make it conditional on the other side's equivalent immediate action or forbearance. This reduces the potentiality of the unilateral action and brings it to the level of a new way of attempting at getting an agreement.

In spite of these failings and defects, it must be admitted that a great field of hope has been opened by Russia's declaration that she has decided on abstaining from test explosions even in the absence of any previous reciprocal agreement. It almost promises a change in the outlook of Soviet Russia from materialism to moral forces and their power. If this comes to nothing by America's precipitate action the blame will be heavily on America, and on Britain too if she does not do everything to prevent such a result. It is no good saying that the Russians expected this persistence

and knowing what would happen made a gesture for mere propaganda's sake. There is nothing to prevent America and Britain from fixing Russia to its gesture by accepting the challenge, so to say, and not proceeding with their own programme of tests. It is in their power to convert Russian hypocrisy into factual virtue. At no point of time in an armament race can any unilateral action be taken without some advantage to one side or the other automatically resulting from the step. This cannot be made a grievance or a just point of criticism.

The problem is not a problem only of America or of any other nuclear power. It is a matter in which life on this planet and civilization are involved. It is a case where the major part of the inhabitants of the earth demand that they should not be poisoned just because America or Britain cannot trust Russia. The case for distrust on the ground of undisclosed tests has been demonstrated to be very weak. No test of any consequence can escape detection. At any rate such evasion as is available is available for either side.

That the tests programme of Russia was completed recently and America's programme remains yet to be gone through is made into a big argument. This has been conclusively smashed by Mr. Aneurin Bevan in his speech on April 13 at Trafalgar Square. Russia had offered to agree to stop all tests if America would also agree as early as last December. If that offer had been accepted Russia's recent tests would not have been carried out.

Another attempt to find an infirmative motive for Russia's unprecedented action is a conjecture that Russia had found a catastrophic increase in radio-active contamination in her own territories. If this be indeed true, how clear it is that American test programmes may lead to similar irreparable accidents either in America or in other people's territories. Are we to assume that America is blessed with technology that never fails? This assumption is disproved by the many failures that have been admitted recently in the rocket race.

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VINDHYAS MUST BE CROSSED !

By KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

It is beyond doubt that nothing but unilateral action can break the adamantine obstinacy of mutual distrust. The West must stop their contemplated tests in answer to the Russian unilateral step and make a counter move in the same direction — a move of greater import than merely stopping the tests. A declaration by America that she will abstain from using the H-bomb, come what may and irrespective of any agreement on the other side is what will surpass Russia's unilateral step and make the world heave a sigh of relief. Indeed, the other side, viz., the Russians have agreed to abstention from the use of the H-bomb in case the West also agreed, so that such action on the part of the West will automatically end the menace of the age. Let there be a competition in unilateral action rather than in inventing new weapons of destruction or in the fireworks display of sputniks. More glorious than any sputnik is courageous unilateral action which will solve humanity's imminent peril.

A word to the leaders of Russia. Let us assume that Mr. Dulles will not be deterred by this unilateral step on the part of Russia and America will proceed with the tests as programmed. Do not withdraw your declaration but pile the blame on the West. A point will soon be reached by reason of the pressure of world opinion when they will have to confess defeat and yield, even as Britain yielded in their last Suez campaign. Your unilateral step will attain its true moral potentiality when you abstain from withdrawing it even when America failed to respond. Give your own great act the time and the scope to fructify and reach its fullest spiritual power.

Lastly my appeal to Britain: The united voice of one of the biggest members of your Commonwealth has been appealing to you to dissociate yourself from this poisoning programme. Your great Labour party has made the same appeal. Your wisest and best men representing your culture and enlightenment want you to give it up. Do not disregard all this and stick to the illusion of an unreal bargaining power.

I remember a conversation I had some years ago with a post-graduate student of History of a North Indian University. The talk somehow drifted to Indian literatures and then to poetry in the Indian languages. He asserted that great poetry was to be found only in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and in the Bengali of Tagore.

"The Madrasis may be good stenographers", he said, "but poetry is not in their line".

I asked him if he had heard of the poet Bharati. He hadn't.

I asked him if he had heard of Vallathol. He vaguely remembered that Vallathol had something to do with "some sort of Madras dancing".

He went on to confess that he had never heard of any great poetry written in the "Madras" language.

I told him there was no such language as "Madras".

He asked me: "What do you mean? After all, what language do they speak in Madras presidency if it is not 'Madras'?" (It was before the formation of Andhra and Kerala States).

I took the liberty of informing him that the major languages spoken in the South were Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese.

That, he admitted, was news to him. He had always imagined the "Madras" all spoke "Madras".

This was some years ago but the situation is not very different even today.

To South Indian readers it may be a shock to learn that this graduate was not more ignorant about South India than most North Indians are. The majority of people in U.P. and Panjab not only do not know that there is no such language as "Madras" but they have an undisguised superiority complex where South India is concerned. The Vindhyas, they seem to feel, constitute the frontiers of Aryan culture and civilisation — beyond lies the benighted land of the Dark Dravidians! I am not sure about the origin of this attitude towards the South — it might be as old as the Aryan

invasion or as recent as the establishment of the Indian capital in Delhi and the consequent concentration of political prestige and power in North India. It is, however, but one aspect of the wide-spread ignorance about the culture of our own country.

Thanks to English education, even the average Indian intellectual knows little about indigenous arts and literatures. Strangely enough, he knows more about Shakespeare than Kalidasa, more about Tennyson than about Tulsi-das, more about the French impressionists than the painters of Ajanta, more about Epstein than about the sculptures of Ellora, more about Waltz and Tango than about Kathak and Bharat Natyam.

Which reminds me that, as a post-graduate student at Aligarh, I was not aware whether 'Kathakali' was a dance or a disease like Kala Azar! And I don't think I was a particularly ignorant student.

While the general ignorance of our cultural traditions is bad and shameful enough, the almost complete black-out of South Indian life, culture, literature and arts from the mental horizon of an average North Indian is something shocking. That graduate I have already quoted was by no means the worst specimen.

I do not agree with the separatist ideology of the Kazhagam or "We Tamils" movements (which smack of the Pakistani obsession of the Muslim League which resulted in the unfortunate partition of our country), but I can understand the causes which lend bitterness to their anti-North campaign.

Thousands of highly educated North Indians do not know the first thing about Kathakali or Bharat Natyam, about Bharati or Vallathol, about the temple architecture of Madura and Somnathpur, about M. S. Subbalakshmi or Rukmini Arundale. They have no idea whatever that a rich literature—both classical and modern—exists in both Tamil and Telugu, that there is a vigorous short story

tradition in Malayalam, that the most popular literary magazines with the largest circulation of all the journals in the Indian languages are published in Tamil, that dynamic and revolutionary plays and poetry are being written in Telugu. They don't know that the South Indian's taste for classical music is so developed that

a single concert of M. S. Subbalakshmi can bring in half a lakh of rupees and that the great-hearted artiste can give it all away to a charity! They don't know that in the South almost everyone is familiar with classical music and classical dancing. And when I tell them that in the matter of art appreciation the average South

Indian is far more cultured than his North Indian brother, they refuse to believe me.

I am not saying all this to flatter the South Indians. I know that on their part they, too, are insular and complacent though not, perhaps, as ignorant as the North Indians. I am quite sure tens of thousands of educated

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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!

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



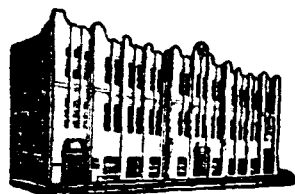
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S. RAMANUJAM, THE MATHEMATICAL WONDER

By M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM

On the 26th of April, thirty-eight years ago, a great light went out. That light was a mathematical wonder, answering to the name of 'Ramanujam'. In his "Men of Mathematics", E. T. Bell writes of him: "When a truly great one like the Hindu Ramanujam arrives unexpectedly out of nowhere, even expert analysts hail him as a gift from Heaven: his all but supernatural insight into apparently unrelated formulas reveals hidden trails leading from one territory into another, and the analysts have new tasks provided for them in clearing the trails."

Ramanujam was the son of a poor clerk — Srinivasa Ayyangar — working in a cloth-dealer's shop in Kumbakonam. His mother was from Erode — which has some significance for this narration. Goddess Namagiri of Namakkal, in Salem district nearby, seems to have had a mystic influence over him. He often explicitly stated that he saw solutions to difficult problems and also the final forms of fundamental theorems — to be filled and justified later — in dreams inspired by Namagiri Devi.

Ramanujam was born on 22nd December, 1887. Contrary to cer-

tain popular reports, he showed evidence of all-round merit quite early and won a studentship. While he was in the second form, he posed the question: "What is the ultimate truth of Mathematics?" While yet in the lower forms, Ramanujam mastered the Progressions and Trigonometry. B.A. students used to take their difficulties to him. But it is doubtful if his rapid intuitive approach was of help to them. A shock was in store for him when some magnificent work of his was found to have been discovered and published by the great Euler more than a century back. Ramanujam stowed away his papers under the tiled roof in his house, and kept on. When he was in the sixth form, a copy of Carr's *Synopsis of Pure Mathematics* was lent to him. He solved all the new and difficult problems without the help of other books or teachers, inventing new techniques as he marched along. Prof. Hardy has recorded that it was a book of no great value, but has become immortal by having opened rich vistas to Ramanujam's strange and hungry mind.

Ramanujam passed his Matric

South Indians have not heard of Ghalib and Iqbal, Premchand and Sumitranandan Panth, Josh and Krishenchander, Ismat Chughtai and Rajinder Singh Bedi. I write this, however, not to complain but only to emphasize the need for wider, more intimate cultural contacts between the North and South.

We have now many organizations dedicated to the laudable purpose of international cultural contacts — e.g. Indo-Soviet Cultural Society and the Indo-China Friendship Association. Surely we also need a movement to foster cultural contacts and understanding between the different linguistic and cultural regions of India. What about a South-North Cultural Society?

The North-South alienation was understandable in the dim past when the Vindhya were a formidable barrier. The roads and the railways brought the North and the South together and out of the freedom struggle evolved political cohesion which is symbolised today in the persons of the South Indian Radhakrishnan and the North Indian Nehru. The planes now fly over the Vindhya — one can leave Delhi after morning tea and have lunch in Madras!

But, culturally, the Vindhyas remain, they are more than a physical barrier. From both the sides, we have to cross the Vindhyas of isolation and complacency, of ignorance and prejudice. The North and South must get acquainted.

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A. Dates of Service

On Fridays ex Bombay to Cochin Harbour Terminus.			On Mondays ex Cochin Harbour Terminus to Bombay.		
Special No.			Special No.		
BC 1	..	25-4-58	CB 2	..	28-4-58
BC 3	..	2-5-58	CB 4	..	5-5-58
BC 5	..	9-5-58	CB 6	..	12-5-58
BC 7	..	16-5-58	CB 8	..	19-5-58
BC 9	..	23-5-58	CB 10	..	26-5-58

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B. TIMINGS

Ex Bombay V.T. to Cochin Harbour Terminus				Ex Cochin Harbour Terminus to Bombay V.T.			
Read Down H. M.		Stations		Read Up H. M.			
10	30	Dep.	Bombay V.T.	Arr.	20	00	
01	40	Arr.	Raichur	Dep.	04	10	
02	00	Dep.	"	Arr.	03	50	
14	40	Arr.	Arkonam	Dep.	14	42	
15	15	Dep.	Arkonam	Arr.	14	17	
17	00	Arr.	Katpadi	Dep.	12	41	
17	12	Dep.	"	Arr.	12	31	
19	05	Arr.	Jalarpet	Dep.	10	53	
19	25	Dep.	"	Arr.	10	38	
22	11	Arr.	Salem	Dep.	07	34	
22	21	Dep.	"	Arr.	07	24	
00	18	Arr.	Erode	Dep.	06	09	
00	38	Dep.	"	Arr.	05	49	
02	50	Arr.	Coimbatore	Dep.	03	03	
03	05	Dep.	"	Arr.	02	38	
03	20	Arr.	Podanur	Dep.	02	23	
03	22	Dep.	"	Arr.	02	20	
04	41	Arr.	Olavakkot	Dep.	00	55	
04	51	Dep.	"	Arr.	00	45	
05	50	Arr.	Shoranur	Dep.	23	45	
06	20	Dep.	"	Arr.	23	22	
07	04	Arr.	Trichur	Dep.	22	25	
07	14	Dep.	"	Arr.	22	15	
08	39	Arr.	Alwaye	Dep.	21	00	
08	54	Dep.	"	Arr.	20	50	
09	30	Arr.	Ernakulam Jn.	Dep.	20	25	
09	40	Dep.	"	Arr.	20	14	
10	00	Arr.	Cochin Harbour Terminus	Dep.	20	00	

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C. Sectional and Through Carriage Services

The following through and sectional carriages will be attached to the Holiday Specials on the days they are scheduled to run :

Sl. No.	Departure From	Time	Arrival At	Time	Trains to which attached	Class of carriage	Days of Service
1.	Bombay V.T.	10-30	Madras Central	18-25	Holiday Special from Bombay to Arkonam and onwards by 92 Raichur-Madras Passenger.	One third class coach and one First & Third class composite coach.	Fridays
2.	Madras Central	11-50	Bombay V.T.	20-00	No. 23 Madras-Bangalore Express ex Madras Central to Arkonam and onwards by Holiday Special.	One third class coach and one First & Third class composite coach.	Tuesdays
3.	Poona	14-45	Madras Central	18-25	Holiday Special from Bombay to Arkonam and onwards by No. 92 Raichur-Madras Passenger.	One third class coach	Fridays
4.	Madras Central	11-50	Poona	15-25	No. 23 Madras-Bangalore Express ex Madras Central to Arkonam and onwards by Holiday Special.	One third class coach	Tuesdays
5.	Bombay V.T.	10-30	Olavakkot	04-41	Holiday Special	One third class coach	Fridays
6.	Olavakkot	00-55	Bombay V.T.	20-00	Holiday Special	One third class coach.	Tuesdays
7.	Bombay V.T.	10-30	Calicut	09-07	Holiday Special ex Bombay to Shoranur and onwards by No. 55 Jalarpet-Cannanore Passenger.	One third class coach.	Fridays

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(Continued from Previous Page)

Sl. No.	Departure From	Time	Arrival At	Time	Trains to which attached	Class of carriage	Days of Service
8.	Calicut	17-25	Bombay V.T.	20-00	No. 56 Cannanore-Jalarpet Passenger ex Calicut to Shoranur and onwards by Holiday Special.	One third class coach.	Mondays
9.	Bombay V.T.	10-30	Mangalore	18-00	Holiday Special ex Bombay to Shoranur and onwards by No. 1 Madras-Mangalore Mail.	One third class coach.	Fridays
10.	Mangalore	8-30	Bombay V.T.	20-00	No. 2 Mangalore-Madras Mail ex Mangalore to Shoranur and onwards by Holiday Special.	One third class coach.	Mondays

D. Charges and Reservation of accommodation

Express fares will be charged on these Holiday Special Trains except as indicated below :

Bombay to Madras and Poona to Madras Through Coaches.	}	Ordinary fares will be charged for the journey from Arkonam to Madras Central only.
Bombay to Calicut and Calicut to Bombay Through Coaches.		

A limited number of seats in third class can be reserved at the terminal stations upto seven days in advance of the date of journey on payment of a reservation fee of Re. 0.25 nP.

Station Masters of the terminal stations may be referred to with regard to reservation of accommodation on the Holiday Specials and on the through and Sectional Coaches.

Intending passengers between Bombay and stations in the West Coast Line, including Haj pilgrims, are requested to fully avail of these weekly Holiday Special Trains, instead of overcrowding the other scheduled trains.

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creditably and joined the F.A. class with a 'Subrahmanyam Scholarship'. But during that year he lost himself so much in mathematical research that he neglected the other subjects and failed in the Junior F.A. examination and, consequently, lost his scholarship.

Then came a period of depression and frustration and, on top of it, bad advice. Nothing is known of what he did in that period of wilderness except that he wandered right into the Telugu districts. But, all the time, his stout notebooks were being filled with his findings.

In 1909, his marriage took place; and it became necessary for him to settle down and earn his livelihood. With the help of Dewan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao and others, he secured a clerical post in the Madras Port Trust office. Ramanujam's work began to appear in the Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society. He was encouraged to send some of his findings to Prof. G. H. Hardy, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. His first letter, vetted crudely by his well-wishers, pointed out an error in a statement published by Hardy! Hardy sensed a genius at once and suggested that Ramanujam go over to Cambridge without undue delay. But religious scruples stood in the way.

In the meantime, Dr. G. T. Walker, Director General of Indian Observatories, and a former Fellow of Trinity, interested himself in the matter and persuaded the Madras University to grant Ramanujam a scholarship and release him entirely for his research work. The University arranged to give him Rs. 75 per month for two years.

Finally, Ramanujam got his mother's permission to travel overseas, and the Madras University again rose to the occasion and sanctioned a scholarship of £250 per year tenable for two years, as also grants for travelling, outfit, and so on. The period was later extended to April, 1919. Ramanujam arranged with the University that Rs. 60 be remitted out of it every month to his mother.

He reached Cambridge and got a place in Trinity College. The

college supplemented his scholarship with £60 per annum.

Professors Hardy and Littlewood became Ramanujam's teachers and filled the gaps in his self-acquired knowledge. But both of them repeatedly and graciously admitted that they learnt a good deal from him, and considered association with him an extraordinary piece of good fortune for themselves. Hardy has written that he was "afraid of destroying Ramanujam's spell of inspiration" and of his "profound and invincible originality.....the flow of which showed no signs of abatement."

Vital work filled Ramanujam's note books and flowed into the best of European mathematical journals, and triggered off others' work. Great was the praise showered on him repeatedly.

But, in May 1917, his health showed signs of failing. Tuberculosis was suspected. But he could not leave for the warmth of his homeland with a war on.

February of 1918 brought heartening news. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, the first Indian to be so honoured. He was only 30 then.

In October of the same year, he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. It was a coveted honour. It carried a Fellowship of £250 per year for six years, with no duties or conditions attached.

The Cambridge University also suggested to the Madras University to make Ramanujam free for life from economic cares. The Madras University extended his scholarship by five years, undertaking to meet all his travelling and other expenses incurred in the cause of mathematics and even contemplated, on the advice of Prof. Littlehailes, creating a professorship for Ramanujam.

But Fate laughed at these generous plans. Ramanujam reached Madras in April, 1919. The best medical men in the City did their best to save him. But he passed away on 26th April, survived by his parents and wife. He had no children.

Even when he was writhing with pain, he worked, in bed, till four days before his death.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: For visitors to Delhi, to leave it bewildered on any account, would be but a disheartening experience. The writer's thoughts at once turn to the hundreds of co-operators who recently came to the Capital to attend the third session of the All-India Co-operative Congress. In what was described as a candid inaugural speech, the Prime Minister pleaded for the absolute freedom of the co-operative movement from any official control or domination. And he made the unequivocal admission that State association was harmful to the co-operative movement and that the Government — his Government — were quite 'wrong' in accepting the recommendations of the Rural Survey Committee. Within 24 hours the delegates to the Congress heard the Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. A. P. Jain, praising the Committee's Report, and emphasising some of the points "rightly pointed out" in it. The delegates were not so much interested in the merits of the controversy as in the intriguing fact that the Prime Minister and his colleagues should have confounded them by presenting conflicting points of view. It is the same story, again and again. The Prime Minister has the habit of taking his colleagues into confidence only in public while his colleagues would not sometimes mind leaving it to the public to realise that sometimes the views expressed by the Prime Minister are personal rather than rigidly official!

simplicity, humility and gratitude for the least suggestion received from co-workers were Ramanujam's characteristics, and that 'F. R. S.' sat lightly on him.

In the last letter which he wrote to the Madras University before leaving England, he evinced great sympathy for poor students and revealed his plans to help them "as the total amount of money to which he would be entitled would be much more than he would require in India".

That much harassed man, Mr. Dhebar, hardly seems to know what he should do or how he should go about his business when he is called upon to inquire into any complaints and take suitable steps against offenders, if any. Imagine the President of the Congress sending to a Pradesh Congress Committee "for necessary action" the very letter complaining to him of its utter indifference to representations of any kind! Is the All-India Congress Committee office no more than a post office? And what should one think of Mr. Dhebar's handling of affairs when, on receipt of something like a charge-sheet against the Chairman of a State Council, instead of making relevant enquiries and satisfying himself that there is no substance in the allegations, he just writes to the person concerned that he of course knows the charges are unfounded but would like to have an assurance to that effect. Is it not an invitation to the person against whom complaints are made, to tell him back that they are of course baseless? Dhebar Bai is a good man, they say, but... One would rather be tempted to add another letter to the qualifying word and say that, at this rate, he will only become a butt...! Junius has not heard more candid criticism of the Congress within recent months than from Congressmen themselves. Its machinery is creaking at all levels; the organisation is cracking; the High Command is just croaking. At least two Chief Ministers — one in Upper India and another in the South — have earned the distinction of not caring two hoots for the bosses in Delhi. The Congress President is known to have discovered totalitarian tendencies in a third but he is helpless. It is an interesting but highly pertinent question to ask where resides the authority for running the Congress. Perhaps by the time this appears in print, Mr. Dhebar will have announced his intention to quit the scene for his own peace of mind.

At the end of debates, short, the Lok Sabha has been making grants to the different Ministries, which is not to say that it has been taking things for granted. The ruling party has but one comfort: it has a comfortable majority. Otherwise it is having no pleasant time. Even the mighty Menon was not only heartily heckled but made to descend from giddy heights. An old Parliamentary hand, Pandit Pant proved to be once again a master of mellifluous diction and skilful evasion but could not convince anyone that all was well. He asked the House to give bilingual Bombay a fair trial: only he did not ask the Opposition to extend the courtesy to the Congress Government as well. About the bye-elections — fought and lost by the Congress — in whatever area he would rather not rush to any conclusions. Junius is reminded of the man who counselled the youth of the world to walk — and not just fall — in love! Pandit Pant is welcome to take time to arrive at, or draw, any conclusions but he should then tell, some day and in his own way, what those conclusions are. The new Finance Minister had his own style of facing and answering the Opposition. With the reputation of being a strong man, he could use strong language. Let others speak of financial 'sharks'; he knows his political 'thugs'! The question is not whether he cannot stand up. But what does he stand for? Few Cabinet Ministers seem to realise that their critics are not necessarily confined to the Opposition. Other days, other questions. 'After Nehru, what?' — is not the question one hears so much today as the other which is a new one — 'After 1962, what?' Some think that even 1962 is quite far-off and the Congress will have to face the crisis earlier and either have a rebirth or just become part of Times's political debris.

It seems that we are in for quite a sensational time in the immediate future. The Prime Minister, on his return from Kerala, may be trusted to prepare our minds for it.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The ceremony of State Awards, according to all accounts, was rather tame and uninspiring. But for the prize-winners, the film industry was not at all represented at the function; moreover, the film people were in no mood to rejoice as they were worried about the crisis created by the acute shortage of raw film.

In fact, the only topic of discussion among the film people gathered in Delhi was the raw film stock crisis. The crisis was so great that Kodak was not able to supply even one reel of positive film; the other importers also had no stock. The immediate problem was how to get prints made of the newly censored films and release them. The other problem was to ensure adequate supply for the entire year and get the 20 p.c. cut restored. In this connection, the representatives of the industry met Shri Morarji Desai and others; but they felt that the Government was not very responsive to their demands. As a temporary measure, it is learnt that the Government has released 5000 reels of Agfa positive and 5000 reels of Delco positive reserved for Films Division for the industry. As to the 20 p.c. cut, the Government has agreed to restore it by importing stock on the barter system from Germany and other countries.

These measures are not very reassuring. The stock released by the Government will suffice only to release a few more pictures. But that would hardly solve the problem unless arrangements are made to import fresh stock of raw film.

Meanwhile, the committees dealing with the distribution of raw stock have decided not to give quota to any newcomers; and even in the case of the existing producers preference is to be given to the pictures already on the floors. As a result, no new picture is expected to go on the floor unless there is some improvement in the present stock situation. It is feared that the available stock will

not meet the requirement of the pictures already on the floor.

The chances for new aspirants to make films are remote and this deterrent would help the old producers to entrench their position.

Almost as significant as 'The Bridge on River Kwai' is Stanley Krammer's new production 'The Pride and Passion' starring Cary Grant, Frank Sinatra and Sophia Loren. It is set against the background of war. The story is about the Spanish cannon which Napoleon's army fails to capture and which is taken across the country by a band of Spanish patriots with the help of a British naval captain. Based on C. S. Forrester's novel 'The Gun', the picture recounts in epic proportions the story of the Spanish Guerillas who carry 6000 pound cannon across an arduous and agonising trek of almost half of Spain to Avila, against insurmountable odds. The cannon is taken through the river and jungle, across the hills and hidden from the French army, thanks to the courageous leadership of the son of a shoemaker played by Frank Sinatra and the resourcefulness of the British officer played by Cary Grant. These two persons often clash and their conflict has a personal edge when Sophia Loren, Sinatra's girl, falls for the British officer.

Shot on actual locations, though the frequent mention of Spain and patriotism may have no emotional appeal to an Indian audience, the zeal with which the peasants and common men of Spain fight against Napoleon's army is most inspiring. And presented on a lavish scale with huge crowds and shot on actual location in the old picturesque Spain, the picture has a ring of authenticity and gives a real epic thrill. Only Sophia Loren with her short-cut bobbed hair and sexy Hollywoodian glamour breaks that illusion of reality and makes one feel time and again that we are watching not a real drama but a Hollywood film.

But for this undue emphasis on the modern type of glamour and

sex, the picture is really an epic film of classic dimensions. Only Stanley Krammer who gave us 'High Noon' and other pictures could have given us such a spectacular film with an off-beat theme with superb craftsmanship. All the three main performers have done their roles well; but Frank Sinatra's performance is really the most memorable. 'The Pride and Passion' is one of the better type of films to emanate from Hollywood.

Ram Gabale is one of the most unassuming of directors but talented and hard-working. He began

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his career as an assistant to Wina-yak in Kolhapur. Later he became a director and made some good Marathi pictures like 'Deo Pawla', 'Dudhbat' and 'Dev-bappa'. Later he came to Bombay and started working on the Hindi version of 'Dudhbat'. The picture was never completed.

Meanwhile, he joined Films Division and made a name for himself by making a significant

contribution to documentary films. He also wrote the story for the Children's film 'Jaldeep', and made a documentary on 'Light-house'.

Ram Gabale's most distinguished contribution is however the two-reel documentary on the life of Dr. Karve. He shares the credit for directing this documentary with Neil Gokhale, who left AMA Ltd. and joined Films Division. Neil Gokhale has also written the script for this documentary, which traces the life story of Dr. Karve right from his birth in 1858 to the present day.

The documentary reconstructs the life of Dr. Karve; and yet unlike other Films Division shorts, it does not use any studio shots or made-up artistes. Instead, Ram Gabale and Neil Gokhale have gone to the interior of Maharashtra and made real people act in their natural costumes. As a result, the documentary film never becomes unreal or phoney. The directors were lucky to get some

'real' shots of Dr. Karve with his wife, who died eight years ago and, aptly enough, the picture ends with Dr. Karve taking his usual walk round the institution at Hingna which he built years ago.

Raaj Kumar, the star, Prakash Arora, the director and Prabhu Arora, the artiste and singer were acquitted by the Sessions Judge after the jury gave a unanimous verdict of 'Not Guilty'. They were accused of murder and arrested about four months ago and not released on bail. Now, they are picking up their old contracts and fulfilling their commitments.

Vyjayantimala is reported to have been signed by K. Amarnath for his next picture.

The muhurats of Mohan Segal's 'Apna Haath Jagannath' starring Kishore, and K. K. Art's 'Darshan Mela', directed by Asit Sen and starring Jayashree and Bharat Bhooshan were performed last week.

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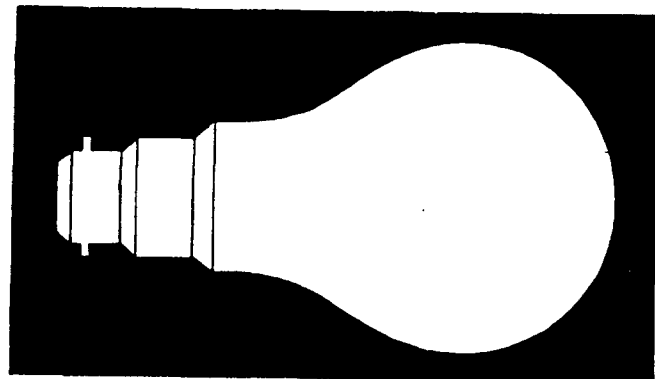
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FILM WORKERS' TRAVAIL

Sir,—I am a common man with no political background.

I joined the film industry in 1947 at the age of 21. After toiling, sweating and struggling all through these years, I have just managed to be called an "associate director". I was very intimately connected with the award-winning Telugu picture, *Tenali Ramakrishna*, for which I worked in the capacity of an associate director.

Today, thanks to the aimless eleven-year-old rule by the white-capped liberators, we as a nation have been transformed into a herd of utterly helpless and desperately disillusioned individuals.

The situation in the film industry today is this. I, along with many other technicians, junior artists, artisans, tailors, workers and other small fry, am rotting without a job; without a hope. We are practically starving for lack of openings, as a direct consequence of the slowing down of productions and mowing down of production concerns on account of the Government's import policies which can only be dubbed idiotic, thoughtless, reckless and even suicidal.

Forgive me, Sir. But, the pangs of hunger, the shame of unemployment and the non-availability of even a ray of hope ... cause so much of unpleasantness 'inside'!

They take the taxes. They allow themselves to be soothingly buttered. Why then, Sir, do they want to wipe us out? We have done the Government no harm. Why, why on earth should the Government entertain this spiteful grudge against a cultured section of peaceful art-loving Indians?

The censors, the deputy controllers and the middle men have taken the joy out of producing films. Film production, under present-day conditions, is felt as a terrible punishment. The producers are not willing to take the

punishment. Who suffers? Not the people in Raj Bhavans and Rashtrapathi Bhavans. Not the self-styled liberators. Not the producers either.

If there are a hundred producers, there are at least 5000 helpless individuals depending upon them. When the producers take rest, the studios which employ hundreds and hundreds of men and women, close down. What then? Strikes. Hunger marches. Lathi charges. Riots. Shooting. Arrests, and, of course, suicides.

After eleven years of freedom, is this what the rulers aspire for? Madras.

V. S. RANGACHARI.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS

Sir,—I have a feeling that the whole truth is not out and that there is more to it than what is apparent from the maze of statements, speeches and letters regarding the Annamalai University episode. If a play is staged by the girls of the University, who else can provide the audience for it if not the teachers and boys living in the campus? The authorities should have exempted the boys from taking passes that evening, or they could have repaired an earlier mistake by overlooking non-production of the passes. In the very first instance they should not have allowed any activity to last longer than 8 p.m. preventing residents of the hostel from returning to their rooms in time, especially in institutions where there is co-education.

The watchman is not at all to blame as he had stood firm and done his duty as conceived by his meagre intellect. I will blame the tutor or lecturer who passed that way for want of initiative and for not taking a certain amount of responsibility on himself. A benevolent gesture would have saved the situation and weaned many boys from bad ways.

If the Vice-Chancellor promised to see the boys next day, why did he not stick to his promise and

set a high example of keeping the plighted word?

It is impossible to believe that the Vice-Chancellor would not have consulted the Education Minister; and it is difficult to conceive that the Education Minister would not have proffered

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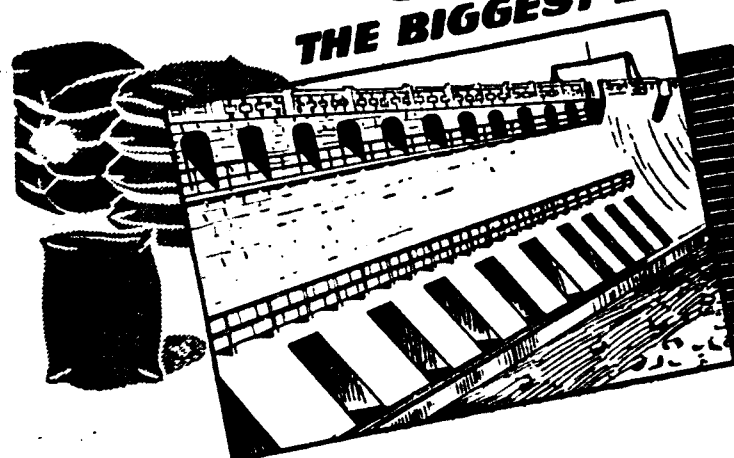
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some advice in the matter. Having been on the spot the latter must take a portion of the blame and not try to evade the issue on the plea that the University is an autonomous body. If it is an autonomous body, why call for the Collector?

All these people are paying the price for double dealing. If you are an intellectual, stick to your academic pursuits. It is hoped that this incident will impress on the authorities the importance of paying more attention to academic pursuits than extra-curricular activities.

Lt. Col. C. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.S.
COFFEE HOUSE JOURNALISM

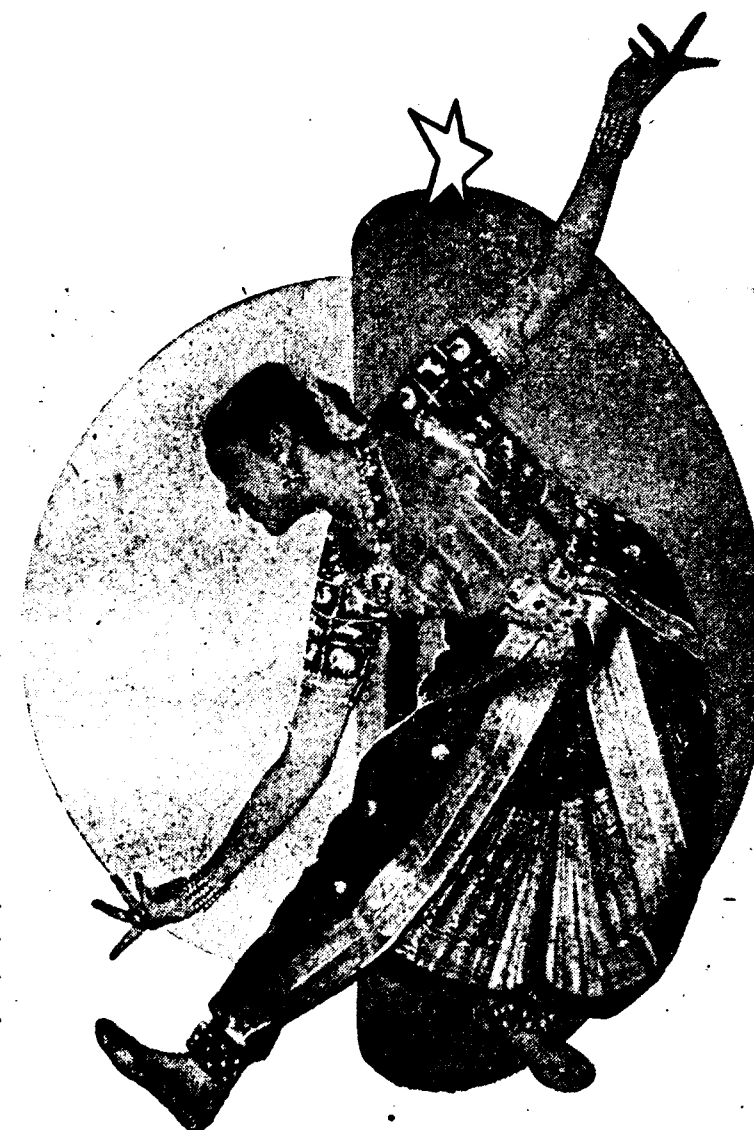
Sir,—VIGNESWARA (Sotto Voce, April 5, 1958) correctly draws attention to the real dangers of "parasitical journalism that gravitates round Delhi coffee houses". The fashionable barrenness and absolute lack of proper news-sense of this type of journalism have been nowhere better illustrated than when, a few days ago, a local branch of India Coffee House was closed down. The next morning one or two dailies in the Capital front-paged in double and triple column headlines their staff correspondents' lyrical lamentations over the 'demise' of this much haunted rendezvous. I wonder whether this same sense of despondency ever touches this brood of correspondents to dole out even a few lines in their despatches when a humanitarian or cultural institution doing good work languishes for want of financial support.

In independent India the daily press, with a few honourable exceptions, has been embellishing trifles and playing to the gallery without offering anything substantial. What is more, in regular reporting too, I understand that there is in evidence what may be called 'absentee reporting'. The despatches of such correspondents are mostly instances of reporting by hearsay, with a few intentional alterations to endow them with a semblance of originality. Thus there is coming into operation a sort of Gresham's law in journalism. The sooner this trend is curbed the better.
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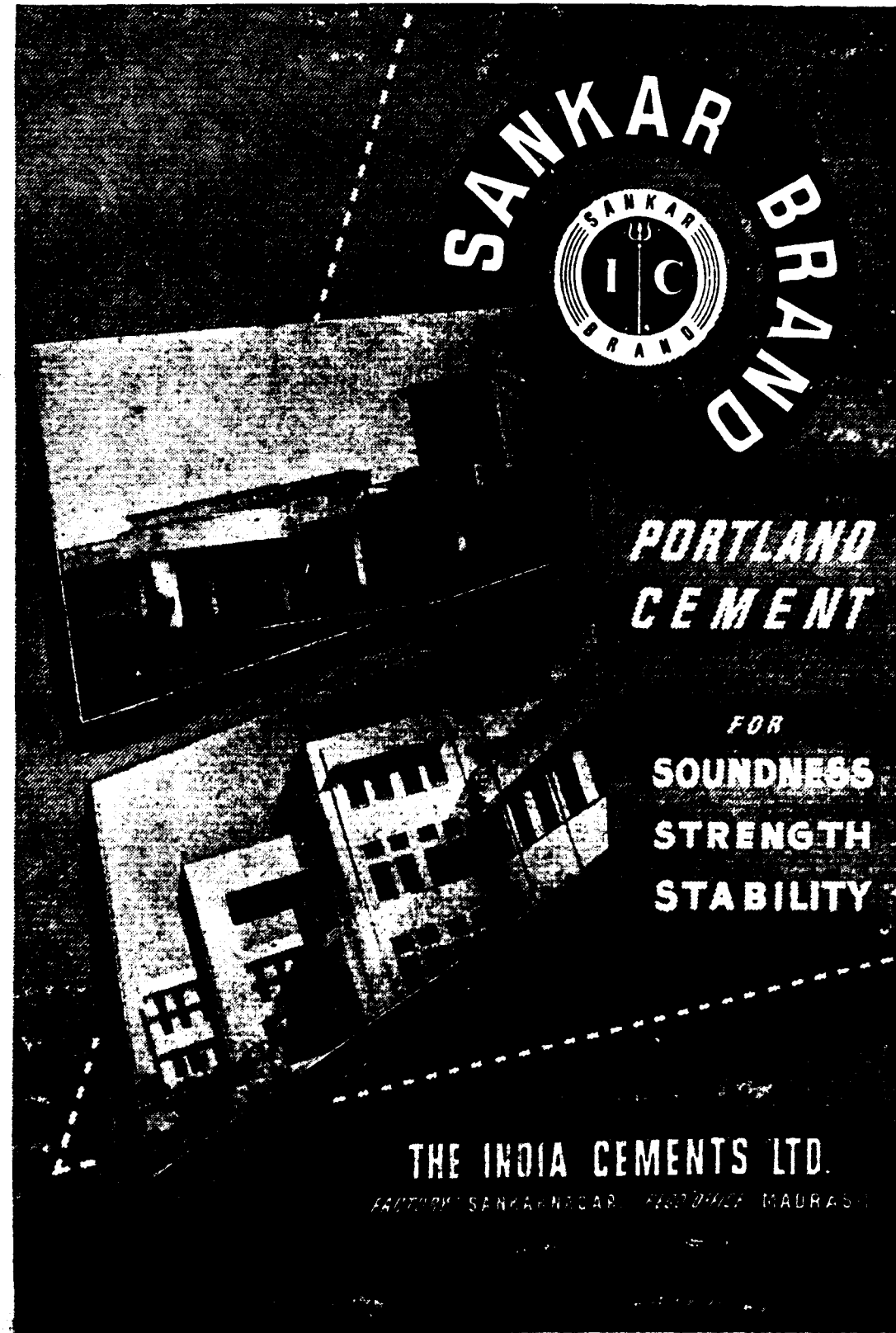
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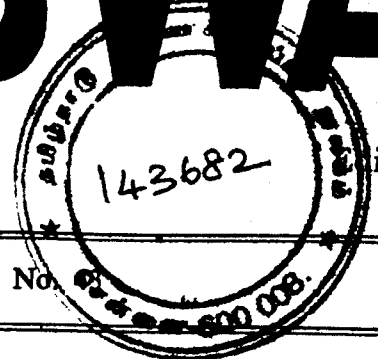
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MADRAS, MAY 3, 1958

15 Naye Paise

INROADS ON FREEDOM

A political drama, with all the ingredients of high tragedy, is being enacted in Orissa. The merits of the particular case are not relevant, but the procedures adopted are of the utmost significance. On 26th April, a Deputy Minister and two members resigned from the Congress party and joined the opposition. Four other members had resigned earlier in the week. The strength of the Congress has been reduced to 61 in a House of 136. The next day the Deputy Minister and four other members were arrested. They were refused bail. They were charged with the abduction of an adult male parliamentarian, and being found with intoxicating drinks in excess of the permitted quantity. The Chief Minister of Orissa has said that there is nothing political about these arrests. The arrests have been effected on the complaint of a member who first resigned and has since re-joined the Congress. Bail has now been granted by the High Court, but the Speaker of the Lok Sabha at Delhi has refused an adjournment motion and most of the opposition members are reported to have walked out.

It is pertinent to recall that in Madras Sri Thevar is under preventive detention still.

These events are important not so much in themselves, as in showing up the symptoms of a deep seated political malady that is undermining the foundations of freedom and liberty. The process

started, strangely enough, at the judicial end. A series of judicial pronouncements have reduced the Fundamental Rights to a nullity. Almost any executive or legislative discrimination now passes off as being within the ambit of some 'reasonable' classification or other. A whole sector of freedom has been lost by a decision which has held that the word 'and' in Article 20(3) is disjunctive and not conjunctive. But the Ministers at the Centre are not satisfied. They upbraid the judiciary for not moving with the times, and for involving the Government in the painful task of having to legislate every time the courts decide in favour of the citizen and against the State. The Constitution started with the principle of not expropriating any property without awarding adequate compensation. This was found to be inconvenient, and so Article 30(2) has been amended. The amendment has reduced freedom in two ways, firstly by providing for inadequate compensation, and secondly by taking away the right of the citizen to question such inadequacy in a court of law. Meanwhile, a spate of quasi-judicial tribunals have been set up, some of which are not bound by rules of evidence, to deal with matters which are manifestly justiciable. A few, like the labour tribunals, have arrogated to themselves the function of arbitration, in addition to the function of deciding in accordance with the law. One also hears frequent com-

plaints from impatient authorities that the British system of legal administration gives too much liberty to the accused. Recently, one member of Parliament suggested that a certain official should be first dismissed and then an enquiry held. That a democratic government should persist in continuing the Preventive Detention Act in the statute book is evidence of the fear and the totalitarian tendency that have gripped those who are in the enjoyment of power and their anxiety to hold it at all costs. Within the framework of the numerous laws, and partly under the cloak of protecting the Plan, there have been evolved a series of permits, restrictive rules, applications, appeals, account books, returns, and consequential inspections, fines, cancellations and other similar sorts of interference with normal business that have led to dissipation of effort and corruption on a scale which is formidable.

What does it all add up to? Just this, that we are slipping into dictatorship, into the vortex of single party domination characterised by the abuse of the executive to serve the ends of the party in power. It will be a sad commentary on our political awareness if we are the only worms in the world that refuse to turn. We are face to face with the operation of a Gresham's law in politics, the good man either refusing to enter the vast arena

being able to collect the funds to feed the elections. Napoleon's dictum about big battalions has a wide application, apparently. Let us hope that a nucleus of protest will form against what is happening and gather strength.

Rajaji's Fables in English

We publish this week *Tulasi's Fragrance*, a fable by Rajaji. This is the first of a series of new fables written last year by Rajaji in Tamil for *Kalki* and broadcast over the radio from the Madras Station of the R.R. The fables in Tamil, along with translations in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, were subsequently brought out in book form under the auspices of the Southern Languages Book Trust. They are now done into English for the first time by Professor K. Swaminathan, and will be published every week in *SWARAJYA* till the series is completed.

Story of Purandaradas —A Harikatha

Sri Purandaradas (Sreenivasan in his earlier life) was a very rich gem merchant. He was a miser to the core. Society began to shun him and he became friendless and forlorn. But the Lord of Pandaripur, the *Deenabandhu*, would not abandon Sreenivasan to this state. For months together, every day, he walked to Sreenivasan's house begging for alms and then, through wonderful *leela* he wrought a miracle in the miser's life. In a flash Sreenivasan realised the emptiness of all his wealth. He became a *gnani*, gave away everything that he possessed and walked out of his house with his family to serve the Lord. He sought Sri Vyasaraaya as his *guru* and after initiation from him lived every moment of his life in service of the Lord, singing His praises in matchless verse.

The *Rasika* Ranjani Sabha, Mylapore, could not have celebrated Purandaradas Day on April 20 last in a more fitting manner than by asking Sri T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal, the re-

TULASI'S FRAGRANCE

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

There was in the city of Mathura a garden attached to the palace. It was full of *tulasi* and rose and many other kinds of beautiful and fragrant flower plants.

A devotee of Vishnu used to visit the garden every morning and fill his long basket with *tulasi* leaves. Maids from the palace too would come there daily and pluck roses.

A rose shrub turned to a *tulasi* and asked her with a touch of conceit, "Why don't the princesses go anywhere near you? You are covered all over with leaves. If you put forth a few bright, pink flowers, people would care for you too".

"The poor Brahmin's love is enough for me", said the *tulasi*. "My little leaves reach the feet of the Lord. What more can I desire?"

The rose thought that it was a higher honour to adorn the head of a princess. It could only pity the ignorance of the poor *tulasi* and spoke no more.

One day the King's youngest daughter, a little child, came to the garden to pluck the flowers with her own hands. As she was busy doing this, a thorn ran into her finger. Unable to bear the pain, she wept bit-

terly. Consoling her as best as they could, the servants took her back to the palace.

At the sight of the blood on his dear daughter's finger, the King flew into a rage. How was he to know that rose plants bristled with thorns? He had never visited the garden. Even if he had, he would not have noticed the plants. He knew of roses only in garlands.

"Do roses grow on spiky plants?" he asked. And he added, "I won't have them in my garden. Pluck them up and throw them out." The King was peremptory. No one dare oppose his will. The servants dug up all the rose plants in the garden and reported it to the King, who said, "All right!"

Now the *tulasi* stood in the garden feeling sad and lonely. She was full of compassion for the fate of the poor vain rose that relied on the goodwill of the palace. The brahmin devotee who as usual came to cull the *tulasi* leaves wondered, "Why is the *tulasi* so unusually fragrant this morning?" How could he, poor man, guess that the extra fragrance she breathed was due to her grief over her lost friend? Man does not know the griefs and joys of plants.

nowned harikatha artist, to tell the story of the saint. Sri Sastrigal, who was singing the life of the saint for the first time, was in excellent form. For more than three hours he kept his hearers enthralled with his superb delineation of the incidents in the life of Purandaradas. He made the story spring to life and as he dwelt on the compassion of the Lord in coming to the aid of the friendless miser, many that heard him were moved to tears.

From every angle, the music, the narration and the objective—

Sri Sastrigal's harikatha was a masterpiece.—R.

Dignity of Labour

Mr. Khrushchev today in a speech to the 13th Congress of Young Communists said "children ought to know that labour is everywhere hallowed and essential... respect for industrial and farm work must be inculcated in the classroom."

— Tass news item from Moscow, dated April 18.



Sotto Voce

Community Charlatanism

The Punjab has some of the finest roads in the country as the U.P. has some of the most execrable. The thirty-mile stretch from Ghaziabad, hardly a stone's throw from our Imperial Capital, towards Aligarh on Kipling's Grand Trunk Road, was a nightmare experience. The road to Chandigarh was a delightful contrast. The Punjab, of course, was the sword arm (I had almost said sword wife!) of the British Moghul. The roads he laid, as part of the imperial strategy, brought prosperity to the countryside, of which you will see the signs all about you. And the Punjab has a surfeit of projects, presumably on the principle, "Unto everyone that hath shall be given."

We bowled smoothly along, past Karnal with its fat cattle and its bazaar pullulating with activity. To remind one of Kipling there was the odd madman of God stalking along the highway, a burly Sikh who rolling up his sleeves gesticulated—was he having an argument with his Maker?—and sang snatches of a weird song. A few miles out we came upon Nilokheri which seemed to be no less determinedly detached from the concerns of men. It lazed peacefully in the sun, not even a wisp of smoke issuing from the stray chimney-stack or two that was visible. It had evidently fulfilled its providential purpose when it had catapulted Mr. S. K. Dey, its creator, into the seat of power in New Delhi, there to lay down the law on C.D., N.E.S., family planning, and what not.

One fancies that Mr. Dey does not like to be reminded of Nilokheri; he is so busy looking forward that he has no wish to look back. And the Delhi Government, when it wants to impress the foreign visitor, has a showpiece nearer home. It takes him to

Faridabad which has made good after nearly a decade's grim struggle for existence. This refugee town, thoughtfully if rather ambitiously planned by a man of imagination, who did not however know the art of getting on, has forty odd industries, all privately owned and all now working overtime except when there is a bottleneck of raw materials. The standard of life of its working population, about 5,000 families, mostly refugees from the North West Frontier, is steadily rising.

The Prime Minister has declared that New India must rest securely on a tripod whose three legs are the village panchayat, the village co-operative and the village school. Mr. Dey is enthusiastically hitching the wagon of community development to this triune constellation. He admits that it is not all smooth sailing. It is not easy, for example, to find a market for the products of village industries. (Having seen some of the toys made in Nilokheri I am not surprised). And Mr. Dey complains that Directors of Industries and entrepreneurs alike have an overwhelming bias towards urban areas. Not unnaturally, for entrepreneurs dread insolvency, and even with Directors of Industries it may be a question of once bit twice shy.

Mr. Dey's determined villagism is, however, prepared to accommodate odd compromises like the Ambar Charkha. But the romantic belief, which dies hard, that primitism, practised co-operatively, can do the trick, reminds me of the inglorious end, after a few futile years' struggle, of a button factory and sundry odd industries sponsored by a Government-subsidised co-operative union in the early years of Faridabad. The ineptness of well-meaning amateurs cost hundreds of refugee

families their living. The much-contemned private entrepreneur had to be enticed to take over the moribund concerns. They have been drastically overhauled and have made good.

Mr. Dey, dutifully taking his cue from Jove on high, tells us that the main emphasis now in the C.D. and N.E.S. areas, is on increasing agricultural production. But one wonders whether his muted submission that "the intelligentsia had migrated from the villages" and there was a vacuum of leadership has impinged on the consciousness of the P.M. and the Planning hierarchy. And if the intelligentsia have gone where did Mr. Dey get his 'progressive' farmers for whom he has held 2,000 camps already? Members of the opposition have suggested that the farmers' camps, like the panchayats and the C.D. blocks, are being run for the benefit of the Tadpoles and Tapers of the Congress. Like Mr. Nehru's recipe of a shortened course of training for engineers, these farmers' camps may show the world how zestfully we are in a hurry. But the grim earth is no more merciful than steel and cement to bumptious charlatanism.

I saw somewhere a big board by the road announcing in letters one foot long, "The K— Community Development Centre welcomes you". A perverse memory reminded me of another board I had seen in a very different part of the country which curtly warned idle sightseers off the premises of a well-known scientist's laboratory, saying, "We are doing work here, please don't bother us". As a sample of statistical inexactitude, it would be hard to beat this authentic 'progress' report which was recently received at headquarters: "No. of families in X.C.D. Block 81000, No. of families benefited 81000".

VIGNESWARA.

I regard my function as a cartoonist as being that of a chap who irritates people so that they're forced to think about things they otherwise wouldn't think of.

DAVID LOW.

SIDELIGHTS ::

The Government have caused a furor in the film industry by artificially creating a scarcity of the raw material it needs. Some time ago they imposed a cut of 10 per cent on raw film. They capped it recently by another cut of 40 per cent and reduced the cut this week by 20 per cent in response to the terrific commotion stirred in the industry by their policy of cuts. In this case, too, as in so many others, that ubiquitous pretext for all sorts of interference with the life of the people, shortage of foreign exchange, has been invoked. A former Minister of Commerce and Industry played ducks and drakes with our foreign exchange by distributing it, as if it were largesse within his patronage, to friends and favourites for purposes not even remotely connected with the strengthening of the national economy. There was none in the Government at that time, nor any in the Planning Commission to note and check such superb folly. Their present idea of prudence seems to consist of foisting endless harassments to make life unbearable for the helpless people exposed to their Toulakian mercies.

Restriction of imports without discrimination or justifying need does not fit in with our Government's avidity to absorb foreign aid. The indebtedness created by foreign aid can be liquidated only by means of exports. We cannot hope to develop exports to other countries if we interfere too drastically without sufficient cause with the right of other countries, in their turn, to export their goods to us. It is reasonable by means of taxation to give temporary filips to indigenous industrial undertakings when foreign manufactures compete too easily with them. But quixotic yearly changes in import policy without rhyme and reason do not result merely in trade disturbances at home. They create them elsewhere too setting up reactions that cannot but bring back a large measure of instability. If we want to trade with other

countries we must permit them to trade with us. The sentimental luxury of cutting out imports at will can lead even to war if indulged in excessively, and if it is to be made safe, it should be preceded by essential protective preliminaries, such as complete economic self-sufficiency and the abandonment of every form of foreign aid.

Considering the large volume of employment provided by the film industry, only a Don Quixote could be unmindful of the disastrous prospect of unemployment inevitable if, without adequate steps to promote indigenous manufacture of raw film, its supply from foreign sources is drastically cut off. One Minister glibly wants the cut to be made good with economy in the use of the raw material. Actually the length in feet of a picture is no indication of the length of film required to make it. If the making of a picture depended entirely on arrangement of inanimate objects, its footage could be made to correspond with the quantity of raw film employed in making it. It is wrong to assume that short pictures necessarily consume less raw film than longer ones or that the disabilities of reduced stock could be counteracted by prescribing shorter pictures. The major part of the business of making a film consists in the picturing of emotional sequences. These cannot be made to order. They involve continued rehearsal, trial, rejection, and trial over again until the desired perfection of gesture and acting is reached. An experienced film director has put the position thus: "Neither the producer, nor the director, nor his technical crew can afford to dictate to the artist enacting the scene 'Look here, dame, the shot, as planned, comes to about 60 feet. I give you 65 feet and not an inch more. Now, act!' That cannot simply be done."

From every point of view the blow which the Government have

struck at the film industry is so fatal—fatal to the Government's own interests as to the industry's—that the psychology that brought it about merits study and attention. The Socialistic pattern of society pledged to the conception of the Welfare State presupposes elsewhere a certain basic minimum of administrative achievement. In the Socialist State economic power is combined with political power in the hands of the ruling party on the clear assumption that the State takes care of every citizen. In the Congress Socialism of India the State is not in a position to take care of all citizens, or to provide employment for more than a small fraction of the population; but this disability does not act as a check on its acquisition of economic power. The hunt for power, without conditional benefits to show in return by way of comprehensive, all-inclusive popular welfare, has thus become for the Congress all-engrossing. In this pursuit, new pinnacles of harassing interference are reached day by day. The rulers apparently have come to relish and enjoy as a delightful experience the widening of the number and variety of their hangers-on incapable even of existing and surviving without some form or other of official support.

They have struck at the book trade. Not that their intellectual resources qualify them to produce books more efficiently than the traditional publishers. The idea of any body of men carrying on an independent business without depending on them seems to have become repugnant to their nature in its metamorphosed totalitarian form, charged with insatiable zest for power-grabbing. They have established a stifling control over newspapers by making it impossible for them to obtain newsprint in the open market. Theoretically import licenses can be had for the asking. But in practice the rules that have to be complied with and the forms that have to be filled are maddening and there is no finality about them. Their complexity is increasing with each innovation thrown up by the unending brain waves of our audacious

(Continued on page 14)

OBSTINACY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

And, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off. This was what Noah saw from his Ark when the flood subsided. Russian unilateral action abjuring nuclear tests is a great and promising sign in the history of civilization. If the West should give up its *mourkhyam* and co-operate with this symptom of a trust in non-materialistic moral power, for the first time exhibited by the Soviet Government, very great results might follow from one step to another. Indeed the cold war may soon melt away.

It is a tragic paradox that while we want our opponent to give up his purely materialistic attitude and be converted to a moral outlook on life, we are deceived by immediate politics and discourage the very revolution of thought that we were all along wanting in our opponent.

A parallel tragedy is available in recent political development in our own country. Here are the Communists of India doing what I advised them to do when I met them at close quarters in the Madras Legislative Assembly, from the summer of 1952 onwards. They have now met in an All-India session and have publicly declared their solemn decision abjuring the way of violence and also, should they ever get into power, of ever seeking one-party monolithic domination. But Congressmen refuse to welcome this decision and behave as if they did not like the Communists to be converted to non-violence and democratic ways! The immediate politics of the situation blinds them to the more permanent gains of a moral conversion. Exactly the same is the cold reception and the cynical attitude of the West to the most remarkable event in the history of our times, — the U.S.S.R.'s unilateral declaration in April abjuring nuclear tests after meeting with failure and obstruction in many attempts to arrive at an agreed ban. Instead of welcoming the Soviet Gov-

ernment's gesture of new-born confidence in the moral power of a unilateral good act, the West is doing what one should have feared the Russian Government might have done consistently with their materialistic attitude had America or Britain taken such a step consistently with their official Christian faith. The West is seeking to kill the new-born and much-wanted baby.

Western reluctance to recognize the greatness and the importance of the Soviet Union's step is a great and deliberate disservice to the cause of peace and civilization. Look at the two pictures: after the Soviet Union's unilateral step to reduce the nuclear poisoning of the world,—America and Britain propose to carry out their tests for "clean" weapons and thereby to send into the stratosphere-poison-bank fresh quantities of radioactive fall-out that must sooner or later come down to injure human health and biological integrity. Why? Because they are not satisfied that Russia will

not attack them and their friends some day. They claim for this reason the right to cause injury and grave risk to all mankind despite the protests of Japan and of good men and women all over the world. If there were a tribunal to give effect to international law, these tests would have been prohibited by legal injunction as an illegal trespass on other people's rights and well-being. But Power, the most brutal and uncivilized form of it, rules out international law and morality. Four Americans have in the tradition of Thoreau started out in a ketch to enter the danger zone as a protest against their Government's inhuman policy, but the Government's *mourkhyam* remains undissolved. 'Nothing will change our decision to go on with the tests', says the Atomic Energy Commission of U.S. Nothing will change my decision, re-echoes Mr. Macmillan. 'America will not let me have her scientific results, so I must go on with my own poisoning programme'.

And so the dove with the olive leaf in her mouth must be turned out as an irrelevant phenomenon in a world ruled by Macmillan and Dulles.

WHAT AM I DOING ?

Some people are wondering what I am doing and why—at a time when I should know that my talents are failing and my body and mind require care and rest. My answer is that life does not work in that careful way. There is very little freedom for man except in self-delusion. You are just compelled by some inner force very different from Will.

I am fighting the great big nuclear giants, America, Russia and Britain. I am fighting as a beggar fights hard-hearted men: 'Please, sir, for the sake of God the merciful' etc. etc. But they won't listen. They go their own way unmindful of me in their path. For who am I to be noticed by such powerful governments? Who, indeed, who am not able to move one inch from their ways my old old fellow toilers now in

authority in Delhi? I have shouted and screamed "Do not do this. It will disrupt!" But they will not budge: they will not let go their language programme. They denounce me as one who does not have national pride enough to see the obvious shame of standing up for the English language!

Indeed I have quarrelled with those whom I love for what some think is a lost cause. And some dear people have the jitters because Rajaji and Nehru are quarrelling who ought not to quarrel.

Yes, I have differed and have spoken harsh language for the sake of clarity. But can't friends differ and yet continue to love one another? I must quote from Austen Chamberlain about "a fellow member of the House of Commons who rejects my politics

AMERICAN ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU

but shares my love of flowers. On reading the article when it first appeared, he wrote that he could not bear to think of me without a garden and should send me flowers from time to time on condition only that I did not write to thank him. Nearly every week during each succeeding session these gifts have been renewed. Truly the House of Commons is a place of much kindness".

My beloved colleagues and friends with whom I quarrel over this plan to replace English by Hindi know me and I believe the old Congress with all its faults, like Austen Chamberlain's House of Commons is "a place of much kindness". No, the loyalties and friendships of the old guard will not be shattered if on genuine conviction we hold different views on any subject and fight hard for those views. We have no rancour in our hearts. We have suffered too much for that kind of stuff to find a place in us.

When I am convinced that this threat to replace English by Hindi and erect a throne for it in Delhi will drive a great wedge into India, how can I sit silent or speak charmingly or equivocate and let the tragedy be enacted? An eminent Austrian who is a visiting professor in U.S. universities has recently written: "Today, perhaps more than ever before, one ought to ponder the sentence of St. Stephen: 'A kingdom of one language and one custom is fragile and weak'". The original is Latin: *unius linguae uniusque moris regnum fragile et imbecille est*. Chauvinism is an enemy to progress and civilization.

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The Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology sponsored an inquiry under the chairmanship of Prof. Harold R. Isaacs on what kind of ideas Americans carry about in their heads about the Chinese and the Indians.

Mr. Isaacs has tapped the barrel for American impressions and ideas of China and India, among a panel of 181 "leadership types."

The marks left on American minds by India are fewer and fainter than those left by China, according to Mr. Isaacs, who observes that Gunga Din was perhaps the Indian name most familiar to Americans until Gandhi came along.

The following is taken from the report concerning Prime Minister Nehru:

Jawaharlal Nehru is a much smaller, more human, more complicated figure than Gandhi, closer to view and better known. A remarkably large number of those interviewed for this study met him and talked to him, either in India or during his 1949 visit to the United States, and thus have some basis, even if limited, for a direct personal impression.

Like Gandhi, though for different reasons, Nehru commands enormous and sometimes adoring admiration, as a leader, an intellectual, a sensitive, complex, gifted, and even tragic man. Nehru may symbolize the conscience of the West for its past role in Asia; it is not easy to justify a history in which such a man could be so long imprisoned or held to be inferior. But he has no saintly aura about him to deter criticism or temper dislike; many see him also as vain, arrogant, unwise, naive, or even plain foolish. Agreement with Nehru requires no spiritual commitment, scorn for him need not be defensive or disagreement guilty. By his own frank and self-searching accounts, Nehru always stood across a certain gulf — sometimes a painfully "vast distance" — from Gandhi, whom he revered but with whom he could rarely agree except blindly. The transfer of leader-

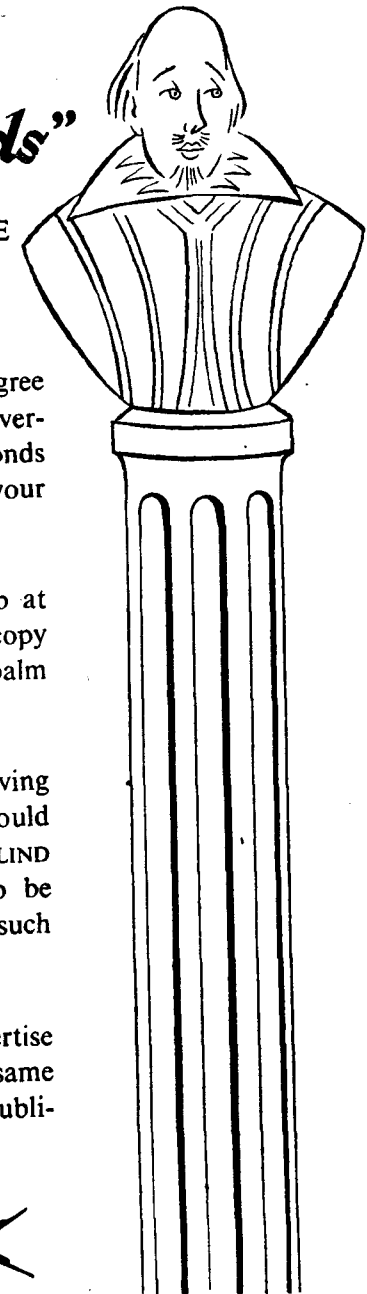
ship from Gandhi to Nehru placed it in the hands of a twentieth-century secular-minded man, for Nehru is a citizen only of this world, subject to all the more normal fallibilities as man, politician, and statesman. His ideas and acts as leader of India, and his role as "neutralist" in world affairs, are matters of sharp, controversial, and often angry opinion. His influence over his own countrymen is great, but quite unlike Gandhi's; his impact abroad is subject to all the clashing views of contemporary politics.

Images of Nehru as an individual personality are now no easily separated from images of Nehru the man of power, Prime Minister of India, and Nehru the "neutralist".

But the impress of the earlier Nehru, the aristocratic rebel, the sensitive intellectual, the dauntless man who spent thirteen years of his life in British prisons and passed most of that time writing memorable and revealing books about himself and his country — lies strongly upon the fresher and stronger images of the Nehru we encounter today. No important world leader now alive has given as candid and detailed a self-picture as Nehru did in those prison-produced volumes. His own reflections on himself, on religion, on philosophic and political outlook are the direct or indirect source of many of the judgments men now make of his behaviour and his ideas. Here, on almost every page he ever wrote, are to be found reasons why his admirers think of him as intelligent, honest, committed to human emancipation, a man with widely ranging and inquiring mind and spirit, a sensitivity mirrored in his face, and luminous gifts revealed in the rich flow of the English language which paradoxically became his own. By the same token, Nehru himself anticipated many of the misgivings that are now felt about him. Long before most of his present-day critics, he was speculating about his vanity, his "fo-

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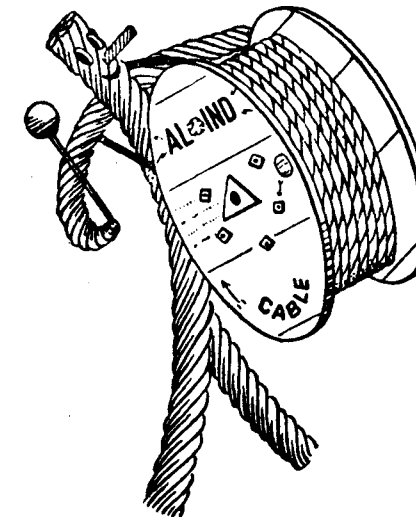
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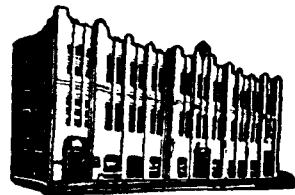
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midable conceit", the danger of his love of power, his fear that "only a saint, perhaps, or an inhuman monster" could survive "unscratched and unaffected" the adulation which became so big a part of his life.

Attitudes toward Nehru do not always conform to attitudes about the policy of "non-alignment" (i.e., with either Russia or the U.S.A.) with which he is so closely identified.

There is a big difference between approving the idea of non-alignment and approving the way in which Nehru is carrying it out. The fact is that a majority of those who approve the idea, think that Indian non-alignment, wisely pursued, would be a good idea not only for India, but for the U.S.A. as well. What worries most of Nehru's friends andangers all his foes is the way in which he seems to have let this good idea slip away from him.

Among Nehru's most hostile critics, 6 of the 22 are clearly "liberal" and 2 of these are individuals with extensive and sympathetic contact with Indian affairs. Consider this view by a

well known writer long identified by his strong sympathy for India and its leaders.

I did admire Nehru, until 1946. Through his autobiography, his role in the independence struggle, he established himself as an attractive, brilliant, progressive idealist. But look at the things he has done since he got to power. He is moved by political expediency, is not always the idealist or man of principle. I now regard him simply as a politician. He is too vain, too much of an actor, too weak, and I think, has a power lust. He is a transposed English intellectual, a Kingsley Martin in power.

Or finally, this comment by a former high-placed government official.

I am not an admirer of Nehru, though it took me a long time to conclude that the idea of Nehru as a great dedicated soul, motivated in all his acts by noble and virtuous sentiments, was a myth. Nehru is really motivated by expediency. If Nehru did previously possess these virtues, they are now corroded, changed. I now have a great mistrust of Nehru's leadership. There is too much information about the low level of his thinking and his motivations.

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RAMAYEE THE REBEL

By K. SANKARAN

It came about because Joseph, the municipal under-boss, had organised a co-operative credit society for the sweepers and scavengers. It was an act of faith after balancing the multifarious forces that pull one in different directions and was not over much influenced by pity or charity or any of the star-eyed sentiments that froth with emotion. On one side was the fact that they were a tragic prey on pay days to the rapacity of the lathi-handed Pathan money-lender, who charged an interest of one anna per rupee per month; on the other there was the counter fact that they were children of nature, given to unlimited ignorance and unlimited lying, to whom security or bond of any kind is merely a humorous figment, handy for cheating and disappearing. A third point was that it was a trouble and a responsibility, a thankless thing that may land him personally in discredit and monetary loss, where letting things alone would not jeopardise him in any way except that the menials would continue to worry out their financial problems in their own huggermugger fashion. And the fourth was—herein came the act of faith, not unmixed with guile—he had hopes of grading up amongst this mercurial lot an impalpable fealty to their jobs with a stake which they themselves built up and contributed to. Anyway, he did it, however dubious as to the result and it must be said that as long as he lasted in the place, controlling the distribution of their salaries on pay day and balanced their accounts, it worked and what more, these Yahoos that densely thronged their hutments, fetid with reek of dung and buzzing with insects on the wing, noisy with the cackle of old women and whimpering and laughing urchins whose bellies were the rounder as the years were less, did develop a certain regard for him and even admitted him into the closed sanctum of their inner councils as a referee where crucial points of doubt or difficulty arose. Normally,

their panchayat was all-powerful and determined all matters as between man and man and between men and women, in all tangles of precedence, matrimony, ceremonials connected with birth, death and worship. It was no small thing to invoke the assemblage of the panchayat. The petitioner had to pay for all the rounds of strong drink as well as for the pan supari and tobacco.

It was a sultry evening in mid summer, the sun still high in the horizon, when at the instance of Amasai, the panchayat gathered and sat on the platform under the big tamarind tree and savoured slowly the contents of their mugs and thoughtfully chewed their strands of tobacco and spat out mouthfuls of juice before each gave his opinion and finally settled that Sappai should bestow his daughter, Ramayee on the lame applicant Amasai for the consideration of Rs. 50, a large part of which was owing to the society from the father of the girl. Amasai was of course to stand all the drinks and cost of social formulae due on all the concerned occasions.

But times had changed and the panchayat mandate had not that granite sanctity that it had. The bondage of the ideas had loosened as also the taboos and rituals. Ramayee refused to marry the lop-sided man of her father's choice. Here was a pretty mess! The father had already digested whatever was left of the Rs. 50 and the panchayat had imbibed all the fermented juice in the pot and had spat out all the pan and tobacco that it chewed and now, the girl jibs at a little matter of a crooked limb in the man chosen for her! Hard were the words, virulent the epithets that were showered on the minx by artists in the language and when she was still obstinate, she was locked up in a room. But she managed to escape with the assistance of her mother, Mariatha, a sympathetic colluder in her rebellion and ran away with her to their village. Sappai, the father, left to cope with the situation felt himself so

inadequate that he applied to the society for a loan to go to the village to fetch them back and that is how Joseph, the under-boss came into the picture. Eventually the truants were persuaded to return, but the refusal of Ramayee to have lame Amasai was flat and final. That forlorn swain, however, was not so much sick with love as with the problem of recovery of the lost money in bride price and the contingencies of panchayat assemblage. He had hoped to reimburse himself and pay back the society loan with the wages that Ramayee would have earned as municipal sweeper after he had wedded her. He bullied the panchayat and the panchayat in turn demanded the refund of the sums spent by the luckless groom in the name of the cast-iron code of custom and usage. Mariatha and Ramayee though unrepentant were still conditioned by the reflexes and social pressures of tribal law and so came to the society for a loan of the sum needed to release the bride. Joseph hearing the circumstances for which the loan was asked for, advised Ramayee that she need pay nothing to Amasai as she had at no time consented to the bargain, which was made behind her back. But the mother and daughter were afraid of the persecution from the clan and were therefore allowed to rest of nights in the premises of the society where there was a watchman. The panchayat could do nothing. It tried reducing the fine to Rs. 25. This was not replied to. It reduced the sum to Rs. 10 and this was ignored. It regressed to Rs. 5 and finally to Rs. 2-8-0 which would barely cover the cost of the pan and supari and tobacco and toddy spent by the aggrieved party on the panchayat meeting. The members in a body came to Joseph to invoke his aid to get at least this sum out of the recalcitrant women but he told them that since it was they who had had the drink and tobacco, they should share the cost between themselves, the individual loss being no more than annas four per head. The question, however, involved far more than mere cash, their amour-propre, and on this they were adamant. The women felt in their

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: April in Delhi has brought Andhra to the fore through the more convincing medium of art and culture and shining symbols of Andhra renaissance, whether pioneers in poetry like Sri Abburi Ramakrishna Rao and Sri Devulapalli Krishna Sastri or modern singers like Miss Suryakumari and Sri Rajinikanta Rao. Thanks to cultural bodies like Sahitya and Sangeet Natak Akademis and the all-pervasive All-India Radio, the Capital has the singular distinction of attracting to itself streams of enlightened visitors who, for a refreshing change, talk of things other than purely political. Not the least welcome are those from Andhra Pradesh who, against a resplendent background and under the compelling influence of a long-established tradition, have learnt to overwhelm any North Indian audience by sheer variety of their gifts, ranging from recital of sonorous slokas to popular ballads or from the highly complicated Bharat Natya to the rhythmic footwork in rural setting. Miss Suryakumari, whose 'cultural festival' on three successive evenings was quite a delightful diversion in dust-laden Delhi, perhaps took too much on herself by stretching her undoubted talents a trifle too far; she could have brought a better team or hit upon a more attractive programme—and drawn thereby a full house. It was yet a tribute to the blithe and debonair artist that the Vice-President, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of the Navy, sat through the whole performance on the days when they individually graced the House as

hearts that this was no more than what was just and tempered their new found independence so far as to pay up this sum and thereby smoothed ruffled feathers all round and were duly rehabilitated in the social fold and the curtain dropped on a drama that equalled in verve, movement, suspense and denouement any written by Kalidasa or Shakespeare.

presiding deities—and patted her (metaphorically or literally) on the back. She can perhaps now feel sure that she has not wasted her charm on Delhi air inasmuch as she will be harnessed to India's 'cultural aid' to other realms in the near future. The credit for having sprung her on the bustling Capital goes entirely to the Andhra Sports Club which, though an infant organisation, has, because of the incentive of its President Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, M. P. and the imagination of its Secretary, Mr. Gopala Ratnam, become a powerful 'nucleus' in the composite, cosmopolitan life at the Capital. It is all for the good of Andhra and the larger good of the South that the Andhra Association, the Andhra Vanita Mandali and the Andhra Sports Club have, by their common impact, made the Andhra community in Delhi a distinct entity.

There are some new faces now in Rajya Sabha—so much the better for a House which needs some distinctive features for making up for its inherent limitations as a Second Chamber or the Other House. But, truth to tell, the otherwise inconsequential Rajya Sabha has the inestimable advantage of having as its Chairman one who, by his intellectual dominance, moral authority and the power of his personality, confers on it great distinction, apart from the indisputable fact that it has always guaranteed a higher level of debate than in the Lok Sabha. Was it not the veteran Pandit Pant who paid a rare tribute to Dr. Radhakrishnan when he epigrammatically described Rajya Sabha as a toy for him (Dr. Radhakrishnan) to play with? Few Parliamentary institutions in the world are luckier in the men that fill their chairs. The greater is the reason why every care should be taken by political parties in sending to Rajya Sabha men or women who deserve to sit there and not merely those who desire to warm the benches.

It is typical of the comparative inadequacy of the present-day press galleries that the lists of the more prominent who took the oath recently in Rajya Sabha were conspicuous for an omission, quite inexcusable in the larger context of the press in the country. For, by any standards, Sri V. R. Narla, now elected to Rajya Sabha from Andhra, is an individual force in India's Fourth Estate. A stalwart in Indian language journalism, among the vast Telugu-reading public he has achieved an eminence reminiscent of, if not comparable to, that of the late Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar in Maharashtra. How he will react to the political environment in Rajya Sabha is anybody's guess. But Sri Narla is more than a mere journalist. He is essentially a man of letters who has carved out a niche of his own as a writer of stories, essays and plays and exercised a sobering influence on the public mind in regard alike to literary experiments and political enthusiasms. A man of cultivated taste and persuasive charm, by his sense of discernment, acumen and mellowness, he promises to make a particularly excellent committee man and provide too an effective personal link between powerful elements in the State and at the Centre. It is such men that the Congress needs today when it has to save itself from possible disintegration accruing out of an all-round decline of standards.

It is by now fairly well-known—and by the time this feature sees the light of day it will have been even made public—that the Prime Minister will not only be away, having a sojourn in Tibet but also enjoy a holiday long or short. In any case, he will not be, for a period however limited, in Delhi—and that makes a difference to him and his colleagues, and to the Government and to the country. The fact that he will be holidaying somewhere in the Kulu Valley, means that he will not be unavailable for any urgent consultations. And it is doubtful if temperamentally he will be reconciled to anything like complete detachment while techni-

cally he continues to hold the fort. For, nobody will be recognised as even a Deputy Prime Minister during the period when Mr. Nehru will function from a respectable distance. There are, however, four men in the Cabinet—shall we now refer to them as the Big Four?—who will share the responsibility for running the Government—the inevitable Mr. Pant, the equally inevitable Mr. Morarji Desai, the redoubtable Mr. Krishna Menon and the resourceful Mr. S. K. Patil: in other words, Pantji and Morarji leading the Rightists and Mr. Menon and Mr. Patil representing themselves. Much of the future of the country will depend on the frame of mind in which Mr. Nehru will return from his holiday. Doubtless he will come refreshed. But will he bring to his unfinished mission a sense of re-orientation? And meanwhile how will his principal colleagues acquit themselves? Of course they are a tried lot but some of them are also a tired lot; they too need a holiday.

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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: The raw film shortage continues to be the main topic of discussion in the film world. Dr. Keskar, who attended a film function last week, told the film people in a rather outspoken manner that the producers must economise by reducing the length of pictures. He said that the world's best films were produced in 10,000 feet; but nowadays even Hollywood makes very long films like 'War and Peace', 'Giant', 'Around the World in Eighty days', 'Ten Commandments', which is the longest and most successful of them all! Even award winning pictures are pretty long. 'The Bridge on River Kwai' is 15,000 feet long; 'Friendly Persuasion' is over 12,000 feet and 'Sayonara' over 13,000 feet. Perhaps Dr. Keskar is not aware of these facts; and in any case it would be wrong to make comparison between the length of foreign and Indian pictures, which must have at least half-a-dozen songs and a couple of dances.

Comparisons apart, the acute shortage of raw film demands that the producers must economise and reduce the length in their own interest. Incidentally, the producers have made an allegation that while Films Division had reserved large stock of good quality, the State Trading Corporation had released only inferior stock to the industry. There are producers who want only 'Kodak' stock for their pictures and even positive prints; such producers are apparently most unrealistic in their attitude. For, it would be wrong to say that no good picture can be made with other kinds of stock. After all, Italy, Japan, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries have been producing some of the most outstanding films on their indigenous raw film, so why must only Indian producers insist on a particular variety of stock? It is upto Dr. Keskar to answer the criticism made against the Films Division and ensure that no discrimination is made

between the Films Division and the industry in the matter of allocation of raw stock.

Meanwhile, it is pointed out that just before the control came, the raw film importers sold lakhs of positive to their clients and that quite a portion of this stock is still unused or is being used in a wrong manner. Not only that, it is said that raw stock is available in the 'black' market at a fancy price. In view of these reports, the control machinery is reported to be further tightened and stock allocation is being rigidly enforced according to the release schedule of newly completed films. Thanks to the shortage, instead of five, only three prints of 'Chandan' were released this week in Bombay.

The situation is deteriorating daily and if fresh stock is not made available within a month, the production will come to a standstill, and the entire industry is likely to be affected. Hence, it is imperative that not only the immediate crisis is resolved but a broad-based workable solution found for the emergency period.

M. V. Raman has no flops to his credit; even his 'Aasha', which is considered to be his 'weakest' offering did more than good business. And his latest offering 'Chandan' will in no way harm his reputation.

Though produced by Fali Mistry for Dossi Films, 'Chandan' bears the stamp of Raman's formula of showmanship on each of its 15,300 feet. Even Fali Mistry's style of photography seems to have undergone a complete change under the influence of Raman. Unlike 'Taj' and 'Durgesh Nandini', Fali Mistry's photography never dominates the film; it is Raman and Rajindar Krishan, who dominate a picture which appears to be a typical Raman product reminding one of 'Bhai Bhai' and other Raman hits.

The story has all the familiar ingredients of melodrama of the Tamil social pictures. When Rukmini's husband dies, her

brother-in-law Motilal comes and takes over charge of the house and plans to kill Rukmini's two sons, Gopal and Chandan. She runs away and seeks refuge in a church. Gradually, she loses trace of both her sons and is framed up for a child's murder by Motilal. By the time she comes out of jail, her two sons are grown up. Gopal has become a lawyer while Chandan is a jack of all trades. Both the sons help their mother without recognising her. Gopal helps her to start a fruit stall and when he marries Mala he brings Rukmini home.

Chandan's foster sister Kamala falls in the clutches of Motilal and to save her honour she jumps out. To avenge her death Chandan tries to kill Motilal. In the scuffle Moti kills Rati, his sweetheart, and accuses Chandan for murder. Chandan escapes from lock-up and seeks refuge in a police inspector's sister's house and his own brother's home. Ultimately, when he is trying to rescue Mala from the hands of Moti, Moti is killed and Chandan is tried for double murder of Moti and Rati, with Ranjana, to defend him before Gopal, who has by now become a judge.

In the trial Chandan's innocence is proved. The two brothers are united with their mother.

This story with its diverse characters is full of incidents and is further enlivened with crisp dialogues and song and dance numbers executed in lavish Raman style. Full of coincidences and twists that give it an air of unreality the plot drags only when songs intrude; otherwise it keeps the audience interest sustained. The technicolor sequence is charming but irrelevant and superfluous; comparatively Kamala Laxman's delineation of Marathi Lavni is vigorous and delightful. But for Karan Dewan, almost every one has given an excellent account of himself or herself. Nutan as the lawyer Ranjana looks her best and gives a scintillating performance. Kishore is in his usual element. Johnny Walker makes a lovable constable. Achala is well restrained; Pran and Shyama are their usual selves.

(Continued on page 14)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DREAM COME TRUE

Sir,—The Government seems, after all, to have woken up to the fact that merit, which lies smothered now, should have due recognition in education, if the socialistic pattern of society is to be a reality. But the proposal to give 200 scholarships a year will hardly fill the picture. And if, as Dr. Kane said, Rs. 1,85,00,000 were given to four Central universities as against Rs. 1,40,00,000 to 28 State universities and if the scholarships were to be distributed among the States in the same proportion, the number of students who will receive aid in the States will be pitifully low. In Madras State, where merit has been at a discount for a number of years and considerations of caste and community have been the determining factors for entry into arts as well as in technical colleges, even the meagre allotment to the State will go, not to the best deserving candidates but only to such as can plausibly be roped in without detriment to the policy of the State. If the Central Government is really eager that the best talent in the country should have opportunity to come up and be of service to the nation, they should increase the number of scholarships and make a rational distribution of them among the States, probably according to the number of students who seek entry into colleges. Not only that, they should also give a directive that in the choice of students to be selected for the concession nothing else should count but merit.

K. N.

THE TWO GREAT FOLLIES

Sir,—Your editorial entitled 'J. P. & P. M.' is characterised by frankness and sincerity.

The two great follies, 'careless choice of personnel to fill the legislatures and neglect of the intellectual resources of the country' are indeed the basic cause of widespread dissatisfaction among the people with Congress rule. No one is more aware of these follies than our Prime Minister who said

only the other day that "democracy has a tendency to throw up the second-rate and third-rate rather than the best elements in society and thus encourage mediocrity". The President of the Congress has said at a conference of Pradesh Congress Committees that he was going through a process of introspection and the present deficiencies in the organisation may be the result of his own deficiencies. He thus indicated a helpless state of affairs. It is up to the Prime Minister to make a thorough probe into organisational and administrative matters and weed out all that is undesirable and make the Congress firm, strong and disciplined.

Unless and until the two follies of the past are corrected, there can be no solution for the ills found in Congress rule.

R. S. V. RAO.

CONGRESS AND LEFTIST PARTIES

Sir,—The statement of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan indicating the need for the merger of the Congress with the other leftist parties in India, barring the Communist party, is most timely and welcome. Experience has proved that the Congress party as it stands to-day is in need of talent and all-round effort in the best interests of the country, and there is nothing wrong in requesting those who do not agree with the Congress in entirety to co-operate with the ruling party in building up our Republic. The suggestion that Pundit Nehru may yield place to another may not be very appropriate in view of the necessity for a strong and most popular man to head the Indian Government though one cannot overlook the inferior mentality which the greatness of Nehru is producing throughout the rank and file. As Gandhiji did for some years before he passed away, Nehru might do well to train up his successors so that he might guide them from outside and act as a unifying link between the various socialist minded parties and groups. It is

not that Nehru has played out his part, but his services outside the Cabinet and the party as well, may elevate him to a superior position such as Gandhiji filled and enable him to work for a greater solidarity. It is an irony that a great man like Pundit Nehru should not be able to secure the active support of lifelong disciples of Gandhiji like Kripalani, Kalelkar, Vinobaji, Pyarelal and several others, whose sincerity and patriotism cannot be a whit less than his own. A great man like Kunzru must be able to tone up the level of the administration at the Centre. It is a pity that in India the question should often arise as



For Writing Comfort



to what would become of this country if Nehru should quit, a question that never arises in countries like England, America, Soviet Russia and elsewhere. Nellore V. RAGHAVIAH.

WHY THIS HASTE?

Sir,—Why is the Madras Education Minister so adamant and so unreasonable? Why this hatred for English? Why this haste to isolate Tamil Nad? Why should he deny to the future generations the mastery of one of the most beautiful, rich, precise and perfect languages of the world? Our State has been a first rate State because of English and why should we now give up mastery of that language? Why should not the venerable men of our present day like Rajaji, C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Rathnaswami and Sir Mirza Ismail be consulted before any important step which effects the future of the country is taken? These leaders have no axe to grind. It is not fair to let the country and the future generation suffer. They should not bring power politics into the field of education. People in authority should see that English is taught even at the primary stage as the Prime Minister of Ghana has done. He has done this as he wants his State to keep pace with the progress of the rest of the world.

AN EDUCATIONIST.

A. I. R. UNIVERSITY

Sir,—The case for an A.I.R. University which is being made out by some enthusiasts rests more on fashionable grounds than on merits. It is laudable to provide opportunities for those who aspire to be graduates, but education cannot be imparted in capsule form in one direction only. It is a two-way process. On-the-spot intelligent questioning by the inquisitive student and patient explanation by the sympathetic teacher are essential for sound education. It is due to the progressive neglect of this vital requirement that educational standards are deteriorating day by day even in the regular schools and colleges.

Obviously, the two-way exchange cannot obtain in radio-

teaching. It is, in fact, worse than even postal tuition because, besides lack of direct communication with the teacher, the content of instruction is transient and cannot be readily referred to later, if required, as in postal tuition.

It is noteworthy that even in countries where educational methods are streamlined, use of an even more versatile medium like television as a substitute for regular classroom teaching is still in the preliminary experimental stage and is looked upon with scepticism.

New Delhi DANTURTY.

Sidelights

(Continued from page 4)

cious bureaucrats. Even in the days of British rule a considerable area of freedom was permitted in this country to individuals to live their life in accordance with their own lights. But now the shadow of official control has spread everywhere and it leaves no peace to any. It has taken on a sadistic quality. The Government have lost the faculty of leaving well alone. It is now the turn of the film industry to pay toll to Congress power-rapaciousness. Many more such tolls from other equally beneficial industries and institutions will be exacted until present and prospective victims muster wisdom enough to make common cause to put an end to the prevailing outrage—the deliberate perversion of Socialist phraseology for appeasement of the power hunger of a degenerate party systematically evading the elementary obligations of genuine Socialist government.

SAKA

The Cinema

(Continued from page 13)

Mala is aptly decorative. Among others Raj Mehra and David impress. Music by Madan Mohan offers nothing new, though a couple of tunes have a beautiful lilt.

Raaj Kumar who left the Police department to become a film star has just passed through a crisis which almost ruined his career.

May 3, 1953

He was accused and tried on a murder charge along with Prakash and Prabha Arora. In the trial he was found not guilty and acquitted honourably.

Just before he was arrested, his stock in the film world had gone up, thanks to his commendable performances in 'Mother India' and 'Nausherwan-e-Adil'. In fact more than one producer had decided to cast him in the male lead; but they had to abandon the idea. Now that Raaj Kumar

is free he can resume his career and win the coveted stardom. During his period of trial, producer-director Mehboob is reported to have given him every help to defend his case; and the result has justified Mehboob's faith in the man.

Raaj Kumar was discovered by Najm Naqvi, who cast him as a reformatory chief in a picture called 'Rangeeli'. His original name is Kulbhushan but he was named Raaj Kumar—as a combi-

nation of 'Raaj' from Raj Kapoor and Kumar from Dilip Kumar. His first picture proved a flop since then he has been trying his luck, but he got his first major break in 'Mother India' in which he played the role of Nargis' husband and won plaudits from critics.

Raaj Kumar now holds high hopes for a bright future. But only time will prove whether he is able to rise to the popular heights of Dilip and Raj.

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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rao

Vol. II. No. 44

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15 Naya Paisa

THE MIDNIGHT FIRE-BELL

The Prime Minister has referred to a certain vulgarity in our public life but proceeded no further in dealing with it. Rajaji has probed to the root of this vulgarity in a masterly article this week which Congress bosses would do well to study carefully. "The Congress organisation" he says, "has become something like a *mutt* which attracts and supports people who have no calling of their own and who obtain power over the affairs of the *mutt* itself. Need we wonder at the deterioration we deplore?" By way of remedy for this state of affairs he suggests that "no one should be allowed to hold any office or executive membership in any committee of the Congress or be put up as a candidate for any of the legislative bodies unless he has an occupational or other known means, be it high or low, by which he maintains himself and his family. It must be made impossible for anyone to live on the Congress or on the political influence obtained therefrom."

This by way of immediate, emergent action only to stem the rot. But nothing less than intelligent rethinking on the whole doctrine of the Socialist State in which the Congress has got involved, will suffice, in Rajaji's opinion, if welfare of the people is to be really secured instead of being merely talked and propagandised about. He points out that if we have not the free and critical atmosphere of a well-balanced democracy "a Welfare

State is most favourable soil for the growth of the weeds of careerism, intrigue and various types and degrees of dishonesty." It would thus seem that under the name of Socialism a considerable use is being made of the vast economic power appropriated to itself by the ruling party, taking advantage of its political power, in a manner that has gravely accentuated careerism, intrigue, corruption and dishonesty. We have apparently arrived at a stage when protection is emergently needed from a further dissipation of national resources by dishonest wielders of power taking full advantage of economic controls under the umbrella of Socialism, and the only way of securing that protection is to return to the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Rajaji is of the view that the Socialist pattern made its advent in India without debate or discussion in an undemocratic way and it is in gross violation of the Mahatma's basic philosophy of individual responsibility for social good.

"Has there been," Rajaji asks "any known public or even private discussion of the merits of the various ideals connoted by these terms (Socialist pattern and the Socialist State)? Do men and women who repeat the word 'Socialism', as a name for what is claimed to be the straight way leading to welfare, remember what Gandhiji said about it — Gandhiji whom they profess not only to admire but also to follow in all things? Do people who now accept National Socialism do so after

having considered and rejected the doctrine of trusteeship which Gandhiji told his disciples was his way and was preferable to the egalitarianism of the Socialists and the interference by law with ownership of property and its traditional incidents and obligations which Socialism meant? Have men thought about the matter and all its consequences including the concentration of all economic power and influence in those who for the time being wield authority? Have they even thought about whether the management of things by men is likely to be carried out better when they have a proportionate interest in the good stewardship and in its results or when they do it on salaries and on behalf of the State? Or has Socialism been adopted only as parrots learn to speak?"

These questions call for the attention of intelligent men genuinely interested in the nation's safety and progress. They may be likened to Burke's midnight fire-bell alluded to by Rajaji himself in his article: it "might disturb your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed."

Asia does not desire it

In spite of the Australian Professor's forecast that as a result of a nuclear war between the West and the U.S.S.R. the people of Asia will emerge as the inheritors of the earth and that the glory of the West and its 'civilization' will come to an end, I am not tempted by that prospect to change my attitude or my prayers that this wicked

armament of A and H weapons should be abjured totally by America, Britain and Russia. But Professor Oliphant has spoken what may appeal to the pride and ambition of the West and therefore perhaps quicken the thinking capacity of its statesmen. Prof. Oliphant is the Director of the Research School of Physical Science at the Australian National University. He said according to a report of April 30:

"It was quite clear that within the next five to ten years, either Russia or the United States would be in a position to completely destroy each other. It is also clear that such a war could be initiated by mistake-misinterpretation of information, carelessness or even a technical fault."

"Apart from damage to genetic inheritance of survivors from radioactive fallout, Asia would emerge comparatively unharmed. They would emerge from such a conflict with their populations virtually intact and with their means of industrial production intact. They would inherit the earth and become the dominant race."

But no one in Asia wants this. It is noteworthy that Mr. Khrushchev has seen that though America and Britain have not reacted well to his great initiative, it does not follow that he should withdraw his own step. The other side's error enhances his own moral height. In his speech at the Nasser lunch in Moscow he has indicated that he is fully conscious of the spiritual victory he has scored and is still scoring. He has condemned the West's attitude in the most scathing terms. He is fully entitled to do so.

If only Russia will continue to hold firm to her faith in her own great initiative there is in store for the West a moral defeat no less decisive than Hitler's downfall in the last war.

It would have been good if Britain and America had reacted sensibly to the Russian declaration about tests. But who knows, Providence may have its own plan, the obstinacy of the West may end in such a defeat in the field of cumulative moral forces that we may have better and more permanent results, even as the total defeat of Hitler was better than any compromise that could have been reached in an inter-



THE GURU'S TEACHING

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

In the grove of Vishnu dwelt a Sannyasi. One of his most devoted disciples was hard of hearing. When the Guru taught the disciples, he missed what the others heard. But he told his Master, "Do give your teachings to the others. It is enough for me to look at your face."

"I am pleased, my son, by what you say", the Master said. "Still, for you I shall write a sentence every day. Keep these words safe. Sow them in your heart and let them grow there."

The Master kept his promise. Every day the disciple received with reverence the palm leaf on which the Master wrote for him and kept the leaves safely bundled up. Three years went by. The teacher passed to the other world. The disciple made preparations to print and publish as a book the collection of teachings which his Master had written for him.

The other disciples objected to this, saying, "How can he

alone take it on himself to publish the Master's message?"

They took the dispute to the King. The King gave an injunction against the publication. The disciple who was deaf argued that the manuscript was his and he would not give it to be published by any one else.

The King's advisers were divided in their opinion. One school said, "Here are good teachings, useful for posterity. It is a pity they should be kept unpublished and unused."

Another group argued, "How could one disciple claim the exclusive right to publish the Master's teachings?" The disciple argued, "The message came to be written only because I was deaf." This contention appeared fair to some.

Before the controversy could be settled, the palm leaf manuscripts were consumed by white ants. Then the quarrel ended and the people of the town forgot all about the Sannyasi.

mediate stage. The weak attempts made to attribute a less noble cause and less worthy motives for the Russians' unilateral stopping of tests than what they themselves claim do not deserve notice. The propaganda that "clean" weapons will emerge from these American and British tests and therefore the world should permit them, is so silly that one wonders how intelligent men could advance such a plea. It will not deceive any one who understands the problem. "Clean" weapons are worse than the openly dirty ones, because these deceptively "clean" things will help the more rapid approach of the nuclear danger towards the total annihilation of civilization and genetic fouling of man's ascending evolution. As we get closer and closer to the jaws of annihilation, the techni-

cian's fascination grows irresistible. Prof. Oliphant's warning, let us hope, may strike a responsive chord in the hearts of Western statesmen, although no one in Asia wants for the Asian people the dominance of the world through the suicide of Western men and women. If such a thing must happen, the sin will be on the head of the statesmen of the West whose obstinacy will have brought it about.

Six hundred British scientists who know all about 'clean' and dirty bombs have made an appeal led by one of the most illustrious among Englishmen, Bertrand Russell, but it had no effect on Mr. Macmillan. We have a race of British rulers now who make their great predecessors turn in their graves.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



Sotto Voce

More Pushing and Pulling

The hack in hebdomadal journalism who sets up his tipster's booth in Nehru's India can rarely hope to give his reader his mild flutter for a modest sixpence. Crises form and change and pass all in a day. But the latest 'crisis' was not even incipiently one, though the professional forecasters of the daily Press scanned the horizon anxiously for dread portents. From the narcissistic pre-occupation with his own Protean self to the aristocratic sniff of disgust at vulgarity and coarseness, the public had heard it all before; it was the ripe Nehru vintage all right.

Politicians do not retire. They are cashiered by the electorate and go with a good or an ill grace. Recently we had Mr. Ben Gurion of Israel setting what looked like a new precedent. He 'retired' and took to the nearest European equivalent of bhoodan. But it turned out to be merely a politician's version of "forty days in the desert". He came back with more zest than ever for the Party fray, his temporary hibernation having raised his stock. But Mr. Nehru has no need to resort to such feints.

He told the Parliamentary Congress Party that "he was anxious to fit himself for the great tasks ahead"—not surely the language that one hears from the world-weary. All he wanted was time for a bit of quiet thinking, so as better to bear the responsibility in the years ahead. He knew that nothing that he did "will lessen that responsibility". Indeed he had no wish to escape it because it was not the responsibility of a mere Prime Minister who had won an election. "It comes to me not from the office I hold but by my connection with events in India for forty years".

The Mahatma was no less emphatic that there was no retirement from politics for him, even while he told the Congress that it had become *functus officio*. But there is one important difference. The Mahatma was not in office and could therefore speak as if there existed no such thing as a sovereign electorate. He could have been Prime Minister in perpetuity, but he realised that it would be dangerous to combine the offices of Prophet and King. Mr. Nehru, though 20 years ago he quoted with approval Liddell-Hart who said that the two offices must not be confused, cherishes the illusion that his hands are strong enough to hold both.

Mr. Nehru loves the people, and they love him. But the true democrat does more, he respects them. And this respect comes from the wholesome realisation that there are very definite limits to pushing and pulling the people in directions which they have not chosen. But Mr. Nehru, who professed to detect "a revivalist tendency in the country which is utter reaction" and which he put forward as one of the main reasons for his wishing to quit, himself regularly slips into the language of revivalism when he wishes to drown the rumble of discontent and dissent in the drunken huzzas of the mass demonstration.

It is all right to say "I have still fire in me." But when the Knight of the Holy Grail goes on to absolve the Congress with a comprehensive gesture which simultaneously consigns all other parties to perdition people are apt to look askance at this wary idealism. They did not fail to note with amusement that the apostle of secularism chose Communist-ruled Trichur for a descant on India's traditional spi-

rituality. Mr. Nehru talks of jobbery and job-hunting as if these things didn't touch Congressmen at all, or but remotely. But the disgraceful expedients resorted to to keep a Congress minority in power in Orissa, the blatant defence of filling Party chests by cadging on Big Business and the scandal a day that the Public Accounts Committee regularly unveils are not figments of the imagination conjured up by a malignant Opposition.

Mr. Nehru darkly hinted at "the shock of the circumstances created after the Maulana's death". There was too the helpful prompt from a member of the Ginger Group who spoke of "forces of reaction and disunity" and wanted the Congress to repledge itself to Mr. Nehru and to the establishment of a democratic society. All this should serve to remind us that Democracies too have their Kremlin politics. Mr. Nehru has been following the long-range strategy of shepherding the amorphous Congress into a Socialism which its mass following does not understand and would not like if it did. But he is too shrewd to risk cutting himself adrift like the Socialists from the superb Party machine. Perhaps the emergence of the Ginger Group tempted him to a tentative and discreet trial of strength inside the Party caucus against the so-called Rightists. Was there not a hint of sardonic laughter in Mr. Pant's tribute to his magnanimity?

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SIDELIGHTS ::

"Kamaraj to sack Labour Minister?" Under this title a Bombay weekly has published a report that Madras newspaper barons are putting pressure on the Chief Minister to take away the Labour portfolio from Sri R. Venkatraman. The true story as we understand here is this.

Some weeks ago, on March 19 to be exact, reporters covering the Secretariat met Sri R. Venkatraman in his room. Just previously a short summary of the Supreme Court's judgment in the Working Journalists Wage Board Case had come out, but not the full judgment.

Sri Venkatraman greeted the reporters with the remark that he was sorry about the way judgment had gone and extended his sympathies to the working journalists. The following is an account of what happened then at the meeting between the reporters and the Minister prepared by the Chief Reporter of *The Hindu* which has become available to me through the Editor's courtesy though for some reason the story did not appear in that paper.

"What do you think can be done about it now?" asked a reporter (referring to the Supreme Court judgment).

"Strike" was the Minister's immediate reply.

"Short of that?" pursued some reporters who apparently had not expected such advice.

"I do not see what else there is" he said.

"An ordinance to validate the award", suggested a reporter.

"Validation of some defect is possible in respect of a statutory provision. But is validation by ordinance possible where a body constituted under an Act is held to have acted in excess of its statutory powers?" asked another reporter.

The Minister expressed his opinion that the whole judgment was illegal. He said that the Wage Board had been constituted by statute, and consisted of representatives of all the parties concerned, and it had come to unanimous conclusions on almost all matters. It was illegal, he said, to set aside their decisions.

"Is there a machinery for testing the legality or otherwise of a Supreme Court's judgment" asked a reporter.

"None" he said. He added that the judgment was "illogical". The Minister went further and said, "What more can be expected from one who was junior to the Counsel for the Management?"

"Were all five of the judges juniors to the Counsel?" asked one reporter, to which Mr. Venkatraman gave the reply "No. I referred only to the Chairman of the Bench".

"You say 'Strike'. How are we to strike and against what?" asked a reporter.

"When the Minister for Industries and Labour is himself suggesting a strike, and is so ready to give guidance, we can have consultations on the matter further at leisure. What is the hurry now?" remarked a reporter.

"You may put in your petitions and I will refer them for adjudication. Raise industrial disputes. If necessary, I will appoint more tribunals to deal with these cases."

"Is it not possible to have another wage board set up under the Act which can give an award steering clear of the errors now pointed out?" asked a reporter.

"We know the fate of one statutory wage board. I am not in favour of more wage boards. The other way is the Industrial Disputes Act", replied the Minister.

"Employers may not be averse to have recourse to the Industrial Disputes Act. If I remember right, that argument was also put forward during the hearing before the Supreme Court, because then review, revision and appeal would be possible, where necessary" put in another reporter.

"Yes, all that may mean many years' delay" remarked another reporter with which the Minister agreed.

Mr. Venkatraman added: "If you have recourse to the processes of law, they also would have it. Law takes its own course and time. That is why I say that if people gather their strength and use it, a settlement may be reached quicker. After all, no employer likes to be at loggerheads with his employees always; he will see when it will be to his interest to come to a settlement."

"So, in your opinion this method of recourse to strength is better than recourse to processes of law, or other methods of settlement?" asked a reporter.

"That seems to be the only alternative left now" he replied. He added, "In the *New York Times*, there was a strike which went on for many days. Why not we also have an all-India strike of working journalists?"

"We will have this additional distinction of the strike being suggested and sponsored by a Labour Minister" remarked one reporter. The Minister laughed, and told reporters, "I have no objection to your quoting me. We are being driven to go on strike."

"What is your comment on the judgment?" asked another reporter.

"For the present you may say this: I am most unhappy. I do not want to say more on it."

Sri Venkatraman has, since he became Minister, set himself up as a leader of the working journalists' lobby and it has become customary for aggrieved individual members of the craft to make a bee line to the Minister for advice and guidance. The willing and voluntary dependence of newspaper employees on Ministers and other authoritarians for protection and prospects has weakened them as custodians of Press integrity vis-a-vis the Government. I was once asked by the directors of the *Minneapolis Tribune* how the Indian Press could not only tolerate but even approve the innovation of a government-appointed Registrar. The whole American Press, they said, would have fought unanimously against such an imposition as an encroachment on its freedom and integrity nullifying its very functions.

I understand that the contents of the suppressed report, quoted above, have been circulated to the Madras Chief Minister and members of the Central Government and that Pandit Pant has pulled up the Labour Minister but he is not prepared to do anything further about the matter. Probably the sanctioned survival of Ministers of this type, too, has its function to fulfil as a contributory to the vulgarity of public life for the Prime Minister to issue verbal denunciations from time to time.

SAKA

Indian Music

Indian music is essentially impersonal; it reflects an emotion and an experience which are deeper and wider and older than the emotion or wisdom of any single individual.

—Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

COLLAPSE OF INDEPENDENT THINKING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The political organization that successfully fought the British power in India was at the close of that struggle put in power by the latter. The British Parliament not only acknowledged the independence of India but transferred the reins of executive authority to the Congress party to start with. This party continues to govern the affairs of the country after ten years of that event. It is well known or, to use the safer journalistic phrase, it cannot be denied that there is considerable searching of heart at the present moment among the leaders of the Indian National Congress. All is not well, it is felt, but no remedy has been found that meets the situation and consequently the customary attitude in similar situations in the case of individual sickness is adopted, to say that there is nothing very serious to worry about.

It is for any one, and much more so for one who has spent the best part of his life-time serving the organization and who owes many honours and kindnesses to it, an undertaking of some degree of delicacy to examine into the cause of the present discontent about the Congress. If he avoids vagueness and visionary language and touches the true roots of the malady, he may "come near to persons of weight and consequence who will rather be exasperated at the discovery of their errors than thankful for the occasion of correcting them. But in all exertions of duty something is to be hazarded". I have found the words in the writings of one of the greatest political philosophers of modern times, and in that mood I venture.

As a result of tacit submission on the part of the people of emancipated India, a few good persons at the top enjoying prestige and power are acting like guardians of docile children rather than as leaders in a parliamentary democracy. Mutual encouragement has led to this condition of affairs. Men in a state amounting to

tutelage have no chance to develop towards maturity. This was Milton's emphatic opinion and it is as true today as in the days of Cromwell and as true in one country as in another. Although men are 'fallen', to use the poet's expression, they retain enough of the original gift of God to grow towards freedom. But a chance must be given to them to discover the precious gift that lies hidden within themselves. The sort of tutelage that now prevails gives no such chance.

No theory of civil life, no "ism" will work satisfactorily unless the citizens in the democracy are willing to undertake the responsibility of thinking and judging for themselves. This willingness and by disuse the capacity also are rapidly decreasing. Instead of independent thinking and free

judgment, the manners of parrots have been growing among men, even among those rightly credited with intellectual capacity of a high order. They repeat the words uttered by the established guardians without paying thought to the meaning and the implications. I am not objecting to any particular opinion but to the parrot culture that has seized the country.

For instance, and only for an instance, there is more than one road to national welfare. The Welfare State was the first formula adopted by the leaders; it was soon followed by the 'Socialist pattern' and then came the Socialist State. Did people who successively re-uttered these phrases follow the various meanings of the various phrases? Has there been any known public or even private discussion of the merits of the various ideals connoted by these terms? Do men and women who repeat the word 'Socialism', as a name for what is claimed to be the straight way leading to

CONGRESS REFORM

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's satyagraha against the Congress is over. There can be no change in the situation unless a drastic rule is enforced on the party that, barring those who non-cooperated in the first campaign of 1920 by withdrawing from courts and schools and colleges, no one should be allowed to hold any office or executive membership in any committee of the Congress or be put up as a candidate for any of the legislative bodies unless he has an occupational or other known means, be it high or low, by which he maintains himself and his family. It must be made impossible for any one to live on the Congress or on the political influence obtained therefrom be it at the lowest village committee level or anywhere higher up in the party hierarchy. The whole-time Congressmen bossing at the various levels and parasiting on Congress and the rivalries, dissensions and intrigues among them

have brought the organisation to this pass.

A healthy nexus should be brought into being between honest family life and national life. We shall then have healthy conditions for political life. At present politics has become an alternative and attractive occupation by itself. The Congress organization has become something like a *mutt* which attracts and supports people who have no calling of their own and who obtain power over the affairs of the *mutt* itself. Need we wonder at the deterioration we deplore? The distempers of the Congress arising out of the continuance of power after the lapse of its revolutionary passion, unchallenged by any effective opposition cannot be dealt with merely by paternal threats from inside which the party knows how to meet by fresh confessions of complete dependence and promises of obedience.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

welfare, remember what Gandhiji said about it — Gandhiji whom they profess not only to admire but also to follow in all things? Do people who now accept National Socialism do so after having considered and rejected the doctrine of trusteeship which Gandhiji told his disciples was his way and was preferable to the egalitarianism of the Socialists and the interference by law with ownership of property and its traditional incidents and obligations which Socialism meant? Have men thought about the matter and all its consequences including the concentration of all economic power and influence in those who for the time being wield authority? Have they even thought about whether the management of things by men is likely to be carried out better when they have a proportionate interest in the good stewardship and in its results or when they do it on salaries and on behalf of the State? Or has Socialism been adopted only as parrots learn to speak?

This is only an instance. What I plead for is a climate of independent thinking among citizens. It is no good imagining it is there when we see no sign or symptom of it. Without this essential accompaniment, self-government through democracy will prove itself to be a house of cards.

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The reason for a gradual collapse of independent thinking is the confusion in the people's minds between a political struggle against foreign domination and its discipline and day-to-day government: between revolution and administration. The figures of speech employed in appeals and manifestoes, oral and written, encourage this confusion between battle and government and between the respective disciplines required for them. The long reign of popular favourites without any significant opposition is probably the main cause for the collapse of independent thinking. "You have not gone far enough", "you do not mean what you say" — these are the only criticisms that some people venture to offer. No one dares to say "your policy is wrong and must be re-examined". The opposition is at best a charge of inefficiency in carrying out policy or a suspicion of insincerity. There is no attack on the policy itself.

Democratic civil life calls for independent thinking among the citizens — among the governed as among the governors. Criticism and reply and counter-reply make for health in the air. Diseases of corruption and intrigue are by a process of natural hygiene driven out in such an atmosphere. Burke said he liked 'clamour'. "I am not of the opinion", he said, "of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose. The fire-bell at midnight might disturb your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed."

If subservience and slavish adulation take the place of independent thinking and criticism is never resorted to but with fear and trepidation, the atmosphere quickly breeds the political diseases peculiar to democracy. If we have not the free and critical atmosphere of a well-balanced democracy, a Welfare State is most favourable soil for the growth of the weeds of careerism, intrigue and various types and degrees of dishonesty. An opposition is the natural preventive for such poisonous weeds. An opposition is therefore the urgent remedy indicated by the symptoms — not mere psycho-therapy.

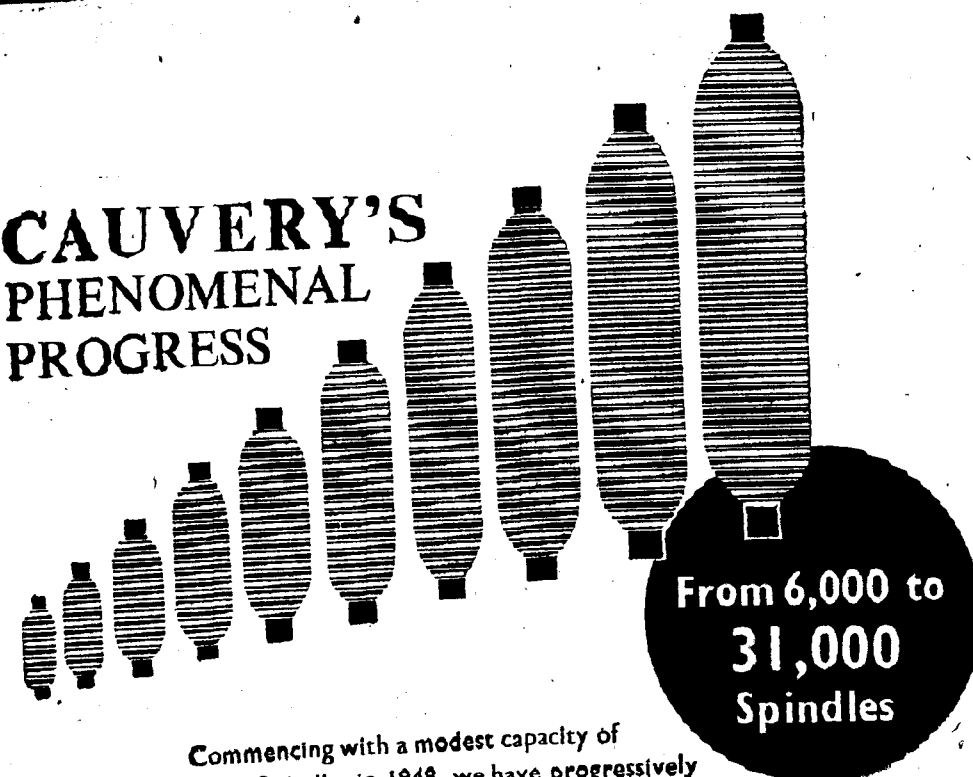
"You are all right. Indeed you are better than you were. Don't believe you are sick. You are not sick!" — this cannot restore a fractured leg. We need an opposition that thinks differently and does not just want more of the same, a group of vigorously thinking citizens which aims at the general welfare, and not one that in order to get more votes from the so-called have-nots, offers more to them than the party in power has given, an opposition that appeals to reason and acts on the firm faith that India can be governed well as a democratic republic, and that the have-nots will not reject sound reason.

It is not the quality of true faith in democracy to fear that truth will not succeed with the electors. What will lead to permanent welfare the voters will accept, if not at once, at least in course of time. We must have the faith that they will see through the corrupt offers of immediate gains at the cost of injury to the general welfare. On such faith an opposition should come into being that will set a proper balance to the authority of the party in power and put our free Commonwealth on its two feet.

Such an opposition, even if it should not succeed in ousting a powerful majority from its seat, may at least see that its power is not absolute power, which corrupts absolutely, but something controlled, so that the evils that flow from power may be kept within limits.

Some people frightened by the hopeless prospect of bidding against a Socialist Government for the favour of the have-nots believe that the only course open is to wait for the fading away of the Congress by reason of its own weaknesses and diseases and then to form a new political party on right lines. This cannot be done. No party can issue out of chaos except one backed by physical force and terrorism. If we desire a parliamentary party to come into being for steadying the machinery of government, it must be accomplished when the Government is running under Congress rule. It would be fatal to wait for its disintegration which will result only in rule by force.

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TAMERLANE AND HIS INSTITUTES

The great Mongol conqueror of the fourteenth century, Timour, commonly known by the name of Tamerlane ruled over an empire that stretched from Moscow to the Ganges and included Egypt. The Institutes of Tamerlane, a code by which he desired his successors to be guided, must be of great interest not only to statesmen and historians but to students of moral philosophy. Practically the whole of the document was quoted by Edmund Burke during the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings had pleaded that the crimes and irregularities charged against him were acts done in consonance with the laws and institutes of government as known to the Moghul Empire. He specifically referred to Tamerlane. Burke completely refuted the theory of Asiatic government put forward by Hastings by showing that the book of which he had copies both in original and translation* did not authorize arbitrary or unjust proceedings against any one but on the contrary was a code prescribing most exemplary restraint in the exercise of sovereign authority and due regard to the principles of justice and compassion.

"Be it known that since I have hope in Almighty God that many of my children, descendants and posterity shall sit upon the throne of power and regal authority, upon this account, having established laws and regulations for the well governing of my dominions, I have collected together these regulations and laws as a model for others".

Here follow twelve comprehensive paragraphs for guidance of which the following form part:

"When I clothed myself in the robe of empire, I shut my eyes to safety and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease. From the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries and combated difficulties, and found enterprises, and vanquished armies, and experienced mutinies amongst my officers and my soldiers, and was familiarised to the language of disobedience; and I opposed them with policy and with fortitude; and I hazarded my

*The translation was by Major Davy who was an excellent Orientalist and Secretary to Warren Hastings.

person in the hour of danger; until in the end I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established the glory of my name.

"By justice and equity I gained the affections of the people of God; and I extended my clemency to the guilty as well as to the innocent; and I passed that sentence which truth required; and by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; I compassionated the lower ranks of my people and those who were distressed.

"I delivered the oppressed from the hands of the oppressor; and after proof of the oppression whether on the property or the person, the decision which I passed between them was agreeable to the sacred law. And I did not cause any one person to suffer for the guilt of another.

"Those who had done me injuries, who had attacked my person in battle, and had counteracted my schemes and enterprises when they throw themselves on my mercy, I received them with kindness, and I drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions; and I treated them in such sort that if suspicion remained in their hearts, it was plucked out entirely.

"I acted with resolution, and on whatever undertaking I resolved, I made that undertaking the only object of my attention; and I withdrew not my hand from that enterprise until I brought it to a conclusion. And I acted according to that which I said. And I dealt not with severity towards any one and I was not oppressive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal severely towards me, nor render my own actions oppressive unto me.

"Whoever had been my enemy and was ashamed thereof and flying to me for protection, humbled himself before me. I forgot his enmity and showed liberality and kindness. In such manner Sher Behram the chief of a tribe was along with me. And he left me in the hour of action; and he united with the enemy, and he drew forth his sword against me. And at length my salt which he had eaten, seized upon him and he again fled to me for refuge, and humbled himself before me. As he was a man of illustrious descent, and of bravery, and of experience, I covered my eyes from his evil actions; and I magnified him, and exalted him to a superior rank, and I pardoned his disloyalty in consideration of his valour.

"The man who drew his sword on the side of my enemy, and com-



mitted hostilities against me and preserved his fidelity to his master, him I greatly honoured; and when such a man came unto me, knowing his worth, I classed him with my faithful associates; and I respected and valued his fidelity and his attachment. And the soldier who forgot his duty and his honour and in the hour of action turned his face from his master and came in unto me I considered as the most detestable of men.

"And, behold, it was known unto me by experience, that every empire which is not established in morality and religion, nor strengthened by regulations and laws, from that empire all order, grandeur and power shall pass away".

The passages relating to forgiveness are most striking. It was not without just foundation that Burke said: "But it is not in this instance only that I must do justice to the East. I assert that their morality is equal to ours, in whatever regards the duties of governors, fathers and superiors; and I challenge the world to show in any modern book more true morality and wisdom than is to be found in the Writings of Asiatic men in high trust and who have been counsellors to princes. If this be the true morality of Asia as I affirm and can prove that it is, the plea founded on Mr. Hastings' geographical morality is annihilated". C. R.

One of the advantages of being a humanist is that, however, aged one may become, one does strive, year by year, to extend the circles of one's interests, to widen the bounds of sympathy and compassion, and to enlarge tolerance.

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REVIEW

BHARATI IN ENGLISH VERSE

I know what a force Subramania Bharati has been in Tamil—thought and letters. The face of this poet-prophet looking out of his portrait haunted me as of one who had a message for me if only I could hear and understand, and I felt sorry for my ignorance of Tamil which made me deaf to a seer's voice. I was delighted when a dear friend sent me a copy of Miss Prema's *Bharati in English Verse*.

In this book the approach to Bharati is through a series of ante-chambers—an excellent Preface and a biographical and critical introduction by the talented translator and a Foreword by Sri S. B. P. Pattabhi Rama Rao.

A perfect—or even tolerably good—translation requires gifts of a very high order—gifts akin in quality to those of the creator of the original. The translator, who is not a mere caricaturist, should understand not only the words, but the heart of his author. Like a good artist, he should not be content with a mere reproduction of outward features, but should seize and bring out the soul within, and convey to his readers as much as possible of the emotional thrill that the original gave him. If it is poetry he is rendering, he has to be a poet himself. A literal translation, like that appended to Sanskrit text books, may be a useful guide but is certainly not a joy in itself. As Fitzgerald says, the translation must “above all things be a live thing”—“better a live sparrow than a stuffed eagle”. If the original was pleasant and readable—so must the translation be.

Miss S. Prema's translation—which she unpretentiously calls a free rendering—is a live thing in its own right, but more akin to a koil than to a sparrow. Her language is a lovely diaphanous tissue which does not conceal the beauty it covers; Bharati shines through the English rendering “as the radiant lines of morning” through

Bharati in English Verse: By S. Prema. Available at Higginbothams. Price Rs. 2.

fleecy clouds. I felt I could hear Bharati's voice as through a telephone—a trifle changed in pitch and timbre but undoubtedly Bharati's—and could understand why Tamil Nad loves him so much.

But Bharati is not just a Tamil Nad poet. His mother-tongue is no doubt Tamil, but his motherland is Bharat. He is most truly a national poet of India. His heart is a temple dedicated to her in love and adoration; it aches for her suffering and humiliation and is only sustained by a living faith in her future. He sees the real oneness underlying all seeming diversity

“Religion and caste shall not divide us
Once born in Bharat
All are children of the Mother”

It is the hope of her freedom and future greatness that makes life supportable:

“We fostered this tree, Lord
Not with water, but tears
We fed with the ghee of our thoughts
This beautiful light
In our soul's sanctuary”

The freedom which is dearer to him than life itself is one in which all shackles are struck off—caste arrogance, and the slave-mentality which numbs manhood and stifles growth. India thus freed will rise to the fullness of her noble stature and show the world the way to the life divine. We shall then honour the worker, and his honest sweat, and refuse “to see unmoved the sight of another's pain”. His ecstatic vision of Bharat of the future stirs the blood like the sound of a trumpet, and challenges comparison with John of Gaunt's England.

To say that Bharati's sacred songs are very good is but faint praise in a land so rich as India in that kind of literature; yet it is the poet's due and must be said. I don't think I have seen any truer or more beautiful tribute to womanhood than

“Woman is the sanctified union

of the mother's name and spouse's fame
(I would perhaps have preferred “mother's love” and “wife's devotion”)

Woman is sweeter than life itself
She is the protectress of life and creatrix too
She is the life of our life and soul of sweetness”

The translation is full of fine single lines bearing testimony to Miss Prema's mastery of her medium. She says her father commended to her the role of the Suez Canal between East and West for mutual exchange of culture. The book under review plays an even nobler part—that of our great rivers which bear the life-giving rain of our highlands to the thirsty plains to bless them with foison.

Sri Pattabhi Rama Rao expresses a doubt whether Bharati is one of the immortals, and inclines to the opinion that he is “an inheritor of unfulfilled renown” (which means, probably, one who does not come up to his early promise; it was, if I remember correctly, said of Keats by a pompous critic.) I know as little of Tamil literature as Sri Rao—but truly great poetry is longer-lived than the language in which it is composed—as, witness the immortal epics in what are called dead languages. Such poetry lives not in words, but in the eternal heart of man; and so long as men love motherland and goodness—well, so long Bharati, I believe, will continue to be read. Even if he lives only as long as the glorious Tamil language, it would not be incorrect to call him immortal.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It was an unusually interesting and not a little exciting time at the Capital, with all attention focussed on the Prime Minister. On return from Kerala where he discounted the talk about his resignation, he did want to resign; indeed, he offered—or threatened—to do so. He talked aloud at the first party meeting; he talked rather loudly at the second; he just talked things over at the third. He found himself confronted with his own contradictory statements. There was a strange inconsistency in his attitude, which was nothing strange about him. After all, inconsistency is “the hobgoblin of little minds”. And he could afford to contradict himself, for he “contains multitudes”. As for the men he directly addressed, there was never any doubt about the manifestation of “herd mentality”. If Mr. Nehru was confused and also spread the confusion, it would be ungenerous to fling at them the gibe that they had but caught the infection. They all wanted him—and swore by him; he loved them all and he agreed to abide by their collective, unanimous desire or decision, which is real democracy and the triumph of democratic leadership. It was, however, “Much Ado About Nothing”. And “All's Well That Ends Well”. Mr. Nehru is with the party, and at the head of it; the party is of the people and for the people; he is, has been, and will be the people's idol, the party's leader and the country's Man of Destiny. Let the dogs bark, the asses bray, the men howl—the Congress Caravan (still the most impressive spectacle) moves, moves on, marches. If it is for “the Dawn of Nothing”, it is a different matter.

Admittedly, several things happened to make him unhappy as the Prime Minister of India, not a few of them having been his own party's solid contribution to his uneasiness. Mr. Nehru himself listed a few evils—the craze for office, the manoeuvring for

positions, self-seeking and so on. He was in fact appalled by a general decline in standards of public life, and a certain coarseness and vulgarity that had crept into it. He felt, though momentarily, that it would be better for him to stand aloof—and do a bit, not of any heart-searching but of hard thinking. He seemed also to think that with him “far from the madding strife”, the Congress party in particular and the country in general would be in a more reflective and chastened mood. He was about to press issues and assert himself—at last—but again, once again, he overruled himself or allowed himself to be overruled. He would rather stay, for he could take no risks. The party might become completely paralysed, with none at the higher rungs capable or confident of holding the reins firmly. The very revivalist forces in the country he dreaded, might get stronger. The international situation, on the eve of Summit Talks, might worsen and pressure-tactics create more difficult situations. Having never underestimated his own indispensability, he persuaded himself to persevere against all odds and perpetuate his hegemony. With as many reasons for not going as for going, he would rather not proceed to take the step that he suggested.

So at the end of it, there is no end to confusion. It is more the beginning of the end of the Congress as it has functioned since it assumed responsibility for the administration of the country. Having for long years been a national organisation with diverse elements drawn into it out of a common, compelling desire to throw off the foreign yoke, it has yet to evolve into a well-knit political party capable of fulfilling real democratic obligations. Today it consists of three groups, at one end honest conservatives, at the other frank “fellow-travellers” and, in between, a large body of social democrats, not to speak of a variety of opportunists and

careerists. Mr. Nehru who first talked of a Welfare State, then of the Socialistic pattern of society, later of the Socialist pattern and now talks of Socialism, makes the sudden, painful discovery that the thinking of Congressmen has not kept pace with his own thinking. In fact, they have lost the capacity to think, much less to act. But they are all prepared to leave everything to him—from thinking like Mr. Nehru to acting as the Prime Minister. It is an impossible situation. And the only possible remedy for the stalemate or the stagnation has been, alas, thrown away by the supreme leader in a moment of supreme weakness. Whatever be the immediate difficulties and risks, it would have suited him better and served the Congress better if Mr. Nehru had, for a period, withdrawn himself from the scene and watched it from a distance, objectively. Instead, he agrees to be stale and decides on a stalemate.

Mr. Nehru seems to have overlooked one aspect of the whole problem or story. For eleven years he has been in the saddle; he has been at the head of a party with an absolute majority; he has been exercising plenary powers. Whose then is the fault if the situation is so exasperating as to dishearten the people of India? What prevented him from asserting himself and acting strongly? India wants Mr. Nehru to lead and yet give others a chance, to lead but to philosophise less and act more purposefully. The post-Kerala pother was all so puzzling. The country could have done without this ONE ACT PLAY with a long monologue by a master of moods and sovereign of soul-storms, with the Congressmen around him meekly indulging in the tiresome refrain of *tandana, tandana*. Mr. Nehru must vary his methods to achieve his objectives.

COLD COMFORT

Hugging a grievance has some pleasure in it—rather like hugging a hot water bottle, it does keep one warm: but it is an artificial warmth, which sooner or later becomes a cold clammy unpleasant object—also like the waterbottle.—A doctor in a BBC programme “Woman's Hour”.

JAKARTA'S JUNIOR WARLORDS

By ANDREW ROTH

JAKARTA: The defeat of the rebellious Sumatran colonels does not by a long chalk end Indonesia's main problem. While the Western world has been looking under the Indonesian bed for Communism, the Indonesians do not have to look. They know the principal lurking menace of the moment. It is the young Indonesian major or colonel, bucking for warlord, junior grade. The West has been misled partly because the particular set of young officers who set themselves up in Sumatra had the backing of the Rightwing, pro-American Masjumi party. And both the officers and the Masjumi have exaggerated their anti-Communist fervour in order to get American support against the Sukarno regime.

One scarcely has to set foot in Jakarta to feel the traces of militarism. Army drivers hog the roads as if they own them. We passed the door of Keng po, the largest Jakarta daily, to find it padlocked because it had trodden on one of the army's long toes. I found an old journalist friend in his second year of house detention because he had been courageous enough to buck the army. I asked an economist whether he could generalize on the movement of rice prices; he said he couldn't because each regional military commander followed his own lead in setting prices, taxes and controls of rice shipment.

These regional military commanders are, in effect, warlords because a warlord may be defined as a man who uses his military forces to control a portion of the country in line with his own ideas instead of that of a weak Central Government. Unlike a simple local commander he normally controls local political and economic life, again according to his own outlook instead of that of the Government. The Indonesian majors and colonels are perhaps only incipient warlords because neither they nor their troops are as professional as the Chinese warlords between 1915 and 1949. Moreover, many of them still retain certain

traces of loyalty to the Jakarta Government. Despite this they show the classic symptoms of warlordism.

The most revealing incident was the key neutrality of Col. Barlian, commander of South Sumatra, whose failure to join the insurgents sealed their fate. Instead of joining them, as they expected, he helped them with oil and refrained from throwing his troops against them, as the Central Government desired. It is generally conceded that the reason he did not throw in with the insurgents was his fear of the many Javanese contract labourers in his area, organized by the Communist-influenced trade union federation, who might have come out against him. This careful calculation of his own interests rather than the national interest is typical of the warlord mentality.

The imprint of the ambitious young militarist extends all over Indonesian life, sometimes quite usefully. About six months ago Indonesia developed its own youthful gangs. These 'teddy boys', as they are styled in Britain, wore blue denim trousers as their uniforms and wielded bicycle chains and broken bottles as their weapons. The military authorities proclaimed a date after which this 'uniform' was forbidden. Thereafter whenever the military police found gangs with these blue denims they cut them down to short trousers and often took the young gangsters ten miles out of town and compelled them to walk back. This quickly cured this particular form of juvenile delinquency.

Foreign Trade Commissars

It is a different matter, however, when these ambitious young military commanders usurp the right of the Central Government to control its foreign trade and foreign exchange earnings. Just a few areas of Indonesia, largely the islands of Sumatra and the Celebes, earn most of Indonesia's foreign exchange in the form of

exports of copra, rubber, petroleum and other products. If a young commander can secure control of such an area he can easily finance his ambitions by coming to terms with the local exporters and importers or the Singapore exporters and importers, both of whom are almost sure to be Chinese.

In Singapore I learned how a merchant who had travelled to Sumatra with his eyes wide open for the main chance had been offered a thousand tons of rubber by a local commander at a reduced price. He naturally grabbed at it, paying in Straits dollars. When the cargo was delivered he found he had received not one but two tons. He made an enormous profit and the only real loser was the Indonesian Government's foreign exchange reserves, already at a dangerously low level. Although these Sumatran warlords have proclaimed their anti-Communism, it is precisely this sort of weakening of the Central Government's reserves which made Jakarta all the more grateful for the recent Soviet credit of \$1,000,000.

Each area has its own quota of stories about how this warlord-supervised trade works. In the copra-exporting port of Manado, in Northern Celebes, I am told the local commander insists on getting farm machinery for his copra. The result is that every useless bit of farm machinery accessible to tramp steamers seems to be finding its way to Manado. The junior officers and noncoms are said to be equipping little private islands with all manner of luxuries available in Singapore on the basis of their 'cut' on this trade.

The New Managers

Indonesia's young officers have recently found a new zone of activity: as managers of estates whose previous Dutch managers left in the big exodus of Dutch citizens last winter, during the Indonesian campaign over West Irian.

The insertion of army officers as estate managers was particularly significant because the Communist-influenced trade union federation, SOBSI, was urging

the promotion of senior foremen to managerial posts. On some estates this social revolution actually got under way. But in most the arrival of army officer-managers stopped it short. The discipline on the estates is much better now, according to some British managers, with the officers maintaining discipline and the unions urging "production for the country."

There is some confusion in the minds of some Western diplomats between the army's tendency to counter-balance Indonesia's Communists and the West's desire to see an effective counter to the Communists. It is quite possible, for example, to read too much into the fact that the Army in the Jakarta region is keeping a stricter control than ever on May Day demonstrations this year. It is vetting all speeches and insisting that whenever the 'Internationale' is sung, the nationalistic 'West Irian Song' also be sung.

In the Pentagon some American strategists apparently feel that because 200 Indonesian officers have visited or trained in the U.S. the Army can be counted on to intensify its anti-Communism. But this reasoning is on the level with press speculation that the Indonesians have gone Communist because they ordered the rugged Russian jeep in preference to American and British competitors.

It is significant that Mr. Dulles, who seemed to have a certain lingering sympathy for the Sumatra insurgents, now seems to have switched his hopes to the man who defeated them. "The Secretary of State," reported UP on April 16, "and other policy makers are convinced that Gen. Nasution (the Chief of Staff) who remained loyal to President Sukarno when the Sumatran rebellion broke out in February is the only one in a good position to make the Indonesian President undertake changes. Gen. Nasution, devoutly religious and staunchly anti-Communist, has long urged that the Central Government give more aid to the outer islands and eliminate (the Central Government's) dependence on Communism."

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: With the restoration of part of the cut in raw film, the film industry has heaved a sigh of relief. The production schedule is expected to improve. Meanwhile, the industry has several other problems to face. Apart from shortage of stars and cinemas, the greatest problem is the creative problem. In spite of the success of 'Pyaasa', 'Mother India', 'Naya Daur' and 'Do Ankhen Barah Haath', there is not a single picture so far released in 1958 which can be called truly different or original.

At the same time, there is a surfeit of crime thrillers this year. With so much stress on crime in our pictures, it is but natural that the Censors should be so strict and vigilant; and yet even they are caught napping sometimes and are criticised afterwards for passing certain films.

And that raises the most important point. Can there be no absorbing story without crime? Are murder, mystery and suspense the most essential components of a successful film story? At least most of our producers and directors seem to be under that impression. At present at least the producers are not able to conceive of any other formula. And as a result, there is little or no chance of any general improvement in

the standard of Indian films, which are bound to be unrealistic imitations of Hollywood crime thrillers. The greatest pity is that these thrillers have nothing in common with the real crime stories published in the daily press.

Against this general preference for crime subjects, a genuine effort to make a better kind of pictures is also being made. Guru Dutt has shown the way in 'Pyaasa'; and his 'Kagaz ke Phool' may prove even a more significant contribution. Bimal Roy, Mahesh Kaul, Mohan Segal, B. R. Chopra, Hrishikesh Mukherjee, Abbas are all expected to give significant pictures during this year. Shantaram is bound to claim fresh laurels for his two pictures in the making; and Dilip Kumar's essay in film production would also be worth watching. Apart from these film-makers, authors Mukham Sharma and G. D. Madgulkar are also expected to give worthwhile social stories.

Dalsukh M. Pancholi has staged a come back with his new picture 'Farishta' which is being released in Bombay this week. Though the crime motif is inherent in the story written by C. J. Pavri, it would be wrong to describe it as a crime thriller. It is

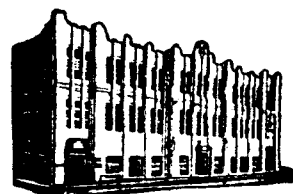
Mr. Dulles is undoubtedly right if he considers Gen. Nasution a reforming and unifying influence. Even before the Sumatra insurrection he was attempting to eliminate warlordism, largely by transferring would-be warlords from their places of birth or where they had taken root to places where it would be more difficult to carve out a domain. But it might be dangerous to try to use the Army as anti-Communist gendarmes.

An Asian diplomat recently asked the Indonesian Communist leader, Aidit, whether he feared the Army would be used against the Communists. He grinned and shook his head knowingly. He

pointed out that in the last general election, when the Army votes were counted after the rest, the rank-and-file soldiers voted a quarter Communist, just like the rest of the population. An attempt to use troops against the Communists, unless the latter were themselves engaged in an insurrection, might produce civil war within the Army.

The best that can be hoped for from General Nasution is that he use his undoubted talents to unify and help reform Indonesia and keep it on a steady, middle-of-the-road keel. Any attempt to force him to do more will again raise the spectre of a Spanish-style civil war which might engulf much of the world.

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far more human and though not devoid of the usual clichés and coincidences, 'Farishta' at no place glamorises the crime or the criminal. It rather presents a human, almost pathetic story of a good noble man aptly called Dayal who sacrifices everything to save his friend from going to jail, but from prison he finds that his friend had betrayed him and his son whom he had entrusted to his friend has been lost.

Coincidence brings him in contact with his own son and his foster father. Their friendship grows; but the foster father is so jealous of his love for the son that when he comes to know the reality, he drives the real father away until a time comes when he calls him back and divulges the truth just before his death. Meanwhile the son who has become a lawyer and a public prosecutor falls in love with the ungrateful friend's daughter and tries to find out the truth about Dayal himself. The one man who could have thrown light on the whole issue is murdered and Dayal is tried for murder, which was committed by Dayal's friend but which Dayal thought was committed by his son. The friend's daughter succeeds in unravelling the mystery and in a way catching her own father. And in the end the father and son are reunited.

Though the treatment is essentially melodramatic, there is a lot of human appeal in the story which is accentuated by the excellent acting of Sohrab Modi as the father, Ashok Kumar as the son, Nana Palsikar as the foster father, Mubarak as the selfish, ungrateful friend and Meena Kumari as his innocent, lovable daughter. Sohrab Modi acts in his usual theatrical style and Abrar Alvi has provided him with the kind of dialogue which Modi's fans relish to hear. Ashok's acting is more restrained and subtle. Meena Kumari's portrayal is lively and the last sequence in which she pretends to be a Purabi girl is excellent and reveals her versatility. Of the rest Nana Palsikar as the school teacher contributes a lovable cameo.

Ably produced and competently directed, 'Farishta' has a com-

pact screenplay, which is further embellished with O. P. Nayyar's popular tunes. Two or three songs are likely to be quite a rage; though one must say that Qamar Jalalabadi's lyrics are not particularly distinguished.

Thanks thus to an engrossing story which combines melodrama and human appeal in popular measure, 'Farishta' will go a long way in re-installing Pancholi to his old status.

In this film world very few artistes succeed in staging a comeback. Most of them enjoy a period of prosperity and then go into oblivion, never to regain their lost popularity. There are a few exceptions to this rule like Rehman.

Rehman made his debut along with Dev Anand in Prabhat's 'Hum Ek Hai' and he rose in popularity even ahead of Dev, thanks to the success of his pictures like 'Nargis', 'Bari Bahen' and 'Puar ki Jeet'. Then suddenly began his fall and he almost went into oblivion. One heard of him more as a chess player than as a film actor. There was no logic in his rise and no logic in his fall.

Last year he reappeared on the screen in 'Pyaasa' and since then he is again in circulation acting in a number of pictures. An intelligent, educated artiste, he comes from a noble Afghan family; but this rise and fall in his career has made a better man out of him. For now he knows both sides of the film world and is able to have correct values of things. As a result he has emerged into a better artiste.

Rehman the star has already been forgotten; but the career of Rehman the artiste has just begun and will bring him everlasting laurels in years to come.

Jayashri and Pradeep Kumar are co-starred in Darshan's new picture 'Naya Sansar' based on Mukram Sharma's story.

G. D. Madgulkar's new story is reported to have been purchased by Sohrab Modi for his next production.

While 'Paras Pather' and 'Pardesi' are being shown at Cannes Film Festival, 'Andher Alo' is being shown at Karlovy Vary.

May 10, 1958

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FIRST INDIAN F. R. S.

Sir,—In the interest of accuracy and without the least disrespect to the memory of so great a man as the late S. Ramanujam, the mathematical wonder, please allow me to correct one statement in the otherwise excellent article on him by Mr. M. S. Kalyanasundaram (SWARAJYA, April 26). Ramanujam was not, as stated in that article, the first from India to have had the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. According to a statement made in 1944 by Prof. A. V. Hill, the then Secretary of the Royal Society, the first to be so honoured was a Parsi from Bombay; and that was Ardeser Cursetjee Wadia, a scion of the famous family of master builders of ships and men-of-war for the British Navy. Ardeser Cursetjee Wadia was born on 6th October 1808. His certificate of election as Fellow of the Royal Society is dated 27th March 1841, and he died on 16th November 1877.

CAPTAIN K. K. LALKAKA.

Bangalore

CRISIS IN INK INDUSTRY

Sir,—The major factors that have precipitated the present crisis in the Indian fountain pen ink industry are stoppage of import of dyestuffs and consequent inflation in prices of raw materials. The crisis thus precipitated deserves the immediate and earnest attention of both the public and the Government.

It is difficult to believe that the total ban of ink blue and other acid dyes will help ease the foreign exchange position. It cannot affect it to any appreciable extent, since the imports, if restricted to actual users, cannot exceed a crore of rupees in value. Government must have statistics in their possession which, if published, will reveal the exact position and confirm our contention.

By allowing imports on actual users' licences they will, by lowering production costs, help a number of ink manufacturing units to survive and incidentally help solve the unemployment problem.

Again it must be within the knowledge of Government that India exports fountain pen inks to her neighbours. The blanket ban is not only killing the Indian fountain pen ink industry but also eliminating the chances of a potentially big market being built in Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. It must not be forgotten that the Indian fountain pen ink industry has come to occupy a position of equality with the best of imported brands because of the three year protection given to it by the Government and that by its short-sighted policy the Government is helping to destroy what it created. For that will be the position, if the total ban on imports is to continue.

It is unfair to expect the consumer to pay equal, even higher prices, for definitely inferior products. The Indian Standards Institution must help the ink industry not only by laying down the standard for quality but must also take up the complementary work of helping producers to get standard raw materials. The one indigenous dye manufacturing unit in this country may perhaps meet the country's requirements in full, but this should not be at the expense of quality. The Indian Standards Institution must advise the Government to allow

import for actual users and help such manufacturing units as produce quality products to continue their work. Quality is not achieved in a day, particularly so in the case of coal-tar dyes, and it is enlightened self-interest to get the best for one's money so long as it is possible. Progressively restricted import will give the necessary breathing space for both the dyestuff industry and the ink manufacturers to adjust themselves to the changing situation.
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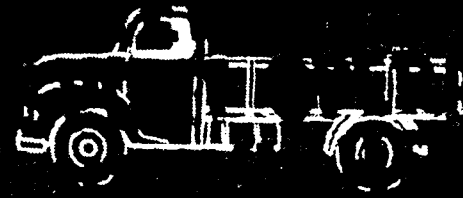
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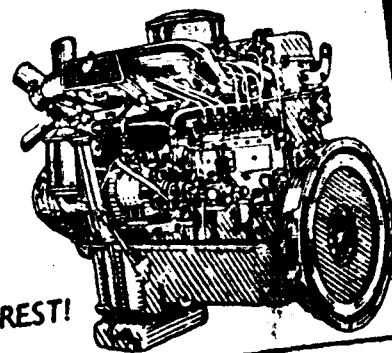
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Naye Paise

THE PRIME MINISTER AND HINDI

Mr. C. Subramaniam is paving the way for the "inevitable" in respect of the language issue. The Government of Madras have passed orders, says an official handout of last week, prescribing departmental Hindi tests for I.A.S. Assistant Collectors. "Since I.A.S. officers are expected to serve at the Centre also, the Government of Madras feel that a knowledge of Hindi is quite essential in addition to a knowledge of Tamil. The Government therefore direct that the I.A.S. Assistant Collectors whose mother-tongue is Tamil should pass the departmental examination higher standard in Hindi."

Here is the beginning of the end of the opposition of the Government of Madras to Hindi becoming the Union official language. The "both English and Hindi" formula of theirs has crumbled. If that formula meant freedom for either alternative, why this tame submission to Hindi? With this notification of the Government of Madras we fear the Government of Madras's resistance may be taken as ended. The campaign must be taken up by the people if our young men have to be saved from being choked out of all-India administration.

Our Prime Minister easily realises the injustice and misfortunes imposed on those people who speak real Hindi i.e. the Urdu of Delhi, Punjab, Allahabad and Lucknow by people who have developed a new communal language mostly written and only

partially spoken by those who have got hold of power on this language issue on the false platform of nationalism. He can see at once by reason of his intimate personal knowledge that what is sought to be boosted as the all-India language is not even what people in and around Delhi can understand, much less speak. The Prime Minister must use this capacity in him to turn his telescope to see the more distant places in the South and the infinitely greater misfortunes and injustices already committed, and likely to be committed in greater measure as the days advance, on the people of the South, on the young intelligent and eager men of the South who would be active and loyal citizens of India if permitted and who for generations uncounted have been speaking Tamil far different from Hindi either true or false, and who can never pass a personality test conducted in Hindi. May the P.M.'s realisation of the case for Urdu enable him to see the whole case more clearly. English has been such a good step-mother that it may well continue to look after the Federal household, that Urdu areas may do their State work in Urdu, Hindi areas in Hindi, the Bengali area in Bengali and so on; that to satisfy our pride if required to be satisfied, Sanskrit may adorn all ceremonial occasions and have the first place in the protocol of language, although administration may continue in English even as work is

done in office in working clothes while ceremonial dress is worn on suitable occasions. To force Sanskrit into modern offices would be an enterprise that will lead to unreality; to force Hindi would be an unbearable injustice to three-fifths of the people of India; to continue English would be just and expedient and to maintain India's existing pipeline for the knowledge and the affairs of the world is not a dishonourable policy but a good example of good sense and goodwill. Let us begin a new chapter. The time is ripe for the Prime Minister to allay the fears of the non-Hindi people of India, to give a quietus to foolish ambitions and to declare for Reality on this as on other issues.

Engineers in the Making

The Madras Government have announced their rules for dealing with applicants for admission to engineering colleges in the State. Three considerations have apparently entered into their scheme of selection; first, representation for backward classes, second, representation for each district, and third and last, representation for merit. Under this scheme a large number of entrants are placed out of the purview of merit. To that extent, the first-rate will be eliminated for the sake of preference to their inferiors. This is an unpatriotic policy not worthy of any

SIDELIGHTS ::

I received on Monday a letter from Sri R. Venkataraman, Minister for Industries and Labour, Madras, which is quoted below in full without any alteration :

My attention has been drawn to an article entitled "Sidelights" appearing at page 4 of "SWARAJYA" dated the 10th May, 1958. This article purports to quote an alleged report prepared by the Chief Reporter of the "Hindu" of what happened at a meeting between the Reporters and the Minister (myself) on the 19th March, 1958. It is a pity that you did not verify the correctness of the report from me before publishing it in the journal.

The alleged report is incorrect both in substance and in its tenor. The references alleged to have been made by me to the Supreme Court or to the Chairman of the Bench of the Supreme Court which heard the Journalists Wage Board Case is totally untrue.

The report is a complete distortion of an informal chat in which a number of journalists who were upset by the decision of the Supreme Court on the Wage Board talked more than one at a time with some emotion. It was neither a Press Conference nor a Press Interview given by me. At the end of the desultory discussion the Reporters asked for an official comment and my comment was that "I was most unhappy".

In the last paragraph of the article, you have stated "that Pandit Pant has pulled up the Labour Minister". On the contrary, Shri Pant has stated as follows:—

"I agree with you that it was hardly fair on the part of the persons concerned to circulate it (the so-called report) without making any reference to you about its correctness".

Now that you have done me the honour of publishing an incorrect version, you will do me the favour of publishing this reply.

The permissible limits of publication of received information admit of no hard and fast definition. In every case an editor has to exercise his discretion, but judgment of authenticity is only part of the job. Sometimes risk is also involved in the publication of authentic news, may be in the very proportion of its authenticity. The journalist who cares for the public interest will not mind such risks. Sixteen years ago I published in the newspaper I was then editing an extract from Gandhiji's

Harijan reporting the death of some villagers in Feni as the result of brutal kicking by soldiers with their booted legs. This was in the days of the British regime. The then Madras Government, impugning the reliability of the report, threatened me with prosecution. In my answer to them I stated: "Newspaper editors cannot be everywhere; direct personal investigation by them of all news published is out of the question; they have to depend on information received and judge its reliability from the worth of the sources from which it is received. . . . Are we to suppress reports, even when bearing the authoritative authentication of so great an exemplar of high journalistic standards as Gandhiji, because they deal with the wrong-doing of persons who happen to wear a soldier's uniform?" The Government for some reason dropped their threatened prosecution. Keenly interested in everything connected with the spirit and the essentials of freedom, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to me "Do let me know if you had further development over that Press correspondence." I still keep this letter of his as a valuable treasure as it was written by him with his own hand.

First news of Sri Venkataraman's remarks to reporters quoted in last week's SWARAJYA, (whether in conference or interview or chat or in some other undesignated category of human communication) came to me, not from *The Hindu*, but from an important member of the editorial staff of another local English daily. When eventually *The Hindu* report became available to me, it did not come uncorroborated. It came with the imprimatur of an endorsement by two independent journalists from other offices. One of them recorded: "To my knowledge this represents almost verbatim the conversation we had with the Minister". The other stated: "This represents substantially an accurate report of the talk."

On receipt of the Minister's letter quoted above, I got into touch with these two signatories by phone. One of them said that, though legalistically correct, the impression made by the published report was different from the impression made by the Minister on the reporters at the time. He said the Minister was not speaking seriously but humorously. When I asked him why he had signed an endorsement testifying to the almost verbatim correctness of the report, he said he would not have signed it if he had known that it would be put into circulation. Since my talk with this particular reporter (in the morning) I have received from him a letter for publication from which the following are relevant extracts:

I was one of the reporters present at the interview; in fact it would be a misnomer to call it an interview, for it was a mere informal chat across the table between Mr. Venkataraman (as R. V. and not as Minister) and the Secretariat reporters.

Many statements were made there by those present and it would be difficult to attribute any particular statement to any single individual. I can candidly say that Mr. Venkataraman did not at all refer to the chairman of the Bench of the Supreme Court which invalidated the decisions of the Wage Board.

Again, when Mr. Venkataraman suggested a strike by journalists, the spirit underlying that statement could be better understood if it had been reported faithfully. He had said: "Well, let journalists go on strike—at least we will have a holiday from newspapers!" Surely one should be able to realise the sense of humour in that statement. The "holiday" part of the statement has been omitted in the report of the Chief Reporter of *The Hindu*. There are a number of similar omissions and additions. I am afraid the version of the Chief Reporter of *The Hindu* gives a completely mutilated picture of the interview and hence distorts the sense of the statements made at the interview by the Minister.

Yet, this was the very version which he had endorsed as representing "to my knowledge, almost verbatim, the conversation we had with the Minister"!

The other signatory said that in some particulars the report was incorrect. When I asked him, why if so he had signed and endorsed it with the note that it

(Continued on Page 14)

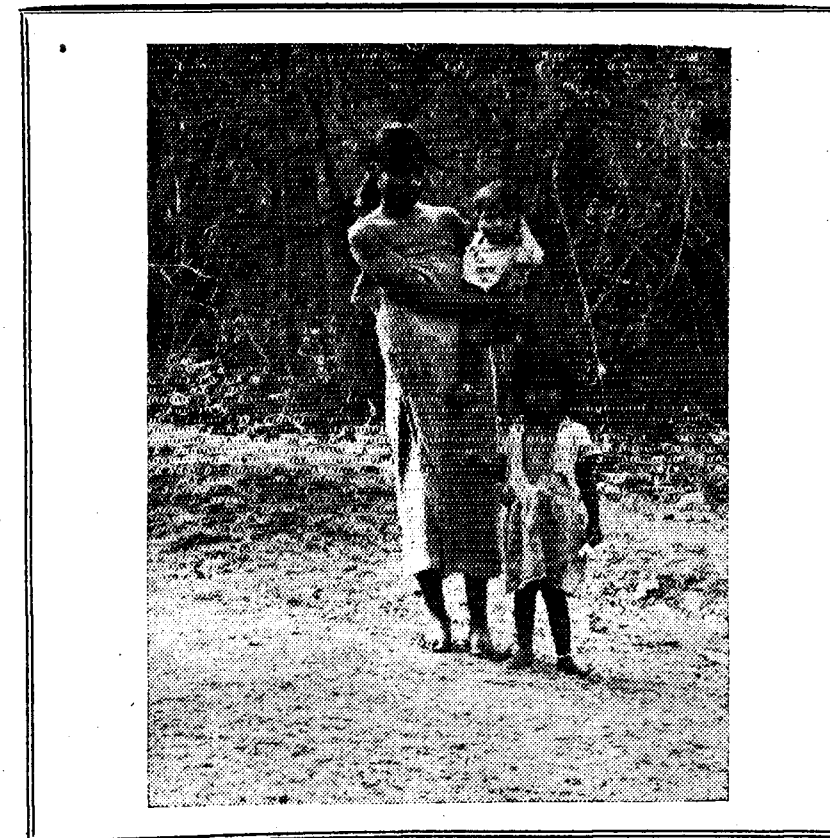
A Photographer's Diary

By M. KRISHNAN

PORTRAIT OF A PRIMITIVE?

The Nilgiri range of hills, I understand, has many original inhabitants, among them the Kurubas of Mudumalai. However, these Kurubas do not look aboriginal—I saw their children in school uniform, and as you can imagine, nothing looks so out of place on anyone claiming antique tribal blood as a school uniform. The older Kurubas, though, look more picturesque and likely, a simple, dignified people, indifferent to the curious gaze of the tripper, content with life in elementary dwellings, and with a flair for training and managing the elephant. In fact, the mahouts at the governmental Elephant Camp at Mudumalai are all Kurubas, and it was here and hereabouts that I came across the tribe. The scientist, who stubbornly refuses to accept the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, and by corollary the inheritance of a superior imitative faculty, will be puzzled by the readiness with which the infant Kuruba salutes one, as smartly as any elephant.

The first thing to know about the Kuruba of the Mudumalai hills is that he is altogether different from the pastoral Kuruba of Mysore. The former has, apparently, no hereditary calling; the latter is, by immemorial tradition though not always in actuality today, a shepherd. I have friends among the Kurubar sect of a certain area of Mysore State, a cultured though illiterate clan (culture is not to be confused with literacy in our country, whose authentic culture is so largely traditional and oral), gifted with a piquant sense of humour and loquacious in the extreme. Many of them keep goats and sheep still, and lead a genuinely pastoral life. The Kurubas of Mudumalai, on the other hand, are a people of few words and distinguished bearing. I write exclusively of them.



According to a man I met, who knows the tribe well, the Kuruba is a true primitive, as is borne out by his reluctance to do hard work. I must say I was surprised and unconvinced, by this piece of proof. May be the Kurubas are very ancient, but surely an antipathy for labour is no sign of lack of culture. People who dislike work are not primitive. They are gentlemanly.

On this point, you can trust me. I have been too many kinds of clerk, wage-slave, and non-gentleman generally, not to know what I am talking about. If it is true that the Kuruba does not care for that hateful thing, work, that only shows what advanced values he has.

The Kuruba language alone is sufficient to make my point. I don't think it has any script, but make no mistake, this is not because it is primitive but only because our native scripts are quite inadequate for its highly French cadences. In a way, Kuruba speech differs from French, though, of course, both are double Dutch to me—the Kuruba does not hold forth at

length, volubly, and shrug his shoulders or throw up his hands as he talks—he is too dignified to indulge in gestures.

How is it, then, that I have called a people so proud in speech and manner primitive in my title? There is only one possible justification, an aspect of Kuruba life and values that struck me as primitive, their narrow sectarianism. You should know that the tribe Kuruba is subdivided into two clans, the Jane (Honey) Kuruba and the Kad (Forest) Kuruba. Every Kuruba I met was most pointedly keen on making it clear to me that he belonged to his own clan, and not to the other—and in doing so he somehow introduced a note of contempt for the other clan into his voice. Such strongly-felt sectarianism is surely a primitive trait—or is it?

Thinking of our own highly educated and civilised selves, our Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, our D.Ks and D.M.Ks, the North Indian's contempt for the Southerner and the Southerner's derision for the North Indian, I have added a question mark to my title.

KERALA POLITICAL SCENE

FROM A CORRESPONDENT WHO TOURED
KERALA WITH THE P. M.

An atmosphere of deep frustration hangs over the fair landscape of Kerala. The Communists in office as well as the Congress out of it, are both victims of this malaise. To the Congress this long period of wilderness—a unique misfortune in Kerala alone—has meant loss of face. With only faint hopes of near power, the Congress has slipped into a mood of pessimistic introspection. The Communists in office are no more cheerful. They sense a conspiracy against them from Delhi to Kanyakumari. They have realised that it takes long for a political party to fulfil its promises to the electorate. They want to dig themselves in but dread they will not be allowed to continue.

To the Communist Government of the State, the Prime Minister's visit with only a fortnight to go for the fateful Devicolam bye-election was by no means welcome. No doubt Pandit Nehru went there by invitation. But the invitation was given long ago, soon after the Communists took over, with the intention of securing for the Communist Government a status of respectability and to create an impression in the State and outside that it was no anathema to Mr. Nehru. It may not be by deliberate design that Mr. Nehru timed his visit on the eve of the election. It is, however, wholly unlikely that this aspect of his visit escaped his calculations altogether. There can be little doubt that the Congress in Kerala had urged him to make the visit now. Perhaps, but for the importunities of his partymen Mr. Nehru might not have visited the State at all. The Communists were fully aware of the political implications of the visit but remained absolutely correct in their attitude. Mr. Nehru's tour of the State was a veritable triumphal procession from one end to the other. In Congress as well as in Communist strongholds, there were great crowds. The police were conspicuous by their inconspicuousness, a refreshing contrast to the spectacle in neighbouring States.

To the Congress in Kerala Mr. Nehru's visit was a trump card. It has been played now. Kerala's Chief Minister Mr. Nambudripad does not think that Mr. Nehru's visit would have any direct effect on the Devicolam bye-election. This is no understatement. It is doubtful if Mr. Nehru's visit would have any direct immediate effect on the morale of the Congress in Kerala which is painfully low. In spite of all the fanfare at Cannanore, the Congress is still a divided house surviving precariously in the hope of power to come. In a country where office means prestige, the loss of office by Congress in Kerala has meant not only loss of face but the loss of periphery supporters whose allegiance is to the party in power and not to any other party. Congressmen complain bitterly that another year of Communist rule would see the end of civil liberties in the State. They say, and it is supported by non-Congressmen as well, that all the activities of the Communist Government are designed to achieve a single purpose, namely the strengthening of the Communist party. Congressmen fear that if the Communist Government is allowed to take root, it would be difficult to displace it in the elections however much the people might like to do so. They are therefore in a desperate hurry to capture power. This desperation of the Congress has made the Communists equally desperate. When they took office over a year ago, the Communists were total strangers to office and also strangers to democratic administration. They knew they were under surveillance not only from Delhi but from distant Washington and Moscow as well. They knew that a single slip would cost them dear but they also knew that the applause of the democratic world was far less important than progress towards their objective. They had to function within a democratic constitution and at the same time pave the way for the Communist success all over the country. This is certainly a difficult

job. What the Communists in Kerala today complain is that they have not been given a fair chance. They say that their majority is precarious. The press in Kerala and in the whole of India is not merely hostile but is actively interested in their defeat. The Union Government is anxiously looking out for an opportunity to put them in the wrong. They say that the administration is rooted in feudal traditions and is unfriendly to their policies. They admit that unemployment is large and had possibly increased but they say this is partly due to linguistic reorganisation, though the Communists themselves were enthusiastic supporters of language States. As for law and order they contend that compared to the rest of the country, there are fewer murders, dacoities and other kinds of crime in Kerala. While, no doubt, in the initial stages there was widespread labour unrest, the position has now become stabilised. They were keen on industrialising the State and implemented loyally the Five Year Plan drawn up by the Congress. They ask with a twinkle in the eye, what is it that is fearful in this Communism that we should be thrown out in the name of freedom? They claim that since they took over they had to fight all along for sheer existence and had not been able to function freely or implement their policies and programmes.

What of the future? The question is: Will the Communist regime last in Kerala and if they are thrown out will they function as a constitutional opposition in the legislature? Apart from the resolution passed by their convention recently at Amritsar, the Chief Minister of Kerala has said categorically that violence was not an indispensable concomitant of Communism and where there were possibilities of peaceful transformation, the Communists would not resort to violence. Precarious as the Communist Government's position is, it is too soon to speculate as to when they would be thrown out of office. Even if the Congress comes back, it is unlikely it would come in such overwhelming strength as to neutralise the Communists effectively. The Communists believe strongly

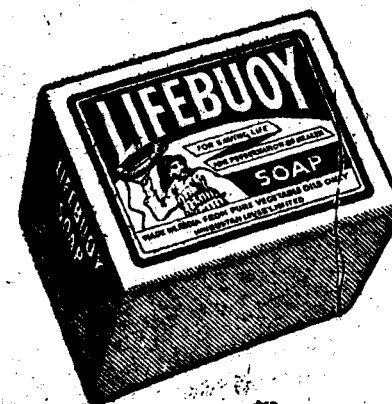
May 17, 1958

that if they are ejected from power it would be not because the people did not want them but because of what they call the conspiracies by vested interests, including the Union Government and the Congress. They have a lively anticipation of losing office and

are not allowing the grass to grow under their feet. It remains to be seen whether in the event of the Communists' exit from office, there would be a prolonged inside the legislature battle between two parties more or less evenly balanced or it

would give place to Governor's rule and civil strife in which the Communists' recent avowal of non-violence would be put to the test. From all that one sees and hears in Kerala the possibility of a period of unrest and disorder is not altogether ruled out.

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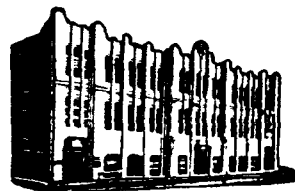
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NEED FOR A PROFESSIONAL STAGE

By KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

All over the country today there are welcome signs of theatrical activity. Besides the all-India organisations dedicated to the renaissance of the stage in India, like the Indian National Theatre and the Indian People's Theatre Association (I. P. T. A.), there are numerous non-professional groups of theatre enthusiasts in all the States who are responsible for any number of productions in all our major languages and some even in English. The awards to the best plays offered by the various State Governments, besides the Sangeet Natak Akadami, have provided a certain amount of impetus to these organisations and their activities. The recent decision of the Bombay Government to exempt all stage performances from entertainment-tax (which, it is hoped, will be followed soon by other State Governments) is an even more practical and effective incentive for dramatic activity. Here and there, a beginning has been made with a provision for open-air theatres. And the Children's Theatre Movement has made quite an auspicious start.

But—and it is a very important 'but'—all this activity, laudable and welcome as it is, can only create a climate for the revival of the stage in India. Any number of amateur groups, working on the basis of honorary work, cannot be a substitute for a real, permanent, professional stage.

I have been actively connected with a number of these groups and, therefore, I speak from personal experience when I say that the utility of the amateur theatre groups is strictly limited, and if we are to make the stage a permanent feature of our cultural life and to raise it to a technical and artistic level comparable to the standards of the advanced countries in the West, then we have to start thinking in terms of a professional theatre—or, rather, a chain of professional theatres.

Consider the frustrating limitations of the amateur theatrical group. A band of young men and women, with the best of intentions

themselves into a group. After a normal working (and tiring) day, they devote their evenings and holidays to rehearsing a play. Since the time for rehearsals is necessarily short (two or three hours), it takes quite a long time to prepare one play. Then they have to beg, borrow or improvise stage scenery, costumes and decor out of their own meagre resources or circulate a begging bowl among their friends. They must then secure police permits, hire a hall (which will charge them anything upto Rs. 500 for a single evening), print and sell tickets, do whatever little publicity is possible, and then put up the play. The standard of production is inevitably poor, the curtains and lighting improvised, the acting lacking in that finish and polish which comes only from intense and prolonged rehearsals. There is one show, perhaps two or, in rare cases, three shows. And that's all. All the good work, the self-sacrificing activity of youthful enthusiasts, the worry and strain and financial risk of putting up the play, are hardly compensated by the brief career of the play on the stage.

With minor variation of detail, this is the fate of most amateur stage productions in India. It is no wonder then that, under the circumstances, the stage in India remains a casual, social and occasional activity touching only a small fringe of our vast population, and fails to provide the much-needed cultural corrective to the baneful influences of the commercial cinema.

If we want the Indian theatre to be a real, dynamic cultural force, as it is in other countries, then we must supplement the present network of amateur theatrical groups with a modern, competent and permanent professional theatre. Only when whole-time actors, producers, designers and others are able to work and function on a professional basis can their productions achieve that measure of technical perfection and artistic excellence which audiences have a right to expect

May 17, 1955

SWARAJYA

Only then can a play be performed, night after night, for long period of time and thus have its cultural impact on a substantial number of people. Only then we shall have a genuine revival of the Indian stage. At present we have only a lot of well-meaning but ineffective amateur activity.

It is far from my intention to cry or belittle the wonderful work that our non-professional groups have done so far. Whatever shortcomings they have are not due to any faults of commission or omission on their part; they are implicit in their amateur status. These groups will always be needed as most useful training grounds for new artistes for the legitimate professional theatre. They have done, and will continue to do, much good work in creating an interest in the stage. They are like the Auxiliary Forces, the Reserve, the National Cadet Corps—but we cannot win a major war without the whole-time professional army. To try another (and, perhaps, more appropriate metaphor), all the amateur drama activity has been only a rehearsal for the revival of the Indian stage. The real performance will be when professional, full-time groups are established.

Of course, I realize the many difficulties that beset the organisation of the professional theatre in India—especially in view of the competition from the cinema with its cheap and easy methods of reproduction which mean that the

same film can be simultaneously shown (any number of times daily) in any number of theatres. In fact, in most countries of the world the professional stage exists and functions only with direct or indirect subsidy from the State. This becomes particularly true in countries like India where a low average income necessitates very low-priced theatre tickets (as against England, U.S.A. and the Soviet Union where people can afford to buy theatre tickets which are sometimes ten times as costly as cinema tickets!).

The State subsidy can be direct as well as indirect. Grants may be given to start and sustain genuine professional theatre groups. Open-air theatres and halls may be built and made available for plays on a reasonable rent (e.g., a hundred rupees per performance, as against the five hundred rupees that have to be paid, for instance, for the Sapru Hall). Railway concessions can be given. Institutes for the training of drama artistes can be organised.

I believe a brave and laudable beginning has been made in Delhi with the establishment of Hindustani Theatre. In Maharashtra already some professional theatre groups exist and function despite financial handicaps. They—and all other such genuine attempts at the creation of a legitimate professional stage—need and deserve the fullest support from the Government and the people.



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REVIEW

ROCKETS GALORE

"Indeed, by that September it can be said that everybody had settled down to accept the inevitable with the apathetic docility characteristic of almost 'everybody' in Britain". If Compton Mackenzie could write this of everybody in Britain, how much more if one had the talent could be written about things happening in India!

This docile acceptance of the inevitable is the worst feature of what dictatorial government has done for all countries and all peoples on earth in this latter half of the twentieth century — be the Government Communist, or called parliamentary, be it conservative or labour, Socialist or other. People have got used to it and like nothing so much as to be completely governed by some one and to feel happy in their severance from all civic responsibility except the duty of obedience. Mankind has learnt to abstain from

* *Rockets Galore* by Compton Mackenzie: Chatto and Windus, London, 1957.

thinking and to drift under dictatorships of one colour or another. Civilization as a mode of thought seems to have ended without anybody knowing it. 'Slavery in a coma of mental inertia', to use the words of Compton Mackenzie, has become the general condition of mankind on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Compton Mackenzie's *Rockets Galore** is a most readable book. Its withering sarcasm may perhaps succeed where the protests of statesmen, scientists and humanitarians have failed. Mr. Macmillan may perhaps yield to ridicule though proof against straightforward advice. A prolonged burlesque often tires but *Rockets Galore* does not tire. There is such a wealth of absurdity in bureaucratic life and official ways that each page is alive with new fun. This book which holds bureaucracy and parliamentary careerists up to red-hot ridicule runs close to Dickens and other immortal reformers of the vices and follies of their age. The judicial system, the orphanages, the mental asylums and the snobberies of the past centuries were demolished by ridicule when they had resisted arguments of reason. So it may be that Compton Mackenzie may succeed where Bertrand Russell and the scientists have been dismayed. Bureaucracy and democratic humbug have not been dealt with by any one in such a sustained and interesting manner as this illustrious author has done in dealing with the planting of missile bases in

the islands of North Britain. The book reels with fun from cover to cover. All those who wish to laugh at officials should read this book.

Rockets Galore portrays people of the British Isles, of all kinds just as they are, stripped of the thick conventions they hide themselves in, thinking it their duty and their road to happiness to do so. Compton Mackenzie does not spare the foreign experts either. Their inability to understand anything other than the German approach to people and problems is brought out in a most enjoyable manner. And back of this foreground of bureaucracy and humbug and deterrents the author has painted love and gentle humanity, the only civilization that is worth while, with a skill not inferior to other master-artists. Mrs. Odd is easily one of the finest characters in modern fiction. One wishes the author could have finished off his story with something better than the pink gull trick. At any rate this may not have been made the fifth Act of the play. But nothing in this world can be perfect. The book does great service.

Incidentally as I read through *Rockets Galore* I wished I had the author's talent to write about the tragedy of Madras where before our eyes all the fine cocoanut groves that made this city beautiful are being converted by the Improvement Trust into blocks of ferro-concrete structures of various but very-like-one-another shapes. The remaining clumps of these slim beauties of the vegetable world are pathetically bending their sad faces to one another exchanging their thoughts about the approaching end foredoomed for them. Their emerald crowns already pale are making ready for death.

As for the old fine specimens of architecture and the beautiful facades that the builders must have prided themselves on, they are all cruelly smothered by name-boards and advertisements of all sorts, each vying with every other in size, ugliness and complete absence of any sense of aesthetic proportion or harmony.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Parliament has ended its budget session, even as it opened, amidst conditions quite jittery. It started the nearly three-month-old session under the lengthening shadows of the L.I.C. inquiry; it closed in a state of nervous excitement over the fluctuating fortunes of the ruling party. It was no usual session and witnessed big developments that had a direct bearing, indeed a terrific impact, on the debates and their tenor and on the members of all parties, groups and shades of opinion. The first notable event was the casualty of the formidable Finance Minister; the second was the tremendous void created by the passing away of the Maulana Saheb; the third was the sad slump in the Prime Minister's personal prestige. The Finance Minister's disappearance from the Treasury Benches was in the nature of political nemesis; the Maulana's death was sudden and shattering; the Prime Minister failed to be convincing in the light of his temperamental bouts, contradictory statements and in-

consistent attitudes, all brought about by his own individual, instinctive reaction to situations of others' making as well as to certain trends in his party, not all specified. Against all this background, one thing happened which seemed to bring comfort to knowing men. More than in the previous sessions of Parliament, in the last one, the back-bencher delivered himself out of bondage. He became articulate and began to assert himself.

During the Parliament's budget session, the Cabinet too was reshuffled — no matter how. No new reputations were, however, made in the Lok Sabha nor even in the Rajya Sabha which had a new contingent. Instead of having an opportunity of finding enthusiasm really infectious, some of the latest arrivals had the experience of finding their spirits chilled because, in nine out of ten cases, members evinced little interest in the day-to-day work of the House. The new-comers, it seems,

deserve special attention and tender care, for with proper guidance at least some of them could make good and prove useful. It was of hopeful augury that a few felt appalled by their experience in the Central Hall, with conviviality exceeding bounds and flippancy flapping its wings. There is no virtue in parading in the lobbies in the absence of an intense desire to cultivate knowledgeable men and bringing to the subjects under debate in the House a sense of application that comes with mellowing. Specialists may have their limitations due to restricted interests but they cannot be merely dismissed as theorists. No parliamentary system of government can be run for long, or will endure, if it is merely a combating ground of demagogues at the one end and ignoramuses at the other. There are several young men in Parliament who are eager to seize opportunities and shape well but alas, they are hardly taken under elderly care and groomed for future contingencies.

The Congress Parliamentary Party has now a new executive. Not all the members are new, for of the sixteen from the Lok Sabha as against eight from the Rajya Sabha, ten were not only in the old executive but also in the last Parliament. These elections followed the elevation of Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant to the Deputy Leadership of the Party in the place of the Maulana Saheb. Of the 24 members, three are women — Mrs. Kripalani has the additional distinction of coming out at the top, next only to the vivacious and vigilant Mr. Mahavir Tyagi. The South held its own, Mr. Dasappa of Mysore and Mr. Subbaroyan of Madras having scored an easy win. But both of them are old stagers unlike Mr. R. Jagannadha Rao, an Andhra from Orissa whose winning manners and ready smile ensured his victory despite the double handicap of representing a community outside its territory, and a State in which he is of a linguistic minority. In a sense it may also be a double advantage in as much as he can serve, both ways, larger interests. Mr. Jagannatha Rao, by profession an advocate and by

temperament an optimist, is one of the Lok Sabha's coming men; he may well be singled out as a fixture in the House despite its somnolent afternoons, who follows the proceedings with an attention seldom in evidence outside the press gallery. His emergence into the Party executive is a well-merited recognition of merit. The Congress Parliamentary Party promises a lively record, particularly because of its Secretaries — Mr. N. G. Ranga and Mr. Ram Subhag Singh (from the Lok Sabha) and Mr. T. S. Pattabhi Raman from the other House or the other Pattabhi Raman. That some should have voted for him due to a comedy of errors is an interesting aside. What is more interesting is the fact (not the mere assumption) that Mr. Ranga and Mr. Ram Subhag Singh owed their uncontested election as Secretaries to the reputation they have both earned for having always stood up to Mr. Nehru. The Party's choice reflects its present mood as nothing else does.

JOSEPH PULITZER: A GREAT PUBLISHER

By T. D. MANICKAM

Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, founder of St. Louis Post Dispatch, was a gigantic figure in 19th century journalism.

Born (in 1847) of Jewish-Hungarian parentage, Pulitzer immigrated into the United States in 1863. As described by one of his biographers, he was a "scraggy youth with long thick hair, large head, oversized nose, over six feet tall, ungainly in appearance, awkward in movement and lacking entirely in the art of human relations." Yet, he had a well developed talent for asking questions, and getting answers from people who didn't want to give any.

After five years of drifting in the new land, he got a job as a reporter in a leading German daily, the *Westliche Post*. He established quickly a reputation as a fearless and resourceful reporter, excelling especially in political reporting. In December 1878, he became the proprietor of *Post Dispatch*. Proclaiming his paper's policy in the front page of its first issue, he said: "Serve no party but the people, oppose all frauds and shams wherever and whatever they are, advocate principles and ideas rather than prejudices and partnership. These ideas and principles are precisely the same as those upon which our government was originally founded...."

In five years' time, he owned another paper, *New York World*. This paper, in later years, had both a morning and an evening edition, and almost from the beginning upto its end in 1931, it was not only commercially successful but set the pace in American journalism.

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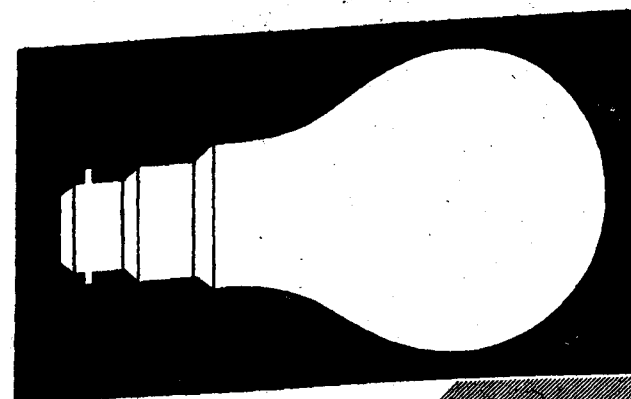
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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Pulitzer sought to make it "an institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption....always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be drastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty."

Pulitzer's feverish zeal for hard work, his complete disregard for his physical limitations, however, began to tell on his health. His vision became impaired, his heart too was affected by the strain. Yet, such was his indomitable will that he could still run his newspapers by remote control and display an insatiable curiosity about everything that goes on in the world.

As a sick man, he constantly travelled for nearly 20 years, seeking cures for his ills from the world's best physicians. Still, he maintained close touch with his papers with the aid of a corps of secretaries. His frequent instruction to his staff was, "Accuracy is to a newspaper what virtue is to a woman."

In 1903 he founded the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism with a gift of \$1,000,000, and made an endowment of \$250,000 for the annual award of Pulitzer prizes to encourage literature and art. These awards are today regarded as the most coveted honour in America.

He died on October 29, 1911. The paper he first founded, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and the Pulitzer prizes remain to this day memorials to the great publisher that he was.

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Bombay: There is undoubtedly growing interest about India and Indian life in Western countries. As a result, we find that there is a growing demand for Indian films like 'Aparajito' and 'Pather Panchali' on the one hand and that there is a great urge to make pictures about India or rather with an Indian background.

Thus, at the international film festivals, the critics and connoisseurs will watch with great interest Indian films like 'Paras Pather', 'Andhare Alo', 'Dak Harkara', 'Pardesi' and it would be worth watching how these films keep up the reputation already achieved in former film festivals. This year, the competition at these festivals is very tough with both Soviet Union and U.S.A. offering outstanding films like 'The Cranes Are Flying', 'Quiet Flows the Dawn', 'Brothers Karmazov'. Italy, Japan, Sweden and other nations are also bidding for top honours in these festivals, which are however getting very poor publicity.

At Cannes, Sweden has presented 'En Djungelsaga' (Jungle Saga) directed by Arne Sucksdorff. This feature-length documentary film was made in India, though strangely enough, it never got any publicity so far like 'Harry Black' or 'Written on the Wind'. This film was shown at Cannes a fortnight ago and its producer declared that he would invite Chandru, the Indian boy who plays a leading role in the film to Sweden this summer.

One hopes that this film will be shown in India and will not suffer the same fate as the Soviet feature film on India entitled 'The Dawn of India' made by the ace documentary cinematographer Karmen. This film, which is lying with the Films Division has so far not been released. Even the Films Division's own full-length feature film on folk dances of India is still lying in cold storage.

It is said that in the film world anything can and does happen.

That is how we find a person who has never produced a single picture, elected to the high office of President of the Producers' Association. The person in this case is Jagmohandas Roongta, the chief of Famous Cine Laboratory and Studios. Apparently, a studio owner is considered to be a producer and so we find J. B. Roongta holding the high position of Presidentship.

As the President of IMPPA, he held a press conference last week and made some fantastic suggestions viz. (i) a separate Ministry for Films; (ii) a change in income-tax law to enable stars to save for a rainy day and enable them to lead an 'expensive life not only to keep up their glamour but also to protect themselves from over popularity'. This suggestion to treat stars in a special category is ridiculous. The laws are always bound to be the same for all people.

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

"represents substantially an accurate report" he said he would not have done so if he had anticipated the publication of the report. When I asked him how a report, true if unpublished, could become false on publication, he had no satisfactory answer to give and observed, irrelevantly as I thought, that his standards were different from mine.

There remains the question why I did not go to the Minister direct for verification of information. It was due to instinctive comprehension of the divergent purposes of the Press and the Government in matters relating to publicity. The *Times* as leader of the British Press in the professional ethics of journalism, has built a regular tradition of behaviour in the dealings of newspapers with members of the Government. In an analogous context The *Times* wrote:

"The first duty of the Press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE

Sir,—Recently there was news of two decisions by the Madras High Court. One was a writ petition in which the order of the Government withholding permission to advertise their drugs to the manufacturers was quashed. His Lordship observed that the fact that no notice or opportunity was given to the petitioner to state his case against the proposed cancellation was sufficient to set aside the order. The other writ petition was in respect of a lorry which was seized by the Government for the alleged realisation of arrears of tax. The Judge said that there was no provision in the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act for such seizure as it contemplated only prosecution before a magistrate and if the arrears were sought to be realised in the same manner as arrears of land revenue such recovery could be done only in the manner provided for in the Revenue Recovery Act. The above two are symptomatic of the mentality which guides the official cadre in their disposal of matters affecting the people. Try to squeeze out the juice and the pips. When power is within grasp, reason and morality are secondary. And, if the decisions become too inconvenient, amending the law is not a great matter with the majority

time, and instantly, by disclosing them, make them the common property of the nation. The statesman collects his information secretly and by secret means, he keeps back even the current intelligence of the day with ludicrous precautions, until diplomacy is beaten in the race with publicity. The Press lives by disclosures; whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and the history of our times....

"The duty of the journalist is the same as that of the historian—to seek out the truth, above all things, and to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it."

I therefore believe that too much dependence by newspapers on Ministers or other official sources of information is against the public interest. Pandit Pant

at the behest of the Government. In humorous juxtaposition to this is the address of the President of the Congress at Madras that effective help to the masses can be rendered only when there is an agency to help inside the Government. Who form the Government—the Ministers or the officials? If both, and if the Ministers dole out their favours with an eye to election results and if the officials are enjoined to garner in as much as they can for the implementation of the grand schemes for the fulfilment of the second five year plan, who comes to the rescue of the masses? The people will either have to reinforce their faith in God and suffer the ills of outrageous fortune or act up to the idea of 'law for man' and not 'man for law' and work out their redemption. From the way the Congress is seeking to usher in a socialist pattern of society people can see what is in store for them if the powers-that-be are allowed to carry on in the way they have been doing. Patting themselves on the back on the score that the Communists have veered round to peaceful methods will not carry them far with the people when their practice is so much at variance with their professions. K. N.

failed to grasp the true significance of Press integrity when he took it for granted that no words of a Minister could be printed or circulated without a reference to him for insurance of correctness.

Where public issues are concerned, I am not impressed by special pleas of privilege for particular types of disclosures. In private affairs the confidential treatment of data conveyed under a pledge of secrecy is pertinent. But in public affairs the occasions are extremely limited when a Minister can claim the right of immunity from publication for statements made by him before Press representatives. This right certainly does not extend to opinions and attitudes which are

from a public standpoint of an anti-social character. A public man who fights shy of acknowledging in public any statement on matters of public policy indulged in by him before small coterie on the ground that it was not an interview or Press conference does not make an impression of credit-worthiness. Things are what they are, however described. I have also had two other letters more or less in the same style as the one quoted above, which could not be included in this issue on account of their late arrival. They have not had a persuasive effect on me. The virtue of evidence lies not in quantity, especially when it bears too patent a stamp of concerted effort. It only further convinces me that it was not for nothing I had said that a journalists' lobby was being nursed in Madras under the Minister's wing. It certainly does not disturb the established impression of high individual character formed in me through long experience about the present Chief Reporter of *The Hindu*. I have known Sri A. K. Venkatesan, from the twenties when he was a reporter in Prakasam's English daily *Swarajya*. He was then, as he has been since, a man of rectitude, scrupulous professional care and vigilance and an incorruptible honesty of purpose. I can depend on him for accuracy and reliability just as I placed my faith in the Mahatma against all challenges in connection with the Feni incident. SAKA

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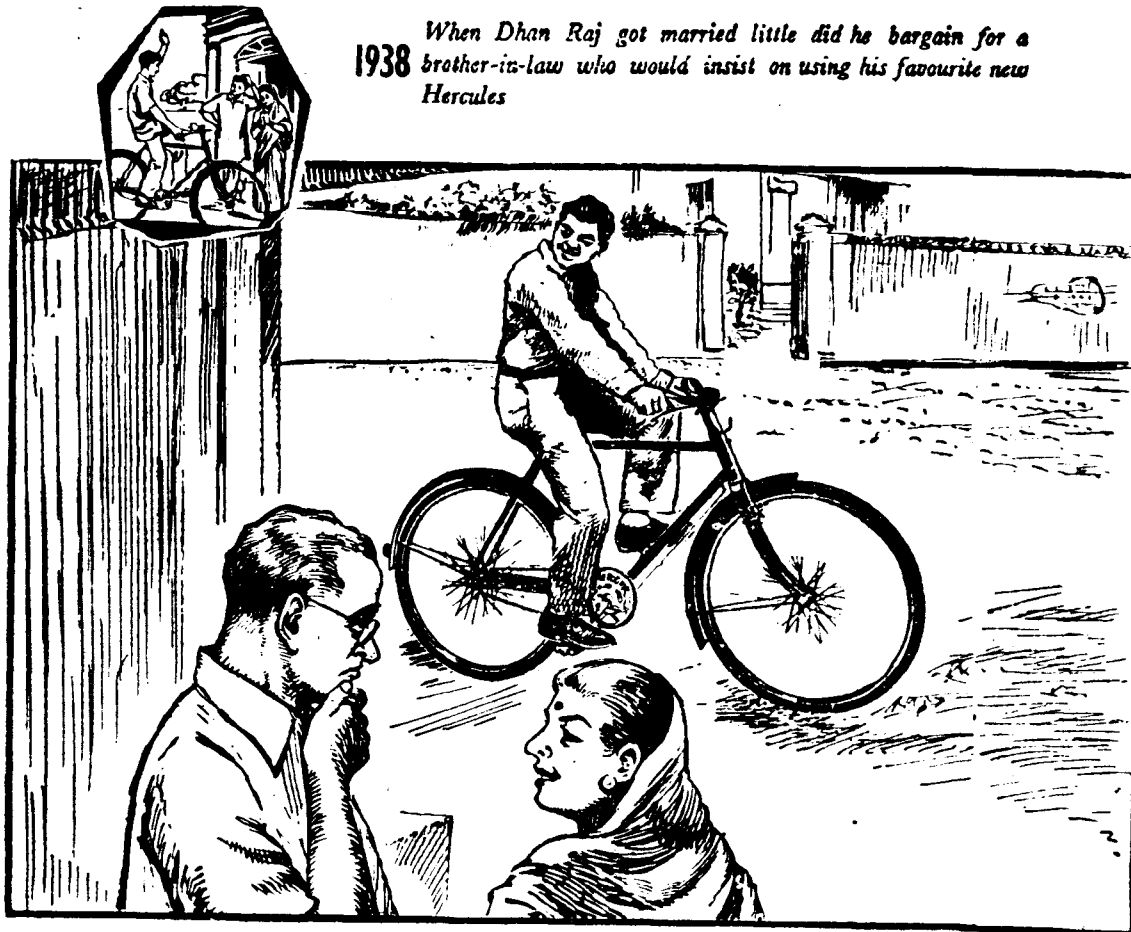
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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MADRAS, MAY 24, 1958

15 Naye Paise

DEVICOLAM

The victory of the Communist candidate at the Devicolam bye-election in Kerala is an indication of popular revulsion against Congress leadership. In this election the ruling Communist party in the State observed certain decencies which could not but impress the voters profoundly on account of their very violation by the Congress. The Communist members of the Government made a promise that the State machinery would not be worked up to put undue influence on the voters. And they kept the promise. No Minister participated in the election campaign. This was in glaring contrast with the Congress example. All the propaganda resources of the Congress from neighbouring States and from Delhi itself were geared up to bring pressure on the Devicolam people. Sri Kamaraj and other Ministers from Madras proceeded to the spot and converted themselves into canvassing agents. The Prime Minister himself chose this of all moments for a tour of the State, and whether he intended it or not, he produced the impression of not being unwilling to exercise his spell-binding faculties for the benefit of the Congress election fortunes. Incidentally, among other things, the election result has shown that the reputed prowess of the glamorous Nehru as a vote-catching hero has worn somewhat thin. Not even the dramatic tactic of getting daughter Indira into the fray to work on the feelings of women voters has had any effect.

Hitherto, in Madras and in other States, the Congress made a prodigious use in the elections of its advantages as a ruling party to prejudice the chances of victory of Opposition candidates. The Socialistic pattern had brought to Ministers considerable powers of control over businessmen and industrialists, and Congress leaders in office exploited them to the full to secure funds for the party election propaganda. They took no notice of protests in the Press, which were rare enough in the prevailing atmosphere of monopolistic government. Money power, administrative advantages, the bait of patronage, all these have till now been turned into a sort of high pressure dynamic to help the advent into the legislatures of a conspicuously inferior breed with no right to be there by record or merit.

We do not know whether Devicolam is an indication of the advancing march of Communism in Indian politics which may be expected in course of time to plant the Red banner in the seats of government over the whole sub-continent. Perhaps not, at any rate up to the moment. A positive popular conversion to the cause of Communism would not have left the defeated Congress candidate with as many votes as he actually polled. The right and reasonable interpretation to be placed on the Communist election victory at Devicolam would seem to be that it is more a reaction to Congress degeneracy than a conversion of faith in the electorate

in favour of Communism. This very reaction, however, might result in the Communists being installed in power in larger areas without people there deliberately intending it, as their nausea over Congress rule, the corruption of its bosses, the spectacle of its nominees in the legislatures and their antics and the horror of the abuse of power in the Congress election campaigns goes on increasing.

The momentum of the stock of influence acquired by the Congress in the national struggle for freedom which has till now served to maintain the Congress in power has run out. Unless new credits are put into the stock to counteract the impending bankruptcy of its present plight of ever increasing debts, the Congress will be put out of business on the Indian political scene. In the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* two eminent Professors of renown, Millikan and Rostov, have committed themselves to this statement: "There is little doubt that Moscow and Peking regard Nasser, Nehru, Soekarno and the other non-Communist leaders of the new nations as the Chiang Kai-Sheks of the future". Chiang Kai-Shek himself was an honoured guest at Nehru's court not so very long ago and nobody then had any idea of the trick that fate had in store for him. History overtakes the powerful with unpredictable reverses of fortune, and it is now anybody's guess whether in the calmer atmosphere of the Kulu Valley inaccessible to

crowds and flatterers the Prime Minister will recover balance in time to help saving India from the path into which Chiang Kai-Shek precipitated China.

Algeria

Civil government is incompatible with the rule of one nation over another. That is why in Algeria the military have supplanted civil authority. European imperialism in Africa has been greatly strengthened by American non-intervention under the umbrella of military and economic aid. Only a world freedom movement under American auspices can undo the effect of the follies of the past. If the Western statesmen evade this task Russia will step in and score a victory in psychological warfare which cannot but expand the area of Russian hegemony in the world.

Yugoslavia

The hue and cry against Yugoslavia, by China, the Soviet Union, Poland and Albania, should not surprise the non-Communist. Believers in a rigid thesis are rightly protesting the compromise of group values.

What it is pertinent to ask, however, is, How permanent is the Yugoslav deviation? Tito's communism — it is Tito's — perforce allows vagaries like party councils in state factories, competing state enterprises, and minor entrepreneurs; and half each Yugoslav loaf of bread is baked now with flour from America.

Is all this, and independence of Russia, the mark of a converted liberal red theologian?

Perhaps, at that, the non-Communist west does not care. What the democratic nations hope is that independence in Yugoslavia will flourish, and nationalism outshine dogma; then world communism will weaken by that much. To this end, and not for love of Tito, they will aid Tito, a fact clearly understood, one can be sure, by China, by Soviet Russia — and by Tito.

JOHN E. FRAZER.



THE PALMYRA STORY

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

The rishis joined together and created a tree. The tree was to put forth leaves on which they could write down their wisdom for the benefit of posterity. On those leaves they wrote down their *mantras*, messages and codes of conduct. The Vedas, Upanishads and Laws of Manu were thus written on the leaves of the palm tree.

Then followed a race of pandits who were proud of their scholarship and indulged in disputes. One said to another, "I am clever and you are a fool". The quarrels increased.

Dame Saraswati was angry. She took counsel with Lakshmi and transformed the tree that yielded leaves for scholars into a tree that brought intoxication. Men began to draw from the tree the toddy which caused as much ignorance and confusion as the knowledge the leaves carried in olden days. By the grace of Lakshmi, those who drew the toddy and put it up for sale became rich. They made more and more toddy and grew richer and richer. Like the palmyra, the coconut tree also was put to similar use.

The tree wept saying, "Alas, they draw my sap and squeeze me dead!" The tears which were sap, dropped into the pot and became toddy for drinking. Instead of pitying the poor victims who drank and lost their wits a greedy few made and sold more and more of the stuff and grew richer every day.

The leaves prayed to the gods and the rishis and waved to and fro, whispering their sorrow to the wind, "We were created for wisdom, but now we spread folly. Such is our fate".

"No matter how tall I grow,

I cannot escape these wretches," cried the palm tree in mother-like agony. "No matter how high I raise my children to save them from their cruel hands, they manage to climb up and crush my throat."

The palm tree cried, "Even if I avoid branches and footholds and grow clear and straight a hundred feet, these men do not leave me alone. They learn some trick. They tie up their feet and climb like monkeys to any height. What a curse!"

Leaves that were created for conveying wisdom cried in chorus, "How hard they laboured to secure knowledge and now how clever they plan to lose it!"

But what was the use of all this weeping and wailing? Even if the State made laws to put down toddy, people managed to get and consume spirits by stealth.

The rishis in heaven saw all this and grieved.

One rishi said, "We have offended Saraswati and this is the result of her curse."

Goddess Lakshmi agreed, "The learned should not be proud. The intoxication of learning is very like that of drink".

Ganapati added, "People break coconuts before me, but they refuse to break their pride. Within that hard shell is hidden the sweet, white kernel of wisdom, but who tries to break it? It is better to dance in drunkenness than to be stiff with pride."

Lakshmi, the ocean of compassion, concluded, "It is just like you to go on muttering. Get back to the tank bund. Sit there and teach mankind. If not today or tomorrow, still some day, they will come to their senses."



Sotto Voce

The Bangalore Inquest

The Ghosh Committee on the working of the Indian Institute of Science has produced the proverbial mouse. The Institute is to be promoted to the status of a university so far as its conferences are concerned. Whereas hitherto it conferred Fellowships and Associateships on those who had done approved work in the Science Departments and Diplomas in the Engineering Departments, hereafter it will be at liberty to name the former awards differently, I suppose, using the conventional Ph.D., M.Sc., D.Sc. etc. and likewise convert the latter into B.(Eng.), B.(Tech.), and so on. This is like prescribing pepper decoction for the man who has swallowed a crowbar.

While the Institute has proliferated endlessly in departments and buildings in the past fifteen years it has decayed in the only thing that matters in science, the quality of leadership or inspiration. No wonder that, as the Committee plaintively reports, the unemptied departments are practically empty. Merely raising the value of scholarships—though that should have been done years ago—and vesting large discretionary grants in the hands of the Director to promote team work will not by themselves help to bring in the right material any more than the provision of new-fangled degrees will. These are a penny a dozen now, supplied by a score or so of mushroom Universities.

In the forty-four years of its existence the Institute was fortunate in securing the services of one man of authentic genius and three or four men of first-rate talent. But, as old stagers may recall with a certain amount of amusement, it was Sir J. C. Ghosh, whose Committee has now

reported, that was appointed to supersede Sir C. V. Raman as Director as a result of the ramp worked up against the latter. Dr. Ghosh has since gone far, being now of the elite who plan our lives and jobs. The Investigation Committee recommends that the Director of the Institute should be no doubt a man of established scientific reputation and wide scientific interests "but no longer seriously concerned with his career as a scientist". The Institute has had, first in Dr. Ghosh himself and then in Dr. Thacker, his successor who has flown no less high, Directors precisely of this kidney: one has a notion that their departmental charge never sat very heavily on them. But this didn't prevent the Institute declining so woefully under their rule and since.

The tragic weakness of the Institute has been that its basic purpose, its *raison d'être*, as you might say, has never been clearly defined. It has suffered from a chronic uncertainty of direction. It owed its origin to the princely beneficence of the first and greatest of the Tatas. Though passionately interested in the country's industrial advancement, he had the insight to realise the importance of fundamental research. When the Institute was started Lord Curzon's University Act had been in force for ten years but science was still a rather minor discipline in the universities. J. N. Tata wanted the Institute to be for India a combination of Cambridge and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but with the accent heavily on basic research.

Unfortunately bureaucracy queered the pitch for it at the very start. Early in its career a retired Director of Public

Instruction was appointed Director. Bourne had been in his time a competent zoologist, but long before he came to Bangalore he had forgotten the feel of test tube or dissecting knife. He was however a good administrator. And recruitment from the I. E. S. could also by a lucky fluke give the Institute Simonsen, the virtual creator of the chemistry of terpenes. He, with Sudborough, a sound organic chemist, securely laid the foundations of two departments which gave the country quite a few good chemists.

When Sir C. V. Raman became Director in the early 'thirties, the reputation of the Institute reached its zenith. But the primacy now accorded to Physics seemed to overshadow the Chemistry Departments which had been the hard core of the Institute. Routine recruiting to the Professoriates (with long Professorless intervals) became the rule. Added to this was the fact that some time before the Ervine Committee was set up there was a reaction against what was supposed to be excessive preoccupation with pure science.

There was a demand that engineering and technology should have pride of place. The basic sciences, it was argued, were the primary concern of the universities. In the result neither in science nor in technology have the past two decades seen any worth while work at the Institute. As I began by saying, the malady is lack of first-rate talent. Teamwork can be fruitful only if the team is headed by a Thompson, a Raman or a Rutherford, not by a gilded mediocrity. It can be no consolation to those who had expected the Institute to live up to its promise that the Kharagpur Institute, for all that it has been enormously boosted, remains almost as empty as the much older institution in Bangalore. Science decays where its "statesmen" flourish.

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS ::

Here are two letters which could not be published last week :

(i)

Sir.—With reference to your "Sidelights" which appeared in SWARAJYA for May 10, I wish to point out that I was one of the reporters present during the "interview" with Sri R. Venkataraman when he gave his reaction to the decision of the Supreme Court on the Wage Board's Award to the working journalists.

After we saw the first "flash" of the judgment, we went to see Sri R. Venkataraman to get his views as a friend of working journalists and also as one who represented them in the Wage Board. During that chat, Sri Venkataraman made no reference to the Chairman of the Bench of the Supreme Court.

There was free cross-talk between Sri "R.V." and the reporters, and everything was in humorous and jocular vein, and purely informal.

What was published by you is full of distortion and torn out of context and out of the spirit in which it was said.

Even during the "interview," the Chief Reporter of *The Hindu* was not seen taking down any notes, so what was reported later by him came out of his afterthought and imagination.

M. NAMASIVAYAM,
Staff Reporter, "The Nava India".

(ii)

Sir.—I was present at the talk Pressmen had with Mr. R. Venkataraman, Minister for Industries and Labour, on the afternoon of the day the Supreme Court delivered judgment on the Journalists' Act and the Wage Board Award. I feel bound to state that the account incorporated in "Sidelights" (May 10) is a complete distortion of what occurred; and words have been ascribed to Minister Venkataraman, which were never spoken by him. Reporters, on glancing at the flash-reports, at the Secretariat, of the Supreme Court's judgment, wanted to have the reaction of Mr. Venkataraman who had been a member of the Wage Board. During the talk, lasting nearly half an hour, it was the reporters who were mostly making the observations and the Minister who was studying their reactions, rather than the other way about. Not one of the reporters ever made a single note of what was spoken in the Minister's room. Anything, therefore, that purports to be "an account of what happened then" (as claimed in "Sidelights") is, inescapably, a reconstruction, from memory, of all that had been

spoken by a group of reporters and the Minister, after the event. The long chain of questions and answers, many of them put within quotation marks in SWARAJYA, signifies brilliant imaginative effort but has no relation to facts.

I was shocked to read, in the SWARAJYA article, the reference alleged to have been made by Minister R. Venkataraman to the Chairman of the Bench of the Supreme Court which delivered the concerned judgment. Nowhere during our talks with him did Mr. Venkataraman make any reference whatsoever to the Chairman of the Bench of the Supreme Court. Yet, we find quite two paragraphs in the SWARAJYA article, devoted to this alleged reference, with matter mostly put in "quotes". Actually, I remember the Minister's impressing on us that the judgment of the Supreme Court is final and binding on all the parties and pointing out that existing provisions like the Industrial Disputes Act do provide remedy for grievances, if any.

The alleged suggestion by Minister Venkataraman that journalists should resort to strike (mentioned in the SWARAJYA article) is a complete travesty of what the Minister meant and said. The talk had, at the moment, touched a facetious vein, and one of the reporters asked humourously if strike by newspapermen would solve their problems. Mr. Venkataraman replied jokingly (and with a touch of teasing of the questioner),—"Strike? You may go on strike if you dare! Perhaps it will be nice to have a newspaper holiday!" This was followed by general laughter.

The only part of the alleged "account" (to which currency has been given in SWARAJYA) which may be said to be correct, is where the Minister is said to have observed, "I am most unhappy (about the judgment)", but the clause which precedes these words in the SWARAJYA report, "For the present you may say this..." were not spoken by the Minister.

V. S. GANAPATI SARMA,
Chief Reporter, "Indian Express".

We are told by Sri Ganapati Sarma that the reporters went to the Minister to get his reactions to the Supreme Court judgment, but instead of getting his reactions they gave their own reactions to him and the Minister "was studying their reactions instead of the other way about". What Sri Sarma, as Chief

Reporter of an important paper did to pursue the purpose of the visit to the Minister—getting his reactions—is not indicated. At this stage, Sri Sarma who started as a witness present on the scene describing what happened, suddenly becomes an advocate with a brief for the Minister arguing that "what happened then" could only be "inescapably a reconstruction from memory" as no reporter present made a single note of what was spoken in the Minister's room. "The long chain of questions and answers, many of them put within quotation marks in *Swarajya* signifies brilliant imaginative effort but has no relation to fact", he argues. A reporter of several years' standing, Sri Sarma impugns the report of a brother member of the craft for the reason that he did not take notes and depended on his memory! Blowitz, the famous Berlin correspondent of *The Times* once wrote from memory the whole preamble of a peace treaty that was then being drawn up at the Berlin Congress. This is how the story is told in *The History of The Times* :

Blowitz coaxed the French Ambassador Comte de St. Vallier "into reading aloud slowly the preamble just drawn up. 'Now is the time', said the Ambassador, 'to justify your reputation for a wonderful memory'. At the station Blowitz met his Secretary and... in the privacy of his compartment dictated from memory the preamble to his Secretary". The next day "a special edition of *The Times* was published containing the text and translation of a treaty which was being formally signed at the time in Berlin".

No reporting is done at a meeting. It is done after the meeting with the help of notes taken at the meeting in the case of some and with the aid of memory in the case of others. There can be no dogmatic assessment of the relative worths of the two methods. It may even be that while time is being taken for mechanical note-taking, a quick turn in discussion may take place and be finished, missed and unnoted by the note-taker. When the mind and not merely the note pencil follows the talk the chances of distortion and of missing relevant points are reduced.

SWARAJYA

The report published in SWARAJYA was written the same day on which the reporters met the Minister. Brother Sarma objects to it as being, "inescapably, a reconstruction from memory," and takes particular exception to the employment of quotation marks. Yet he himself, seven weeks later, also without any notes to guide him, puts the Minister's words in quotation marks, destroying by example the whole basis of the precept on which he has ventured to discredit the work of a fellow-reporter who is, if not indeed superior, in no way inferior to him in experience, status, intelligence and capacity. Let it also be noted that whereas in the SWARAJYA report the Minister simply advised the reporters to strike, his defender Sri Sarma records that he *dared* them to go on strike!

I know I am treading on dangerous ground. A Minister tendering an advance pledge of the support of the Government to a strike of journalists advised by him will be regarded by them

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as an adorable ally and benefactor. But he cannot help being, by virtue of this very position, a force making for disruption in the Press, and on that account, a public liability. Anyone inviting attention to this sort of ministerial inspiration for strife is bound to be denounced *en bloc* by all those hoping for improvement of their position with official support and patronage. It is not therefore surprising that some journalists should have ganged up behind the Minister with fervid pretensions of concern for professional ethics. It is their propaganda that there has been violation of journalistic ethics in the disclosure of off-the-record talks. All compacts are subject to the over-riding consideration of the public interest, and no off-the-record convention can be a screen for ministerial wire-pulling in promotion of industrial disharmony. Can there be, for example, any obligation of honour for non-divulgence of 'off-the-record' treason? Dr. Besant was a scrupulous believer in the sanctity of private correspondence but she had no hesitation on one occasion in violating it in the national interest. A friend writes:

When Mrs. Besant was editor of *New India* Sir Lionel Curtis who was touring the country on behalf of the Round Table group addressed a mischievous confidential letter to the "European" section of the civil servants in India. When a copy of this letter fell into Mrs. Besant's hands, she felt it to be her imperative duty to expose the "white conspiracy" that was being hatched, and without a moment's hesitation published extracts from it, with appropriate comments, placing the interests of the country above every other consideration.

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Journalists of course are subject to many disabilities and they have a hard struggle before them for attaining an equitable settlement with their employers. But it is fatal to their cause to be guided by Ministers or to have too close associations with them. The official touch has a blighting effect on Press integrity and it will take the sap of independent judgment out of all who come to depend on it for prosperity or any kind of advancement. Professional ethics can neither flourish nor even survive under such a blight, as evidenced by the two letters published above.

The president of the M.U.J. Conference held in Madras last week, Sri Raghavan, devoted a part of his speech to me, but as his comments, based on something I had written, reveal complete misunderstanding of the plain meaning of simple words, it is unprofitable to enter into any discussion over them at that level. I must however refer to one passage in his speech where he propounds strange doctrines about professional ethics. In allusion to the SWARAJYA report of the Labour Minister's talk with Pressmen, he says:

"Even assuming that the conversations did take place on the lines alleged, certain issues about professional ethics arise. Is it professional ethics to record, without the permission of those present, an informal off-the-record conversation of this type? Is it professional ethics for a reporter to make such a report available to his proprietor for non-newspaper purposes? Is it professional ethics for the paper to utilise such a report, not for publication in its own columns, but for circulation to other people, without the consent of the other party or even verification of its contents? Are we going to allow journalists to function as informers?"

The Press is in a way an informer, an informer to the public. No blemish can be rubbed against any of its members while this service is performed in a straight forward way. The taint of 'informing' as something unworthy comes in only when journalists abandon their vocation to become apologists for Ministers and others in authority. The editor (or proprietor when he is also the editor)

represents a newspaper in public affairs and the reporter is responsible to the editor. He is invited to meetings and other places as a representative of the editor. There can be no inhibitions in the communication of information from the reporter to the editor. To assume or act on any such inhibitions would imperil the job itself as the function of the reporter is to serve as the eyes and ears of the editor and the very purpose of an editor employing a reporter is the collection of information. If he fails in the collection of information or withholds the information collected, to that extent he violates the duties and obligations of his office. What use an editor makes of the information he receives, it is for him to decide. There can be no objection to qualified leaders of the Press, distinguished enough to set standards, considering if there is any need for restricting the editor's use of material at his disposal. But so far they have not got to work for such a purpose.

Verification of news is a ticklish affair. In the days of the press advisory committee the Government always contradicted published news of starvation deaths with reports from Collectors. I always said that as between a Collector and a press reporter I put greater faith in the press reporter and Mr. Hayles was the only member of the committee who hailed my view enthusiastically. The chosen leader of the M. U. J. has now arrived at the position of giving greater value to the Minister than the reporter in the verification of information. No journalist worth his salt will accept so derogatory an imputation. The day-to-day repository of trustworthiness of news and information on which a decent editor would rely is his own reporter, and in a well conducted office no Minister or any other person or body of person can dislodge the reporter from the credence to which he is entitled while in employment, nor will they be allowed to put forth claims to a share in the reporter's responsibility to his editor.

SAKA

May 24, 1958

SWARAJYA

LIKE SYNTHETIC RICE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Hindi Division of the Education Ministry has a full story about itself under a two column head-line in a leading Delhi paper. It is stated therein in great detail what extensive work has been done and what liberal principles have guided the adoption of new words from various regional languages of India. The story winds up with a balance sheet showing that "equivalents for approximately two and half lakh words are still to be found"!

Has language ever been built this way by index makers? Language grows by speech and by writing, writing in the true living sense of the word, not by tabulated desk-work on words isolated from use.

An attempt was made by the Scientific Branch of our National Government during the days of the rice-deficiency scare to produce "synthetic rice" in the National Food Research Laboratory at Mysore; it is not known whether this 'synthetic rice' work is still going on. We do not know how many tons have been produced or whether it is still in glass jars. Can ever human credulity go to the point of believing that warehouses can be filled with synthetic rice even if they succeeded in producing some paste done into cookable and edible sago in ellipsoid form approximating to the shape of rice? But it is possible, however unlikely. Much less of a possibility is it to make a language, the essence of which is that it is spoken before it is written and both spoken and written before it can be subject of the coercion of law.

The rationale of an official all-India Language is that it is already widely spoken and widely understood. Widely—not by a mere group larger than any other group, but widely used all over the land.

It has been declared by the Prime Minister that the "Hindi" sought to be elevated to the Moghul throne is a new product not understood and of course not spoken by any people in Delhi or

even in Allahabad. The P. M. confesses he had all along thought it was to be some language he himself was familiar with, but it transpires that even he cannot make out the meaning when that medium is used. Are we to vote for a language that is a counter-part of the rice of the synthetic rice division of the National Food Research Laboratory? We are told that *Vidhaanaanga*, *Kaaryaanga*, and *Nyaayaanga* have been generously adopted from Kannada. The idea is that Kannada-speaking people should be grateful. The fact is that Sanskrit is better handled in the South than by the Hindi speaking people; and the Kannada people have found some smoother and more-accurate Sanskrit words than those invented by the Hindi pundits. These so-called Kannada words are not pure Sanskrit words which are sweeter and better than the corruptions of Sanskrit words that prevail in Hindi.

We are told that the minting of words is going on, that the task is gigantic, but that the workers are brave. One wonders why we should not continue English which is not more of a stranger than this new language and which does

not call for such extreme exertion or bravery? The Irish wrath against the British took shape in the Gaelic idea. But we in India are not so angry; indeed, we are tied to Britain by a "sense of partnership and friendship" far beyond Mr. Harold Macmillan's expectations, as he told the Edinburgh Merchant Company at a recent dinner. Ireland has silently given up her Gaelic adventure. But we are working hard—we may guess the expense of it which however is not the point—to manufacture our Gaelic which it is fondly believed will automatically put the administration in tune with the masses—of U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh! As for the rest, they do not count!

My colleague of four decades Mr. Santanam thinks I am tilting against the wind-mills—that the Hindi fanatics are too strong for us and we should give up the resistance and ask only for time. I prefer to go down as Don Quixote tilting against the wind-mills to surviving as one who consented to and helped gross injustice. It never can be even good policy to yield to wrong. It is wise and it is our duty to resist what we know to be wrong. There is no hope for the world unless some of us make up our minds to face odds and resist. Again, I say, we have a friend in Mr. Nehru whose conscience will eventually refuse to do injustice.

FREEDOM: HOW IT MAY BE SAVED

I am quoting from a recent article appearing in a widely read American journal, the *New Leader*.

"I am convinced that if the Soviet Union were by some magic to disappear tomorrow, the situation would not be eased—we should soon be confronted by other difficulties of equally grave magnitude. I am convinced that as industrialisation continues its relentless spread within the framework of international anarchy, we are going to be faced by new Germanys, new Japans, and new Soviet Unions.

"We have only seen the beginnings of rules and regulations

designed to regulate and bind men's actions. The people of the United States will be driven steadily toward increased organization, increased conformity and increased control over the thoughts and actions of the individual. In the face of the powerful modern tools of persuasion and coercion, I fear that what dignity and freedom we still possess may one day vanish."

Dr. Harrison Brown, Professor of Geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology who lectured in this strain at the Minnesota University only gave expression to a settled feeling among enlightened people all over the

world. The desire to oppose and liquidate the enemy of individual freedom and personality, the active steps taken to prevent the aggression and infiltration of Communism, seem to result in the loss of the very freedom which it is the aim of non-Communist countries to protect by those activities. We must therefore look for the secret of freedom afresh, if we desire to guard it. Dr. Harrison Brown has hinted it.

Looking around at 'progress' on both sides of the Iron Curtain it seems that as we advance in 'prosperity' and 'civilization' we must of necessity sacrifice individual freedom.

Now is this really inevitable? Does not everything depend on what we mean by and aim at as civilization and progress? If civilization is to be bound up with material advancement we must accept its inevitable consequence, loss of freedom in exact proportion to the forward march. And loss of freedom is loss of soul. This is as certain as the obverse of it, that if civilization is high thinking and simple living and true and abiding happiness is what issues from such a way of life, civilization will bring more and more of freedom and not reduce it. If we make the mistake of confounding civilization with ever increasing material advancement, we are bound to become slaves to tyrants and to tyrant organisations—governments, parties, cartels, trusts and trade unions. If we aim at what the saints and philosophers have told us to aim at even in a changing world, there will be happiness; and individual freedom which is its chief element will increase in the measure that we realise more and more of the ideal. The inevitable corollary of material advancement is competition first among individuals and next between nations and war and unending preparations against fear of aggression. Competition to be effective has to be organized into coercion, and as the race proceeds, the coercion must become ruthless.

The only way to freedom is the simple life and the courage to be wise even in a world that is

ceaselessly busy in the opposite direction, given over to complicating life in every way that human ingenuity can do it. Co-operation which in its simple form is a joy is organised until it becomes a despotism and a tyranny of the community over the individual. It soon reaches the monstrous shape of dictatorship of one kind or another. A special type of human being is bred for the work—the ruler-type who is born to the task of extracting the implicit obedience of his fellow-citizens. 'Ways of Life' are held forth to admiration, each as effective as the other in the matter of extinguishing freedom. It is forgotten that the only way worth living is the way that Socrates, Buddha, Christ and the Rishis of India preached.

The question arises, is it possible to 'go back' to this? It is not only possible, it is not difficult to go back to it. It is much less difficult and much less hazardous than the way of ambition and war which we now blindly follow.

This is of course Revivalism. But to revive is not necessarily bad! When we have gone wrong it is better to go back than to go forward along the same wrong path. The moral world is not a sphere like the earth where if you go far enough even in a wrong direction you come back to where you were. In the moral world if we have gone wrong we must retrace our steps. What is the vaunted freedom of the Will if we cannot do this?

I know that America must laugh at this doctrine of the simple life. But we may believe that America is not always wise. Prosperity plus tension does not make either happiness or wisdom or religion. We see where America and Russia have both landed themselves—in the hell of endless fear under the shadow of total annihilation. What is left for others to do is to get rid of the ecstasies of false civilization and to show a new way. Who can fulfil the mission of true civilization but the people of this land of the rishis where their words are still in vogue and are reverently reci-

ted in the very accents of those sages? Where except in India can the holy task begin?

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Sri Anantharama Dikshitar

No story is so well known in India as the Ramayana, and none more compact of its cultural heritage. Like the infinite resources of nature, it is capable of refreshing by repetition. It is the acknowledged fountain-head of classical poetry, the first great treasury of the doctrine of devotion and surrender, the store house which sustains us in the face of sorrows and uncertainties, temptations and tribulations.

I had the privilege of listening to an exposition of the Ramayana by Sri Anantarama Dikshitar of Sengalipuram during the last few weeks. It was a rare experience, compounded of the varying emotions evoked by the joys and sorrows of the persons portrayed in the story, a feeling of peace produced by a mental proximity to the idea, if not the presence, of God, and an increasing humility born of a realisation of one's moral and intellectual littleness.

Sri Dikshitar brings to his task both the artistry of a great story teller and the sincerity of a great devotee. It was obvious that he was all along imbued with a sense of service and self-purificatory dedication. The series continued day after day for nearly a month, and lasted for more than three hours every day. The crowd was immense; a conservative estimate of the audience on the concluding day would be of the order of ten thousand persons. No disturbance, no mischance, human, natural or mechanical, occurred to mar the long daily session. It was as if the grace of Rama enveloped the assembly and warded off every possible harm. The men and women who attended the discourse listened to Dikshitar's narration with unconcealed interest, and lost themselves in a world beyond the corridors of time, enfolded by the sonorous waves of Valmiki's verses.

Sri Dikshitar enhanced the excellence of the epic by the way

(Continued on page 15)

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WE BRAHMINS

By M. KRISHNAN

"Don't mind my saying it," said Miss Kooviah, with that side-way simper that prefaces her devastating bursts of candour, "don't mind, I hope, but all you Brahmins ever do is to eat, sleep, and gape!"

So unprovoked was the pronouncement, so utterly unrelated to the polite conversation on zinnias that had preceded it, that I very nearly gaped. I recollected myself in time, but was still without any cogent reply.

"Sleep, eat, and gape — eat, sleep, and gape," she went on relentlessly, driving her point firmly home, "that's all any Brahmin ever does."

I tried desperately to think of Brahmins doing other things — of Brahmins studying for examinations, seeking Government service, working ten hours a day at desks, Brahmins in more enterprising settings, building dams, climbing mountains, exploring dark continents — but the one picture that kept coming to my mind was one of a number of effeminate Brahmins at a posh city club, starched, shaved and foppishly dressed, playing cards and revelling in poisonous gossip. It was certainly a less pleasant picture than that of Brahmins eating, sleeping and gaping.

"Don't you agree with me?" asked Miss Kooviah a trifle tartly — apparently she found my unresponsiveness irritating.

"O, absolutely!" I replied hastily. "Too right you are! In fact, I agree with you in toto."

The downpour outside prevented us from leaving the slab-roofed shelter of the mofussil bus stand, beneath which we were huddled, waiting for a belated evening bus. The light was dim and tricky, but I could see there were three of them, and that each was more substantially built than I.

"The day these blasted Brahmins are done away with and finished," one of them remarked, "that will be the day of our salvation."

"It is the Centre that is sustaining them," the man in the black shirt declared: "Oppression by the North, that's what it is, suppression and oppression of our right of self-determination by the North. Apparently they don't have the Brahmin Peril there!"

The third man, the heaviest of the three, said nothing at all. He merely nodded his head, and came out with a deep-throated chortle everytime his companions spoke, a response that was somehow more menacing than any spoken threat. The other two considered ways and means of doing away with the 'Paappaan', and finally concluded that the thing to do was to hack him into bits and bury the bits deep.

Once, for four years, I was a schoolmaster. That was far away and long ago, and I have lived it down — no one, looking at me now, can suspect that dim past. But it is quite impossible to cut oneself away completely from a schoolmastering past, and the incorrect Tamil of my fellow waiters, and the puerility of their argument, was more than I could suffer in silence. I informed them of the differences in enunciation and import between the words 'oli' and 'ozhi', and pointed out that it was idiotic trying to eliminate an entire community, however much in the minority it was, by massacre — no one had succeeded in doing that in the long history of our country, which was not without its fits of violence.

They listened to me politely, almost respectfully, and then asked me to tell them of a more effective way to get rid of the Brahmins. The man in the black shirt wanted to know if they could not be converted, by force, into non-Brahmins — he argued that in areas the Hindus had been converted *en masse* by the Muslim invader, armed with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other.

Patently I explained to him the falsity of his analogy, and the

sheer impossibility of converting a Hindu into a Hindu of another kind. My companions agreed with me that massacre was futile (though, being a fair-minded man and one with a sense of style, I did not fail to point out that the course suggested, not as a plan of action but as an expression of hatred, had its use in speech); they pressed me to think of a better way of eliminating the Brahmin, but though I thought hard and well, no effective plan occurred to me by the time our bus came. Nor afterwards. The truth is that it is just not possible to get rid of the Brahmin, except by some internal and wholly unplanned process of spontaneous combustion in the community.

Thirty miles to our destination, no halts in between, and this giant the only other occupant of my compartment. He was gigantic, well over six-foot tall, broad in proportion, and bulging with muscles. He was very dark, almost a true ivory black in complexion, and his great ram's horn moustaches added considerably to his intimidatory looks.

"Is that a gun?" he asked, pointing a finger as thick as a banana at my tripod case.

I came out with a non-committal sound, by way of reply. I did not like his interest in my photographic paraphernalia, and feared that it would lead, as it has led before, to his wanting to see my camera, his promising to handle it most carefully, and to his dropping it on the unyielding floor of the railway carriage. The thing to do, obviously, was to change the topic.

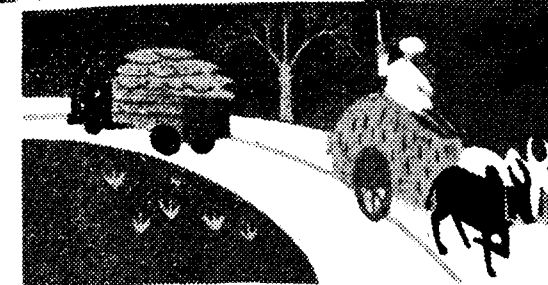
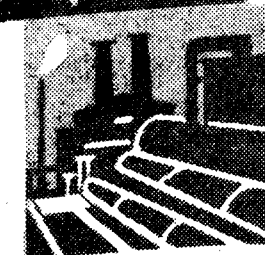
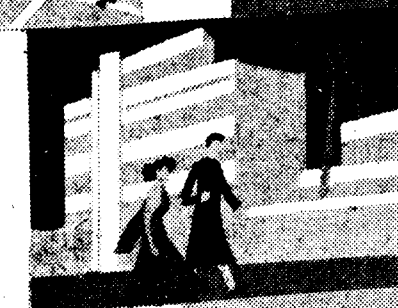
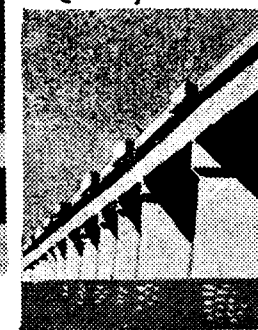
I assumed my most ferocious scowl.

"Down with the Brahmin!" I exclaimed, between clenched teeth.

He started, and backed away to the farthest corner of the seat, as if I had hit him. Then he smiled a sheepish sort of smile, and, having no conversation for the moment, kept pulling at his moustaches.

I moved up beside him and told him what I thought of the Brahmin. What did the Brahmin do?

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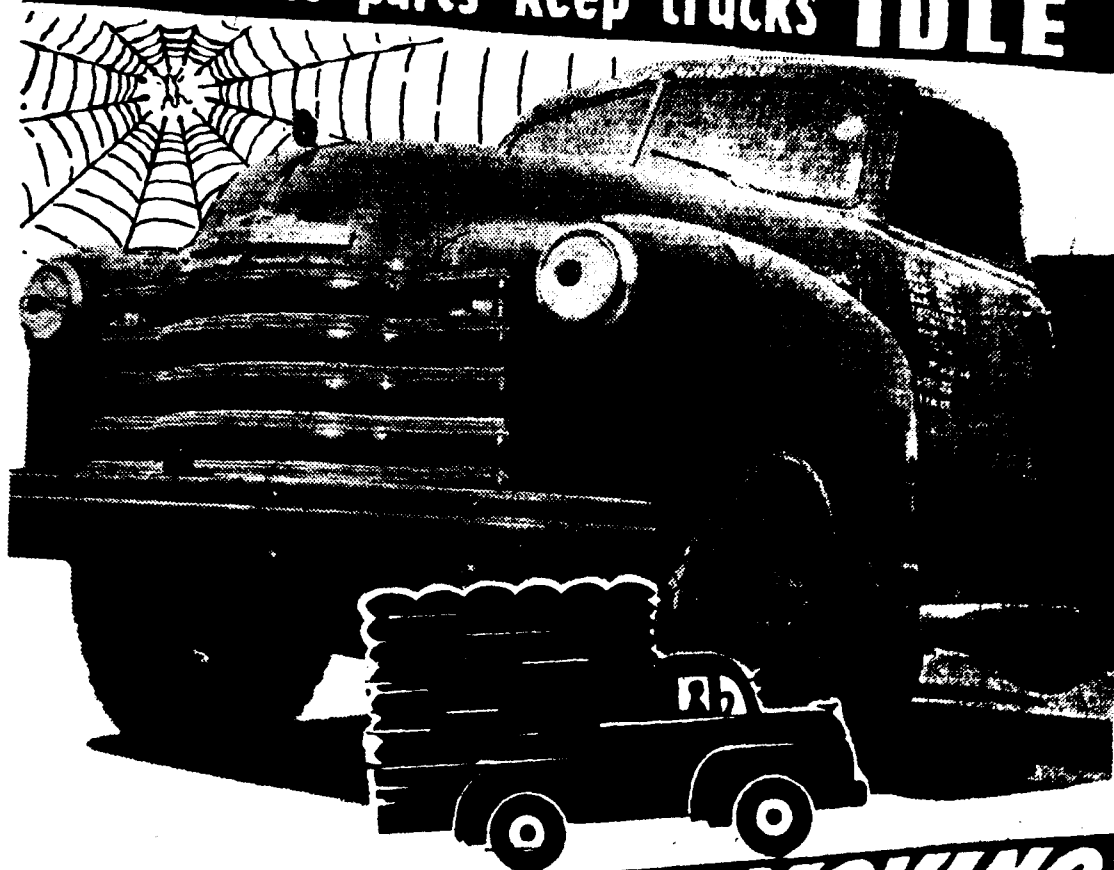
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The Congress rally at the Sapru House towards mid-May was like a miniature mela. In an atmosphere of cordial greetings and fraternal embraces though also of mutual misgivings, Congressmen from all parts of the country assembled in a serious mood to take counsel (along with tea) over the problems facing their great organisation. They were frankly agitated over the present and anxious about the future, the former being controversial and the latter doubtful. Luckily, they were free from the oppressive obsession as to what might happen to all of them if their beloved leader preferred to keep aloof for a time as by then Mr. Nehru had emerged—or delivered himself—out of the 'to-go-or-not-to-go' mood. Nevertheless they were not too sure of what might or might not happen at that fateful hour of shifting scenes. And it was an hour, more than anything else, of plain talk or candid comment. They wanted to hear Mr. Nehru; on his part Mr. Nehru wanted to hear them too. And at the end it proved to be a real 'give-and-take' affair. If Mr. Nehru gave a bit of his mind about the decline of Congress power, prestige and popularity, he had also, in a way, to take it back. For, while the back-benchers refused to be tongue-tied,

two or three front-rankers made no effort to conceal their views. Mr. Hanumanthaiah of Mysore and the veteran Gadgil of Maharashtra, in particular, excelled in devastating candour. The former questioned democratic pretensions when all power was concentrated at the top and when even the President of the Congress was more nominated by Mr. Nehru than elected by the party while the latter went to the length of calling Mr. Nehru the Grand Moghul of India! There could not be much of an answer to that. For, apart from the present or particular controversy, it seems that Delhi being Delhi, it cannot help breeding Moghuls; it seems that the very Capital must be shifted if the Moghuls are not wanted.

Mr. Nehru was emphatically in a thinking mood, he still is; for sometime he will continue to be—despite taunts. Yes, despite taunts, for leaving alone the cheap gibes of some frustrated and disgruntled men, whether they belong to his party or other parties, there is the interesting little cartoon by Bernard Hollowood in the Observer, London, which deserves a wider publicity. Krushchev is shown, with Col. Nasser by his side, holding in his hand a newspaper exhibiting the banner headline—'Nehru may resign'—with the letter-press

Eat, sleep and gape — that's all any Brahmin ever did. And it was impossible to eliminate him. Cut him up into a hundred pieces and bury the pieces individually, nine feet deep, and what happened? A hundred Brahmins sprouted from the ground! I quoted, or misquoted, Baudelaire translated:

"Disgusting phoenix, father of himself,

And his own son...."

The man agreed with me. He had become suddenly and strangely dumb, but he agreed with violent nods and gestures, and all the time he kept smiling a fatuous smile of agreement. Finally,

before we parted at the Central Station, he shook hands with me, and the grip of his paw reflected, no doubt, the strength of his agreement with my views. It is only now, after setting down the incident precisely on paper, that a ghastly suspicion has occurred to me, and that I realise the needlessness of my denunciation of my own community — in fact, I now feel sure I could have denounced the non-Brahmins with equal vehemence, and been no less successful in getting the man away from my camera.

I suspect, I am almost convinced, that that man was a Brahmin.

running thus: "Dangerous ideas, Colonel! Imagine if we all took time to think". Thinking men are always suspect since the days of Cassius of whom Shakespeare says: "He thinks too much, such men are dangerous". But today it is to avert and not to invite dangers that Mr. Nehru is obliged to do a bit of hard thinking. He knows that the country is faced with big problems which call for early settlement and can only be settled when he is still there in over-all charge of affairs, if not by him alone. Kashmir is on the top of the list; next Goa; and then N.E.F.A. Here are grave problems which are blocking the way to India's march to progress or emergence into the Promised Land—problems which need to be taken out of the usual ruts of regimented thinking and projected in a clearer perspective. International understanding of some of these problems is so much fogged that they cannot be indefinitely put in cold storage. Maybe that Mr. Nehru feels that he should leave smaller problems to other men and seek—and see—and spread—light, if Indian energies and resources are not to be frittered away. All other issues like

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the recovery or revitalisation of the Congress are of smaller consequence in the larger context of affairs and it is absurd to suggest that Mr. Nehru is too much pre-occupied or worried because of erring colleagues or unstable ministries or reverses in bye-elections. Let the Panto, the Morarjis and the Dhebars attend to minor business. Mr. Nehru will rather refresh himself and then face what he alone can and must.

There was, for a wonder, something like a near-unanimity among the senior Congressmen who attended the A.I.C.C. meeting here, at least about the vital need to find a successor to, or substitute for, Mr. Dhebar as the President. They were all agreed on his utter inadequacy for meeting the present crisis in the Congress. Some of them did not mind the strain in giving expression to the view which *Junius* was repeatedly emphasising in these columns as something incapable from the realities of the situation. To him Mr. Nehru's recent tribute to Mr. Dhebar sounded like one of a valedictory character. Senior Congressmen, without evading issues, were also concerned about the succession. Only two they thought of—Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Morarji Desai; they also thought that of the two, taking all relevant factors into account, Mr. Mo-

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OUR PUBLIC LIFE

Sir,—The Congress President Mr. Dhebar has referred to the fall in standards of public behaviour, and Prime Minister Nehru has expressed utter disgust at the deteriorating standard of public life in our country. The message of Gokhale, the political guru of Mahatma Gandhi, that "public life must be spiritualised" seems very apposite to the present state of political affairs. In explaining this phrase, Gandhiji said that private morality should be identical with public morality and that there should be no divorce between public and private morality. In a party system of government, a certain degree of a lower standard of public morality is inevitable and inherent, as there is little scope for the exercise of private independent thinking. It is the party that thinks

rarji Desai should be preferred and prevailed upon to take over from Mr. Dhebar. Without any intention of claiming to be a prophet, *Junius* may well take the readers of SWARAJYA into confidence. Those who wanted Mr. Morarji Desai to get prepared for the contingency, also felt that his exit from the Treasury Benches would matter less than his arrival on the party-front as the arbiter of its destinies. Nor was Mr. Morarji Desai taken aback. To put it mildly, he would not mind the change for the sake of the Congress and in the interests of the ruling party. A calculating politician or not, he is astute. In the nature of things to be, apart from international analogies, the supreme boss of the largest and most effective party will find it easier to become a Prime Minister in his own day—and then have his own way. All this will, of course, take some time, for a place must be found for Mr. Dhebar who has travelled a long way without any sense of fatigue. Meanwhile, let Mr. Nehru have his holiday and return with a fresh mind, if not with new plans. We should not be impatient.

for the welfare of the State; and it is, therefore, the responsibility of the State to frame a code of conduct for its members and to see that they follow the dictates of the party.

It is incumbent on persons outside the party to do independent thinking and educate the party when it needs correction and is liable to act against the interests of the people and the State. Independent thinking on the part of the enlightened citizens and the governed will make the governors reconsider, revise their original decisions and do fresh independent thinking. One great vice among most people is intellectual dishonesty practised by quoting, often out of context, the views of great leaders, to suit their own views. Political discussions would be at a higher level, if we do not quote Gandhiji. In a famous Convocation speech, Srinivasa Sastri discussed the merits and demerits of the party system, and ends it thus: "The Mahatma's supreme merit is his unflinching devotion to the goddess of TRUTH in her various phases. Let us be his co-workers, not his worshippers."

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
Coimbatore.

CONGRESS AND P. S. P.

Sir,—The statement of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan urging the leaders of the Congress and the P. S. P. to close their ranks in the larger interests of the nation is very timely. It is in the fitness of things that the Congress and the P. S. P., having been both wedded to Democracy and Socialism, should function in a complementary way to each other. Temporary victories or defeat should not blur the political imagination of these two parties. J. F. could not naturally comprehend situation of rivalry at the expense of the national interest between these two parties. Right thinking men in the country should foster this friendly relationship between the Congress and the

SWARAJYA

P. S. P., be it in the parliamentary front or on the organisational side.

Tanuku Y. NARASIMHA RAO.

Sri Anantarama Dikshitar
(Continued from page 8)

in which he recited the verses. He sang them in a voice that was opulent with appropriate emotion, and with the unhurried majesty of an elephant's tread. It was sufficient to listen to the verses. The Indian mind is attuned to the aesthetics of the sound of Sanskrit. A knowledge of the story helps to follow the

meaning of the poetry. And so the recitation cheated the passage of time and crowded into a space of three hours a treat that went a long way to reduce concern about one's self to a minimum.

Sri Dikshitar is a born storyteller. He gilded the narration with satire and anecdote, and allowed the moral to permeate the mind casually, as it were. He utilised every opportunity to inculcate the advantages that accrue, both here and hereafter, by following the path of devotion, without wallowing in an intellectual world that is thorn-filled with useless doubts. S. Y. K.

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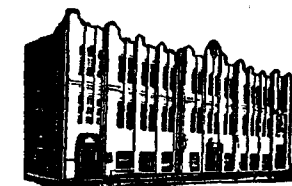
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CEYLON AND ITS LESSONS

The minority-community of Tamils is being subjected to tyranny and murderous attack in Ceylon. What is happening in that island is not however an isolated example of sporadic internal disharmony. It is an advance signal of tragic possibilities that may occur in any region of Asia lately liberated from colonial rule.

Though the colonial powers provoked resistance to their domination in the area controlled by them, it cannot be denied that they brought a considerable measure of benefit to the people over whom they ruled. They promoted social reform and economic and industrial development. In the very attempt which they stimulated on the part of the people governed by them to get rid of their rule, they created among them a substantial measure of unity and of the power of combining for common purposes. This unity however was the result of adventitious pressures, and when the pressures were relaxed with the advent of freedom, the impulse for self-assertion and for regional and other varieties of autonomy began to manifest itself among the component population units of the liberated countries.

It is natural for the leaders who stepped into the shoes of the vacating colonial regimes to think in terms of power and to look to centralised administration as the basic method of developing and consolidating the maximum possible degree of power. Wherever

they have fallen into this temptation they only succeeded in placing unity in jeopardy. The constituent units chafed at central control and took to separatist movements for the preservation of their dignity and autonomy.

The only way in which the spirit of unity can be nursed among people who have not yet developed a sense of national oneness is to leave them a large measure of freedom to manage their own affairs, subject only to loose federal control to the minimum possible extent over such things as defence and communications. As local autonomy is permitted in this way and comes to be exercised, the impossibility of large-scale progress without neighbourly co-operation and central assistance will come to be increasingly demonstrated. The

need for unity will then be felt as the result of experience and not merely of imposition, and it will be sought and cherished and not resented.

The disastrous effects of the tyrannical treatment of the minority are being registered in Ceylon in unmistakable terms. The same results will follow wherever the same treatment occurs. In India, as in Ceylon, majority tyranny will lead to disintegration. Consideration for minorities will engender a sense of freedom and security and build unity and loyalty for the federal authority on a voluntary basis. In our distaste for foreignness, there is no need to throw away methods and practices that have proved their worth as builders of unity and other things good and valuable, under foreign rule.

PEOPLE VERSUS POLITICIANS

There is a minor but very acute quarrel going on between two sections of the anti-nuclear forces in Britain. Feelings run high when the dispute is between two groups who agree on almost all matters but differ in one point,—they run higher than between two groups wholly adverse to each other. The quarrel is whether the opposition to nuclear tests and nuclear bases in British territory should be openly expressed from now on by Labour and its supporters or whether this opposition should be screened from view as far as possible until the

Labour party wins the next general election and takes over government. The leaders of the party would rather concentrate on winning the elections and going into power rather than talk plainly on the nuclear issue, and lose as they apprehend a large part of the expected votes at the general election. Their view is that British nuclear policy can be altered only by a party in power, and no positive steps should be taken in respect of the issue until the party wins government. The other view is that if Labour equivocates on the nuclear issue it

will get committed to the same attitude when taking up office, and will have to do exactly as now the Conservatives do — that is, to toe the American line.

It is alluring to remain uncommitted hoping to do the brave and right thing after winning power. But human affairs do not move that way. One finds oneself committed the other way about if one avoids the right commitment in one's progress towards power. Democracy cannot be cheated by equivocation or by the strategy of silence. A very grave and necessary step in which the security and survival of the whole nation are involved cannot be put into an opaque cupboard and the election won without damaging the contents of that cupboard. The obverse of this strategy is expressed in an old Indian fable in which a man plans to catch a water duck by first putting butter on its head so that when the sun grows hot in the course of the day and melts the butter down so as to blind the bird he could go up and easily seize the bird thus disabled. It is a kind of absurdly begging the question. It cannot be done. Labour must declare and fight the nuclear menace openly from now on and not hope to put the butter on the electorate's head and then catch it when blinded.

The real question is whether the conviction is clear or whether it is still uncertain and weak. Where the conviction is strong it is impossible that intelligent men and women could look upon Labour's seizing power at the next general elections as more important than this issue which is a question of life and death, a question whether Britain had better seek to be a great power by moral greatness or by satellitisation to American hysteria. Labour cannot even win at the general elections if all the time it acts as a junior partner in a coalition with the Tories.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Aims for Education

Looking ahead at the changes which science is already making



HEARTS AND STONE

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

A Swami came to Madhukondapalli. He used to preach in a most moving manner. In the heart of the village, in the open space near the oil mill of Betarayachetty, the villagers assembled. They made salutation to the Swami and sat down to listen to his discourse. Seating himself on the millstone, he delivered his discourses on compassion. He said, "Do not slay goats and fowl. Vegetarian food is best. You should care for every life as you do for your own. All creatures are the children of the Mother. If we hurt her children, the Mother will grieve. She will cease to help us. Without Her grace we cannot wash away our sins". Thus he spoke on and on, but the villagers paid little heed. They killed goats and fowl for meat as before.

But the Swami's words were enough to melt the stone, though the hearts of men could not be moved. The ghani stone of Betarayachetty, which supported the speaker and heard his appeal, resolved, "From now on I shall not harm the gingelly seed. I have now learnt that it too has life".

The harvest came round. The peasants brought cart-loads of gingelly seed to be crushed for oil. Betarayachetty put the seed in his ghani and turned it. But somehow the oil did not descend freely. Do what he might, the moisture stayed in the cake and would not come down. The farmers could not understand the cause. Betarayachetty found fault with the seed. But the same seed yielded plenty of oil when

crushed in the ghani of the neighbouring village. The miller there gave so much oil for so much seed, as he used to do all these years. Betarayachetty's customers forsook him. He sold his bullocks and decided to become a Sannyasi.

But before turning his back on the village, he offered worship to his stone mill and said good-bye to it. Then the stone relented and told him, "Do not go. Hereafter I shall press out the right amount of oil. Do not be afraid. Only be a little kinder to the bullocks. Don't beat them hard. Pat them and encourage them with gentle words. If I hear the Swami's discourse on compassion, my heart of stone begins to melt. Next time if there is to be a sermon, arrange for it elsewhere".

Betarayachetty listened and, going to the temple of Goddess Bhadrakali, gave her an offering of steamed rice and swore in Her presence that he would follow the advice of his ghani stone.

The Goddess said, "To me too, from now on, offer only steamed rice. Bring me no more goats or fowl". The temple priest announced this to all the villagers.

Then everything became all right. Without a blow bullocks drew the plough and worked the ghani. Tilling and the oil trade proceeded better than ever before. But care was taken to hold discourses elsewhere, not near the ghani. Betarayachetty refused to have them near his mill. The weavers cheerfully agreed to have them in their warping ground.

in our world, I think our education ought to ensure three things: first, more scientists and technologists, second, less narrowly specialised scientists and technologists, and, third, an educated

population who all understand something of the way in which scientific thought works and how it can contribute to the solution of human problems. — ALEC PETERSON, Oxford University.



Sotto Voce

The Orissa Joke

Mr. Hare Krishna Mehtab has been accorded a high place among the wizards of the Congress Party. But the latest "miracle" he has brought on is really a monumental joke at the Congress's democratic pretensions. The Congress Party has always been in a minority in the legislature. Not all his feats of daring including the lightning arrest of three members of the Opposition and of a Deputy Minister, have been able to alter that fact. The joke is that that gigantic piece of bluff, his resignation, has, it is solemnly pretended, served to "call the bluff" of the Opposition, as he so spiritedly puts it.

Under the Constitution the Governor's discretion is exercised by him as the agent of the Centre. So it is the Delhi Government and the ruling junta that must be held responsible for the specious reasoning and the partisan attitude adopted by Mr. Sukthankar. When Mr. Mehtab handed in his resignation after having pushed his budget through, it was known that he was obeying the High Command's orders. He thought fit to tell the world that he was jolly well glad to get out of the whole mess. But that was clearly an affectation of *sang froid*. See the alacrity with which he changed his mind when the High Command changed its.

The Governor gave as his reason for not accepting Mr. Mehtab's resignation forthwith, that he was confronted with an unusual situation, since Mr. Mehtab had claimed, when tendering his resignation, that he still had a majority in the legislature. So far as the Governor was concerned, the fact that the Congress High Command had asked Mr. Mehtab to resign in spite of his alleged majority was totally irrelevant. He should have told Mr. Mehtab, "If you have a majority

as you claim, you can go on. But if you don't want to, cease talking about your majority".

Actually at the moment Mr. Mehtab resigned he did not command, even with the support of the five members of the Jharkand Party, a legislative majority. In a House of 140 members the Congress had only 64 members including those it had inveigled into its net from the Ganatantra Parishad. It is in the past fortnight after the resignation that the Congress won three by-elections. But Mr. Sukthankar neither scrutinised Mr. Mehtab's claim that he had a majority nor accepted his resignation. He procrastinated, inevitably giving cause for suspicion that he was waiting for lucky accidents (like the successful by-elections) to make good Mr. Mehtab's airy claim.

But he demanded of the leader of the Opposition that he produce written declarations from the leaders of the other Opposition parties that they would give their continued support to any Ministry the Ganatantra Parishad might form. He accepted without question statements to this effect when they were received from the leader of the P.S.P. and the solitary Independent. But he did not accept as sufficient the letters produced from the leader of the Communists and of the Socialist Party. In his opinion they did not "establish beyond doubt that these two Parties have decided to give you their continued support". This is all the more strange because he admits that in his talk with the Communist leader he gained the impression that they would support a G. T. Ministry. No unprejudiced reader will have any hesitation in holding that no political party which was not prepared to enter

into an outright coalition could give a more unmistakable expression of its intention to accord general support to a Ministry than is contained in these letters.

Mr. Sukthankar would have done well to have cast back his mind to the circumstances that led to the induction of the Thanu Pillai Ministry. Mr. Pillai's Party was in a tiny minority in the legislature. The Congress, which was the largest single Party in the House, did not wish to form a Ministry. It preferred to put the P.S.P. in in order to keep the Communists out. But it was not prepared to go further than British Liberals had been when they helped Labour to form a minority Government. It promised support "on the merits" to the Government's measures while reserving to itself the right to oppose those it did not like.

It is arguable that the Congress in Kerala dug its own grave by adopting this policy of irresponsible neutrality as the British Liberals had paved the way for their own extinction earlier. But what is relevant to the present controversy is the fact that neither the P.S.P.'s being in a laughably small minority nor the Congress's refusal to commit itself to more than general support on the merits prevented the then Governor (of course with the approval of the Centre) calling on the P.S.P. to form a Ministry. Why should a different course be adopted now? The conclusion is inescapable that the Congress, in order to prevent a repetition of the Kerala debacle, is resolved not to permit an Opposition Ministry even if this means violating every constitutional propriety.

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SIDELIGHTS ::

A correspondent, Sri M. S. Rajagopalan, writes that on 20th May at about 6 p.m. he found two policemen taking with them some coolies from Kothawal Bazaar. He found on enquiry that they were being taken to the Flower Bazaar police station, there to remove sand lying in a heap from one corner to another, and for this work no wages would be paid. Here is his own account of what followed:

"Immediately I proceeded to the Police Station and enquired of the officer on duty whether the aforesaid account was true. He said: 'Who are you to enquire into these things? Don't butt your nose in such affairs, beware!' (These are the very words he used).

I brought this to the notice of the Commissioner of Police immediately by phone. He answered with courtesy that he would look into the matter.

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Ordinarily people mind their own business and have no time or inclination to spare for the difficulties of others. This is one reason why administrative injustice flourishes in the country. In the midst of the general apathetic indifference to the *zulums* galore that abound, it is a refreshing example of good citizenship for one to make the cause of his fellowmen his own. We have theoretical demonstrations of the authorities' concern for good behaviour on the part of public servants, and frequently there is organised observance with great gusto of what is called The Courtesy Week with spectacular posters blazoning ethical maxims. It will be a pity if these demonstrations fail to inspire corresponding practical standards and come to be treated merely as opportunities for expense, propaganda, festivity or mere tamasha.

In the days of British rule Indian officers imitated the *sahibs* and with elaborate perquisites built for themselves nabobic environments. That has come as an inheritance into our Swaraj government, and the V. I. Ps have improved on it further. According to democratic standards, the use of administrative staffs for non-administrative purposes such as domestic service, private business and catering to the vanity and pomposity of the bosses, must be set down as positively appalling. The police department has always been outstanding above all its competitors in the facilities it commanded for exaction of gratuitous service from all and sundry without payment. Technically the exaction of work without wage is an abuse of power. There might not be a tyrannical intention in such exactions, and they might be attributed partly to habit and partly to the irrepressible delight which most people feel in exhibiting influence by getting something for nothing as when they go in for complimentary theatre tickets.

But the incidence of these indulgences of the mighty on those condemned to pamper them is oppressive, and it has no place in a democratic society where work is strictly measured by wage and each man is otherwise his own master.

The Cuddalore municipal high school has often figured in the newspapers, but with little good effect on the management. It is now more than two years since the headmaster's post became vacant. The Education department formed a panel of names for choice of the headmaster. Ignoring the panel the municipal chairman appointed a junior teacher of two years' standing to perform the duties of headmaster. This junior is disqualified under the rules to serve as headmaster, as he lacks the prescribed minimum qualification of five years' experience as teacher. As two years have already passed, he has now four years' teaching service, and if one more year passes, he will be enabled fully to get over the mischief of disqualification under the rules. It is evidently the game of the management to validate this invalid appointment by giving retrospective effect to three years of teaching service put in subsequent to it, thereby reducing to an absurdity the Department's rule for ensuring the selection of seniors to a senior post. The state of affairs in the school might be imagined. The staff feel insulted by the imposition of virtually a novice in the profession as their head. The whole town is agog with excitement and angry mortification over a patent injustice. This is but one more example of the Education Department's tolerance of an intolerable violation of right and decency within its administrative jurisdiction.

A correspondent has sent me a copy of an interesting advertisement that appeared in *The Hindu* on May 6 in the *Situations Vacant* column. It was to this effect:

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A Calcutta firm wants a representative in Madras. Persons having influence in the Office of the Director of Supplies, Madras and Southern Railway may write to Box No. 1961, c/o "The Hindu" stating terms of appointment desired.

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ruling junta has brought trade, industry and commerce within the official net. Nobody is able to do any sort of business without obtaining some permit or sanction or licence from somebody in authority in some government office. Those without influence in these offices are either driven out of business or forced to curtail it, while their competitors enjoying such influ-

ence have an easy walk-over. Government control has meant administration by favour and the favourites have established for themselves a lucrative position as valuable aids of the business community. In the advertisement above under *Situations Vacant* we have a significant disclosure of business aspirations for the harvesting of corruption.

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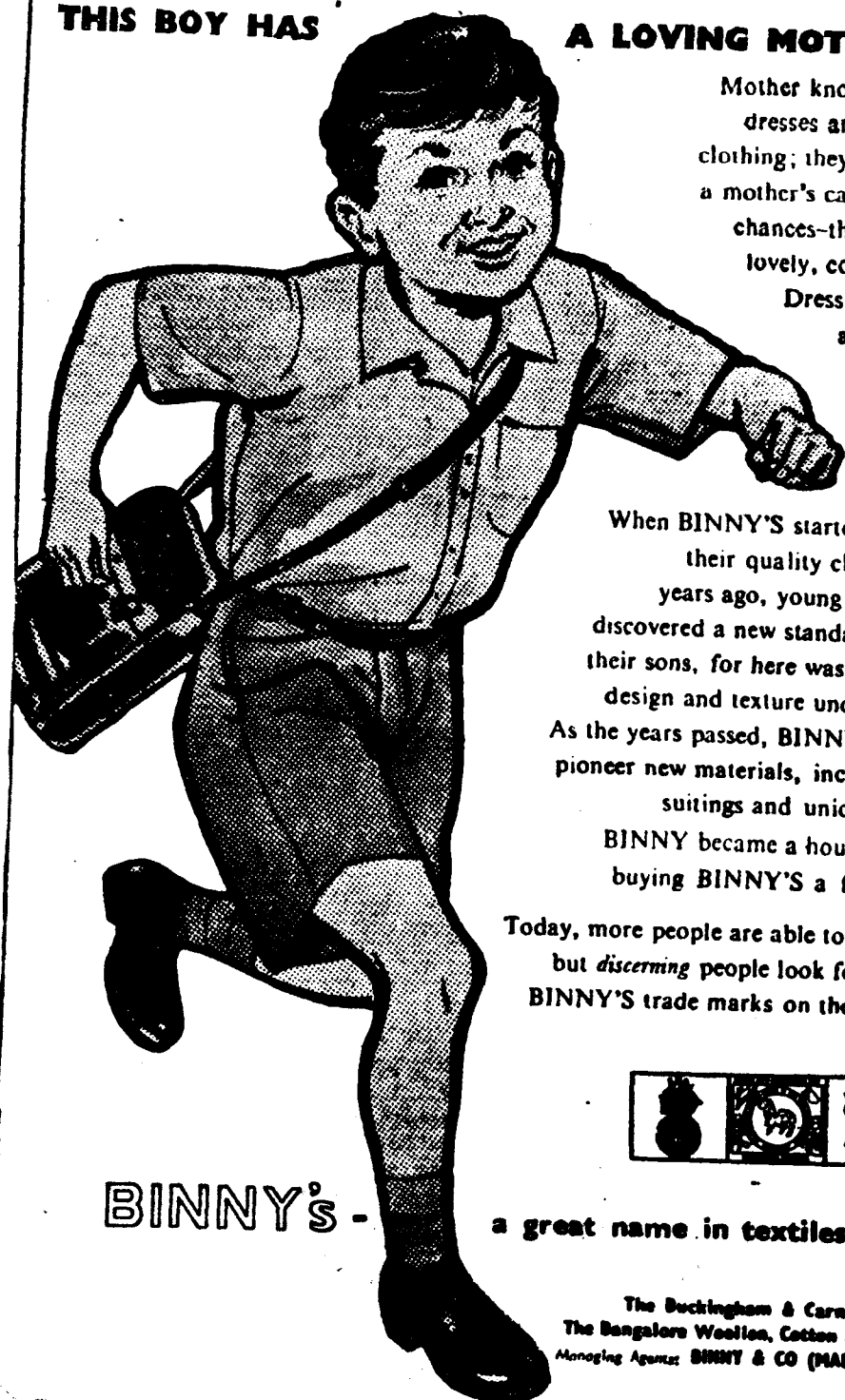


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THE FUTILITY OF LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

What do you know about war, about atomics and things so far out of the reach of common men? Thus may I be met when I speak about the futility of the conception of limited nuclear wars and the unworkability of any doctrine of graduation in what may be called the field of Total Fright. I wrote about this in *Peace News* in September 1956. But let us hear some of the latest opinions of experts now:

Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, F.R.S. who delivered a course of lectures to the Trinity College, Cambridge, on military science and who is one of the best known British experts in the use of physics and chemistry for military purposes has recently expressed his conclusion on this much debated subject in the clearest terms possible. In an article contributed to the *New Statesman*, Professor Blackett after a thorough discussion of the situation says — "We see therefore, that neither of the two conditions which must be satisfied if the West is to gain by the initiation of limited nuclear war can be proved true; it cannot be shown that the war could be kept limited, and it cannot be shown that the use of tactical atomic weapons would favour the West. The initiative by the West of tactical nuclear war might either hasten military defeat or lead to the destruction of Europe by H-bombs—or both".

After discussing the inherent dangers of the use of tactical nuclear weapons and the inhibitions which will in the event impede their use and the unreality of the concept of a 'limited nuclear war', he concludes:

"I am convinced that unless we face realistically the possible situations which we may encounter, Britain may find herself led by events beyond her control into political and military fiascos, compared with which Munich will appear, to future historians as a

monument of courage and Suez as a triumph of military planning".

What is even more important than these definitely threatening conclusions about tactical atomic weapons and limited nuclear war, Prof. Blackett exposes to public view a fallacy in the over-all picture that is commonly painted. "The main argument for spreading tactical nuclear weapons among the nations of NATO is that they would enable the West to use its superior technology to defeat the hordes of Soviet soldiers. On the other hand, the actual population of the NATO countries is some 430 millions, which is over 50 per cent higher than the 280 millions in the USSR and her European satellites". He explains that the assumed superior technology (which is however no longer real) was to compensate not for a deficiency of manpower, but for the disinclination of western peoples to serve as soldiers.

Dean Acheson, one of the outstanding men of U.S.A., a 'stern anti-Communist' in foreign policy, one who accepts dependence on NATO as an article of faith, has in a recent book "Power and Diplomacy" expressed the same views. In contrast to the general conclusions of Mr. Henry Kissinger's Harvard symposium on the subject, Dean Acheson has exposed the utter futility of the twin doctrines of the graduated deterrent and limited nuclear war which that big book advocates as a result of much study.

"It would be a disastrous mistake" says Dean Acheson, "to increase nuclear power in Europe as part of our present policy of increasing our military reliance on nuclear weapons. To do this would perpetuate the danger and horror of living under the sword of Damocles. The escape lies in the development of allied conventional forces capable of safe-

guarding Europe against attack by conventional forces".

These statements of important and very well informed witnesses testify to the significant trend among the people of the West that has resulted from the terrible wars of recent times, a great and deep-rooted unwillingness to go out as soldiers in the field and expose their lives in the old style. Hence the persistent dependence on nuclear weapons which the governments believe will reduce if not almost wholly do away with dependence on individual readiness to go to the battlefield. On the other hand, it has led governments to indulge in unreal concepts of graduated war as an escape from total suicide which is the necessary consequence of a full-scale nuclear war. The graduated deterrent and the strategy of limited nuclear war will lead to suicide, sure enough.

That people who were once eager to go to the battle-field and gloried in the feats of courage that war gave opportunities for, have now definitely become war-haters and do not believe in the glories of killing and dying, is a positive advance in the evolution of human thought and need not be cause for shame. Let us all pray that the insanity of the alternative, depending on nuclear and gadget wars will also be ultimately realised and that the nations of the world will learn to live without fear of one another taking peace for granted without asking for security arrangements and running suicidal armament races to that end.

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FROM A SCHOOL-MAGAZINE OF 2001 A.D.

In the year 1970 Hindi was declared to be the official language of the Union of India. In 1974 A.D. the decision was reversed and the Union of India reverted to English as advised by well-meaning and trusted international friends of India and the Sahitya Sabha, the ultimate authority on all language matters in India. A record of an interesting conversation was recently found in a manuscript school magazine of Kerala of the year 2001 which deals with these curious events of Indian history.

Teacher: The Moghuls came, dear boy, from Central Asia and imposed their language on the people around Delhi.

Precocious Kerala Boy: How did they impose it, sir?

Teacher: Dear boy, the people who had anything to do with the Emperor or his soldiers or his officers had to speak it and so it spread gradually, choked all the various tongues of the people with its own words and a new common city language came to be formed that way.

P.K.B.: Is that Urdu, sir?

Teacher: Exactly, boy. The great rulers of the land, Rajahs and Maharajahs learnt their Emperor's language and imitated the Delhi Court.

P.K.B.: Were they compelled to do so, sir?

Teacher: No, my boy, it was done as a fashion as you wear clothes imitating your richer class-fellow though your father is poor. Persuasion and coercion are near to one another when handled by powerful people. Then the British came and imposed their mother tongue on all the people that had anything to do with the government.

P.K.B.: How long did they stay, sir, in our country?

Teacher: O, dear boy, they stayed for two hundred years, and their government grew very big. Almost everyone had to do in some way or other with government and a very large number of people were employed by them who all learnt English.

P.K.B.: What happened after they left us, sir?

Teacher: As I told you yesterday, we got Swaraj. Then a group of people who were a large body, in fact, the largest group in our popular assembly, imposed their language on the rest of the people.

P.K.B.: Did all the people of India begin to speak that language?

Teacher: No, no. But all the important transactions of government were done in that language and all employees had to speak and write that language.

P.K.B.: Did these people come and seize government as the English did?

Teacher: No, my boy. They were people belonging to India. When we got Swaraj and votes were distributed for everybody, they formed the biggest group in parliament and the government went into their hands by the law of democracy, not by conquest.

P.K.B.: What is democracy, sir?

Teacher: Government by the majority or at least by the largest group among the representatives of the people with divided opinions.

P.K.B.: Was it not very wrong for our people to imitate the Moghuls and the English and force their language on those that did not speak it?

Teacher: But there was no other way open, my lad, — unless they continued English which was disliked as a foreigner's language and had to be discarded.

P.K.B.: Was their language as good as English?

Teacher: Not quite so rich. But don't you see a poor relation is dearer than a rich stranger.

P.K.B.: But must majority rule always mean this kind of tyranny?

Teacher: Not necessarily, my boy. We can reduce the tyranny of majority arithmetic by giving autonomy to small units and having only a federation at the top.

P.K.B.: Was not that the Constitution, then, sir?

Teacher: That was the intention of the Constitution, my boy. But it was interpreted in a different way and gradually made into a unitary government.

P.K.B.: Why, sir?

Teacher: Because the then leaders wished India to become a strong, big power. To be big, it would not do to be a weak federation of small States. The leaders felt we should be a world power and in order to be that, small States must part with their autonomy and be governed by an over-all majority in all-India.

P.K.B.: Why should they have wished to be a big power, sir? It seems so silly.

Teacher: I cannot tell you an answer to that. It is called ambition and they say it is a natural urge.

P.K.B.: Could they not curb it?

Teacher: They could have done it. But, my boy, people do not always do what they should, until something nasty happens.

C. R.

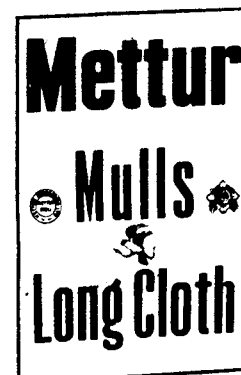
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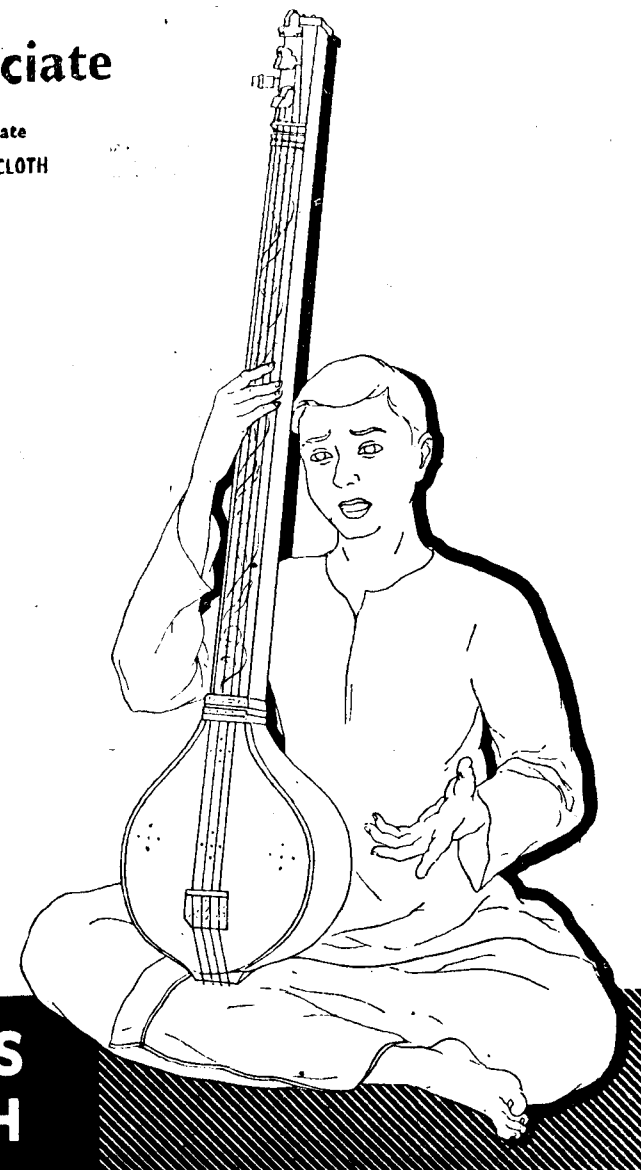
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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: The readiest comment on life at the Capital is that it is all a matter of heat and dust. For the nonce it is more a dead city. Delhi without Nehru is like the proverbial Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Or is it, in another sense, Denmark without Hamlet? But Nehru, for once, played no Hamlet when he left Delhi for holidaying in the Kulu Valley. He was in no mood — indeed he turned down the proposal — to leave behind him a Deputy Prime Minister. He found no provocation to raise one above the others officially. There would be no parting with power or sharing it with any in particular so long as he held the (Red) Fort. That is something which jars on a sense of political hegemony. It is the same story since the heroes of old. Was it not the irrepressible C. R. Reddy who reminded us of what he 'heard from Vyasa' — that even the mighty Pandavas would not share power though they did not fight shy of sharing a woman.

Further, how are things different now from those when Nehru went abroad for quite a bit of time?

To be well-connected is more than half the battle in politics, whatever be the emphasis on the patterns, Socialist or otherwise. Mr. Ashoke Kumar Sen is now a full-fledged member of the Cabinet. Six months after his arrival in Delhi as Minister of State, he was invited to meetings of the Cabinet; now his association with the Cabinet is — to use that highly flexible and serviceable word — 'regularised'. Mr. Sen is son-in-law of the Chief Justice of India, brother of the Chief Election Commissioner and a chela of the doyen of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy. The foundations of a big career having been so firmly laid, a person of Mr. Ashoke Sen's gifts cannot help advancing. A brilliant legal career with a lucrative practice paved the way for the Law Ministership in the past: it holds good now, rightly so. Mr. Sen has further fortified his position by distinguishing himself at the U.N.O. as a delegate from India — and it also seems that Mr. Nehru realises the need to build up a first-rate spokesman for replacing the over-worked and much misunderstood Mr. Krishna Menon. The path is clear for Mr. Sen: only he should play his cards well and rise equal to his opportunities.

Seldom have bye-elections proved to be so decisive as the latest two in India — the one in Kerala which the Congress lost and the other in Orissa which the Congress won. In both the cases, victory went to the ruling party, emphasising the familiar lesson in politics that no party in power with so many things at its command can be easily thrown out. The Congress took no risks; its leaders spared no pains; the organisation was in no way niggardly in making use of its resources; the hopes of the party rose high, the Congress bull having not been too much fright-

ened by the Red rag. But all that was of no avail, Kerala having clung to the Communists. The Congress lost its last chance of a come-back to office in the South-West and is now doomed to find itself in the Opposition till 1962, whatever may happen then. It was a bad blow to the High Command. The only man who is 'not surprised', they say, is the Prime Minister. It is rather a healthy sign that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is not easily frightened out of his wits by electoral reverses or other political rumbings. And it is something for the Congress to be reconciled to, that if Kerala is re-lost, Orissa is re-gained. In quite a jittery condition, Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab found fortune smiling on him. While shivering on the brink, he has been saved from the yawning chasm below. The Congress party has still some salutary lessons to learn from the developments alike in Orissa and Kerala. The Orissa situation needs careful watching and tactful handling. As for Kerala, the latest reverse must be treated by the Congress — to use the words of the Conservative Party Chief, Lord Hailsham, in a similar context — 'as a challenge, not as a disaster.'

Junius may be old-fashioned in musing over things with a certain whimsicality or in philosophising. But he must confess to being taken a trifle aback by the gushing stories pouring out of the Kulu valley, for no fault except that India's Prime Minister is having a spell of rest there, or some fun out of the ordinary. Cannot he be left to himself without his solitariness being shattered, or privacy punctured, by the world's most irritating intruders — newspaper-men and camera-men? British Prime Ministers are given to so much of holidaying. They spend their week-end, even when Europe is in flames, in the country-side — gaily fishing, though sometimes in troubled waters! But the press does not go mad over those things. Here in India, Nehru is always news, whether he shakes hands with a foreign dignitary or cuts jokes with a rural belle. Cannot he go about an apple-orchard (where

May 31, 1958

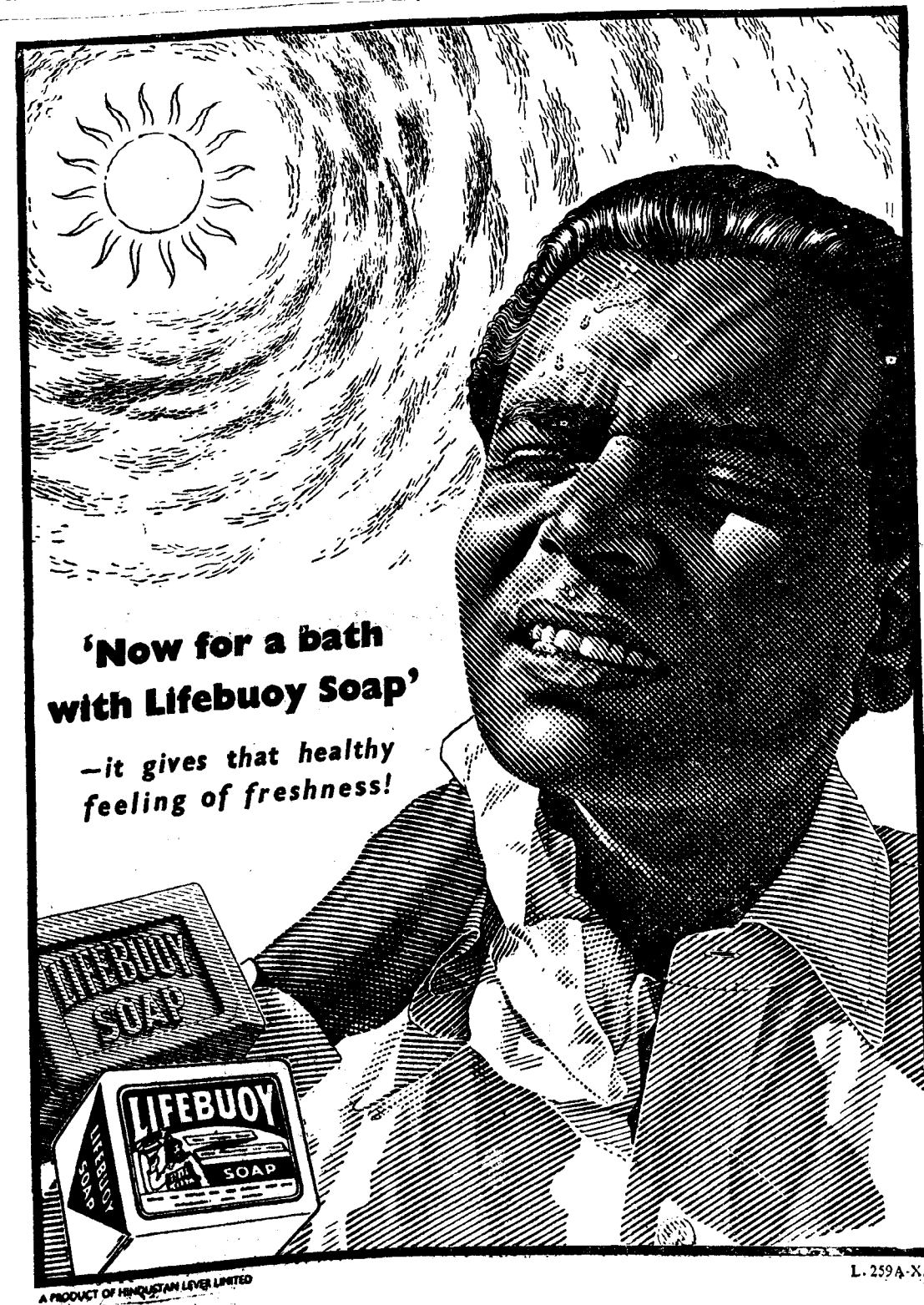
after all there is no question of upsetting any apple-cart) without being pursued by the inquisitive, ubiquitous press-reporter? After all, it is to avoid seeing the same familiar faces that one pines for, and goes on, a holiday. Mr. Nehru should protest against being too much publicised and lionised even at such a time when

he prefers to be the master of his time and soul and hold communion with the stars. But what does all this really mean, and how does it reflect on us as a people? It means that we are a crude or an immature lot; it means we have 'the souls of flunkeys at heart', to run after celebrities at this giddy pace. It

is absurd that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru dare not pluck an apple inside an orchard without being reported on the front-page. Junius would rather like him to be left alone for the present, cooling down in Kulu, musing that, while the mountain sheep are fatter, the valley sheep are sweeter!



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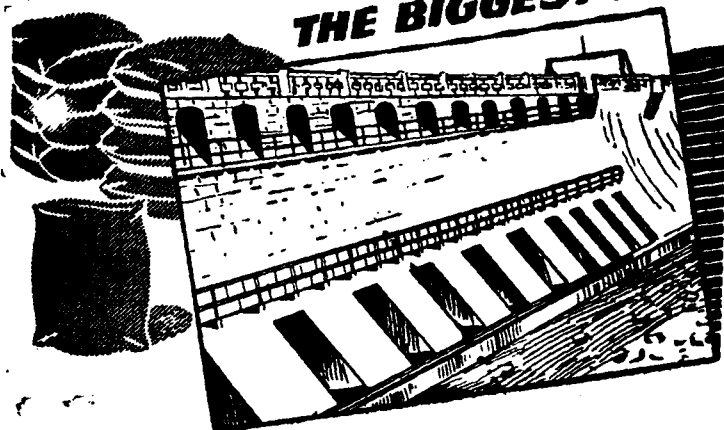
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RAJAHMUNDRY.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: On Thursday the 22nd instant Shri J. C. Jain, Sheriff of Bombay, opened an exhibition of 40 years of Soviet cinematography. This exhibition gave a vivid idea of the progress and development of the Soviet film under such masters as Pudovkin and Eisenstein. But still I felt that the permanent exhibition of stills in Mosfilm Studio in Moscow on the 3rd floor of the main building is far more graphic and vivid than the exhibition held in Bombay.

While inaugurating the exhibition Shri J. C. Jain said that the Soviet films had made great technical and artistic advance but they lacked entertainment. This criticism is valid and as Dr. Baliga later pointed out the Soviet film-makers were now conscious of this defect. But Mr. Prokonov in his speech stressing the development of the Soviet film did not even once allude to the word 'entertainment'. His contention was that the Soviet cinema has served the Soviet people and the new Socialist State in its various phases.

The Soviet cinema which earned international laurels in the early thirties for the daring film technique of Eisenstein and Pudovkin is now claiming international honours again. Last year at Cannes, '41st', a story of love between a Red Army girl and a counter-revolutionary White Russian official won a prize for its screenplay; this year the Soviet film 'Cranes Are Flying' (When The Storks Pass) has won the Grand Prix at Cannes.

'The Cranes Are Flying' was being shot in Mosfilm studio during last May when I happened to be there. Later, the picture was released and won highest plaudits. In India it was shown at a private show to some of the film personalities like Bimal Roy and Dilip Kumar, who were both greatly impressed by the film. It depicts a simple but poignant story of young lovers separated by war and the girl's faith that her lover will return to

her, though she has been told that he is dead. According to all critics, it is the most tender, human and poetic film to be made against the background of the last war and it fully deserves the prize awarded to it. One hopes that at least this picture will be screened all over India.

Though 'Paradesi' and 'Paras Pather' did not get any prizes, both of them won plaudits from critics. But as I had already pointed out, this time there was a tough competition and the best picture won the prize. As to the Swedish film 'Jungle saga', the Indians who saw it at Cannes did not feel very happy, as they felt that the kind of tribal life which the picture depicted was out-of-date and had no relation to present day reality. Even the Maurian tribe of today is not as superstitious or as primitive as this picture would lead us to believe.

Incidentally, at the exhibition of Soviet cinematography it was suggested that a similar exhibition of Indian cinematography should be held in Moscow. And the organisers of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society have promised to organise such an exhibition.

Pure slapstick comedies are a rarity for the Indian screen. Most of our pictures have comic interludes; but full-length comedies are still rarely produced and melodrama continues to be the

mainstay of our productions. Hence 'Super Pictures' 'Naya Paisa' which offers unadulterated fun is most welcome.

The picture is based on a story by Adi Marazban who has written many successful comedies for the stage and radio in Gujarati and English. The story is full of hilarious complications arising out of the exploits of two friends—Ramesh and Bansi who want to inherit their respective uncle's and aunt's fortunes.

Ramesh, who is married, pretends to be dead and poses as his brother Ganesh, who has been away to Africa and to whom the uncle has bequeathed the property. But as luck would have it, Ganesh himself arrives on the scene. In addition there is Johnny, who resembles both Ramesh and Ganesh and also is posing as Ganesh. With Johnny Walker playing all the three roles, you can imagine how hilarious and amusing could be these complications, which end with the uncle deciding not to give away his fortune but giving gifts to the three claimants. The mistaken identity also creates romantic complications between Ramesh's wife played by Chand Usmani and Johnny's wife played by Shamma.

In addition, Bansi who is trying to woo his aunt, also gets involved in triple complications. For to his aunt, he passes off Ramesh's wife as his own wife while he loves Rajni for whose sake Ganesh wants to kill him. And there is Miss Mary who pretends to be his wife at the behest of Rajani's father. These compli-

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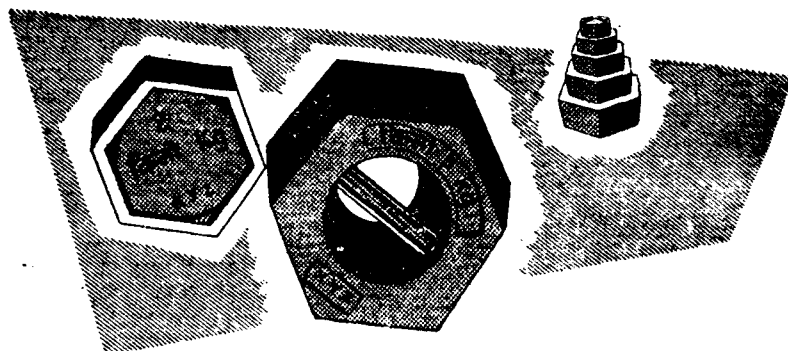
cations are amusingly resolved in a climax in which all the five characters appear.

The songs intrude in such a film—and though they are tuned in popular style by S. Mohinder, they leave no impression. Even the dances, including Manohar

Deepak's Bhangra dance, appear superfluous. If the direction and scenario by Aspi had been as smart as the story, and the production not so slipshod, 'Naya Paisa' would have been a real laugh-riot. Yet, there are many hilarious moments in it to make it

enjoyable, with both Johnny Walker and Agha in good form. Chand Usmani is ill at ease in a comedy of this type. But Nadira, Tun Tun, Shammi, Babu Raje, Krishna Kumari, Mumtaz Ali and Aroon seem to be in the right spirit.

CHANGING OVER TO THE METRIC SYSTEM



India has at present no common system of weights and measures. There are not less than 143 systems in use. This multiplicity gives room for malpractices. The introduction of a uniform system throughout the country based on Metric Weights and Measures will be very convenient and make calculations extremely easy, especially because the country has already adopted the decimal coinage. The Standards of Weights and Measures Act, 1956 has laid down the basic units under the metric system. The reform will be gradual so as to cause minimum inconvenience to the people.

Even after its introduction in an area or a trade, the traditional weights and measures will be permitted to be used for a period of three years.

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MULTIPLES
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10 quintals or
1,000 kilograms = 1 metric tonne

BEFORE THE FOOTLIGHTS: A DRAMA DIARY

By S. V. RAJAGOPAL DASS

S. Mukerjee is the man of the moment. He has made headline news with his resignation from Filmistan and with the news of forming his new concern Filmalaya. S. Mukerjee is reported to have signed at least six heroes, viz. Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor, Dev Anand, Pradeep Kumar, Ajit and Sunil Dutt. He is reported to have contacted many of his 'old' associates among writers, directors, lyricists and music directors to work for him; and he is reported to be negotiating with Mehboob Studios, Bombay and Prabhat Studios, Poona, for the actual production. Mukerjee will introduce many new-comers and new heroines in his pictures.

Will all these big plans materialise? If S. Mukerjee gives up his lethargy, he is best equipped to put these plans into action. As it is, S. Mukerjee has made more hits than any other single producer during the last eighteen years. He must have made by now at least two dozen silver jubilee hits from 'Bandhan' to 'Tumsa Nahi Dekha'.

S. Mukherjee, a double graduate, began his career as a sound recordist in Bombay Talkies under the leadership of Himanshu Rai. From sound recordist he became a scenarist in 'Kangan' and after the death of Himanshu Rai, he was elevated to the rank of producer. He was the first 'paid' producer in Hollywood fashion.

In 1943, he left Bombay Talkies, along with Rai Bahadoor Chunilal and others and formed Filmistan Ltd. Later, he sold his shares to Shri Jalan but continued to be Filmistan's controller of productions. But of late, he has not been taking any active interest in production and there were constant rumours of his quitting Filmistan. The rumours have now come true, and we can now look forward to another 'big' concern which will make popular hits in Mukerjee's Filmalaya whose first picture will go on floors in June.

Shri S. S. Vasan who was in Bombay in connection with the Guild meeting is reported to have decided to make a color picture

There is one person, said a playwright recently, for a role. If my memory does not fail me, I made my first (and I suspect last) appearance on the stage as Dhritarashtra's spouse. Reports reached me later that the impersonation was rather nice, the sudden stage shivers having been correctly interpreted as a characteristic of frail age.

I do not think I had any so-called stage fear at the time. Well, even if I had, I did not notice it. This is no boastfulness, I assure you, but just blindness: I both loved and lived that role. I have a pet theory that the authentic inspiration for Natya Sastra could be the cat. There is a Telugu proverb which refers to pussy shutting the eyes whilst gulping the milk. It seems to me that more and more plays with blind characters are the desideratum if the theatre movement has to attract more and more beginners and spread. Amateur theatre groups ought to include in their repertoire, at least one play with a blind hero (or heroine).

In Delhi, a theatre-enthusiast friend told me some time ago, theatre associations are often a bigger draw with women than the male clerical fraternity seeking membership. Anyone knowing something of Delhi will have no doubt. A sneer from the cynic: female figures do not a theatre make.

What was the Indian tradition? Who first played Sakuntala whom Dushyanta describes so sensuously at first sight?

Scholars trace the existence of Deva-Dasis, whose vocation was dance and drama, to before the third century B.C. Participation of ladies is also suggested in the divine origin of Sanskrit drama. Brahma, we learn, sent Apsaras to join Bharata in the open-

based on 'Good Earth'. He is negotiating with Nargis and Kishore to act in the picture.

air play staged "at the Banner Festival of Indra". But to descend from the heavens. What was the status, socially and professionally, of the Telugu and Tamil stages?

Feminine roles in the early Telugu dramatic performances were monopolised by highly talented actors like Jaggaraju, Sanjeeva Rao, Anjaya and Sthanam. In the earlier *Bhamakalapamu* or *Veedhinatakamu* there could not have been a considerable number, if at all, of female artistes.

"In the eighties and nineties of the last century", we read, "a drama in the Tamil country was something to be looked down upon... No parent in any decent family would willingly allow a member of his family of any age or sex to see a play". Times surely have changed.

They also serve who stand and wait, Shaw once joked to an actress playing a bit part. They also serve who stand in the wings and prompt. But watch your prompter. The powerful voice of a prompter once diverted my attention throughout a performance from all the lines of all the players. If the prompter is a shrewd student of drama, he can conveniently bypass the embarrassing moments of the cast by omitting the cue here, by 'blue-pencilling' a portion there. Producers make the best prompters, playwrights the worst. Anyway, the wings are a key post and it is theatre snobbery to think that prompting is anybody's job. The King of Tagore's *Red Oleanders* is the Prompter as Hero.

Have you ever appeared before the footlights? If you have, don't you feel that you have given some of the more brilliant performances of your career not on the stage but in the study? Some people consider certain good plays come off better solo than staged. Certain characters, I concede, do. The best Prospero or Romeo is oneself.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"INDEPENDENT THINKING", ITS LIMITATIONS

Sir,—Rajaji's analysis of the immediate necessity for an effective opposition party that "thinks differently . . . appeals to reason and acts on the firm faith that India can be governed well" to check the absolute power of the ruling party and place "our free commonwealth on its two feet" and to draw a proper balance in party administration, is, to say the least, masterly. But in the course of developing this thesis in his article "Collapse of Independent Thinking" (SWARAJYA, 10th May) he has made certain general observations which may be described as disputable.

"Men in a state amounting to tutelage have no chance to develop towards maturity," he says. If the men referred to here mean the citizens (and not only party men) then we have definitely greater freedom today in expressing our wishes through elected representatives every five years and also through the Press. There are more gentlemen of the Press today catering to the mind and heart of the masses through varied and wide propaganda than at any other time. What else is the chance to develop towards political maturity?

Rajaji continues, "No theory of civil life, no ism will work satisfactorily unless the citizens in the democracy are willing to undertake the responsibility of thinking and judging for themselves." What have the people of Kerala done in enthroning a Communist regime? Have they been tutored to do it? Have not the several cases that have been lodged and are still continuously pouring into the Supreme Court challenging the various acts of the executive, reflected willingness for independent thinking on the part of the citizens? The 'parrot culture' is definitely on the wane in Indian politics.

Talking of the Avadi formula, as subsequently amended, Rajaji complains that "there is more than one road to national welfare." He has not mentioned the

alternatives but referred merely to Gandhiji's doctrine of trusteeship adumbrated before independence. Gandhiji's advice to the monied men during the transitory period, to hold wealth in trust or in a fiduciary capacity, on behalf of the people, will always remain only an ideal. Things were quite different during Gandhiji's days. He had not visualized U.S. military aid to our dear neighbour Pakistan, putting us on the defensive and making every minute of our national existence sacred to industrial development and self-sufficiency in food so as to increase the defensive potential of our country. Are we to honour alternatives to Socialist planning by means of the five year plans merely because the other roads were formulated by leaders of the past and were good only for those times? We can as well adopt the benevolent monarchy advocated by Koutilya of revered memory.

The whole essay of Rajaji is pervaded by a plea for independent thinking by the people: "What I plead for is a climate of independent thinking among citizens". But a certain amount of obedience to expressly or tacitly accepted principles, and substantial subservience to the leaders after the preliminaries of discussion and agreement are over, is necessary in the interest of social stability and progress. "At times one feels almost weary at the vision of a truly Millite society, thronged with eternally disputing citizens, each submitting the light that is in him to the rival luminosities of other minds with a well considered agnosticism as to the validity of their own beliefs and a humble readiness to recognize the truth of other men's contentions" (R. B. McCullum.).

Since the Congress party manifesto contains all the good essences of other parties and has also become a bundle of assorted codes of action, it is not necessary merely for the sake of indepen-

dent thinking to say "your policy is wrong and must be re-examined." Bangalore. S. P. VASUDEVAN

STATE-AIDED BIRTH CONTROL

Sir,—The only advantage so far claimed for family planning is that strangling babes unborn (birth control amounts to that, does it not?) may give us some economic relief. This claim itself is open to question because there are any number of natural factors such as geological changes and depletion of the earth's fertility, which may confound our calculations.

The most agonising social malaise in the United States today is that of artificial insemination. Ever increasing number of cases are reported of women bearing children they do not owe to their legitimate spouses. It was decades ago that the U.S. took to the practice of birth control on a national scale and gave it the stamp of civilized recognition. Putting two and two together, is it irrelevant if one wonders whether the monstrous phenomenon of artificial insemination has not its root in long practice of birth control methods including sterilisation, all of them currently being introduced in India.

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Our ancient law-givers discovered a code of values, which has preserved society through several thousand turbulent years. Milleniums of political and social vicissitudes have not sufficed to shake people's faith in the ideal of *Dharma*, nor even to blur their vision of it. With such immense values, our Government often tinkers very cavalierly for fleeting political gains.

Until the biological consequences of birth control are safely ascertained, the Government should stop playing ducks and drakes with public funds to carry out quixotic schemes of stifling births. I understand that the Madras Government is subsidizing families of men who agree to

sterilise themselves. Let this horror — and at public expense — be stopped at once.
Calcutta. R. MANI

TEXT BOOK MUDDLE IN ANDHRA

Sir,—Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, has announced that text books in Telugu and Sanskrit for the S.S.L.C. and Matriculation 1959 examinations would be sold to students and book-sellers also.

But the Andhra University, in a letter dated 16th April addressed to book-sellers states that S.S.L.C. and Pre-university and B.A. texts published by the University will not be sold to book-sellers. They expect every head-

master or Principal to collect the cost of the text from their pupils and remit it in advance, and get the books in due course.

The Andhra Pradesh Government also don't sell text books to book-sellers. As a result of this, last year parents were obliged to purchase S.S.L.C. Telugu texts from S.V. University, Sanskrit from Madras University, English from Andhra University, Hindi from a publisher at Madras, one English non-detailed text from the Andhra Government at Hyderabad, and another English non-detailed text from a publisher at Madras. In each case, the parent was obliged to remit the cost of the book and postage for it by M.O. and wait for weeks — and in some cases months too if it were from the Government — and the pupils were subjected to great inconvenience. Had the text books been sold through book-sellers, the parent need not have paid a pie more than the published price of each book whereas by getting the books from different quarters he had to pay a minimum of 12 annas towards postage, besides three annas for M.O. commission.

BHAVARAJU NARASIMHA RAO
Masulipatam.

TRUNK CALL BILLS

Sir,—There was a news item recently in the local newspapers that, with effect from the 1st of May 1958, direct disconnection of telephones will be resorted to if trunk call bills are not paid within 15 days (60 days in the case of Government subscribers) of the date of issue of the bills.

Telephone subscribers alone cannot be held responsible for trunk call charges remaining unpaid for a long time, because, the telephone authorities take their own time to issue the relevant trunk call bills. I learn that, so far as Madras City is concerned, the trunk call bills are not issued for months together and in some cases, the authorities had to be reminded about the issue of the bills, even more than once. This kind of delay causes much inconvenience to the subscribers as, owing to efflux of time, they find it difficult to trace these calls

from their own records and verify the claims.

In the interests of both the Department and the subscribers, it is quite essential to issue the trunk call bills promptly; then only will the Department be justified in resorting to such a drastic step as direct disconnection.

V. KRISHNASWAMI SARMA
Madras.

LUST FOR POWER

Sir,—Your leading article on *Devicolam* (SWARAJYA May 24) is timely, it hits the nail on the head at many points and, like your paper, it renders inestimable service. The unfortunate thing is that there are not today a sufficient number of people with public spirit and moral courage who in the present times are prepared to speak out or express in print what they really think. Hence *suppresio veri suggestio falsi*. That is why the Prime Minister and his political henchmen, but especially Mr. Nehru, are by now accustomed to treat with scant courtesy, scorn and even contempt anyone who dares to differ with them or will not subscribe servilely to their many fads, pet delusions and aversions. So far Mr. Nehru has been able to get away with it simply because of all the fulsome flattery which is being constantly heaped on him and also because of the aura of blind, uncritical adulation with which a host of self-seekers, sycophants and hypocrites invest him. All this has resulted in the Prime Minister being inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity. As the poet says,

*He has no use for power
Except to show his might.
He gives no heed to judgment
Unless it prove him right.*

The election result at *Devicolam* signifies not so much a victory for the Communists as an unequivocal defeat for the Congress. A few more such defeats in quick succession would do Mr. Nehru, the Congress and the country a power of good.

The retort to the critics of Mr. Nehru and the Congress that but for Mr. Nehru the administration of the country would completely disintegrate only serves to under-

line (1) a slave mentality; (2) a complete bankruptcy of good leadership and (3) that those who have such a defeatist outlook are totally unfit for any measure of self-government. In fact, the administration is already disintegrating for which Mr. Nehru and the Congress party could neither escape nor repudiate their share of responsibility. Mr. Nehru's and his Cabinet's sympathetic leanings towards world-Communism, as particularly reflected in their foreign policy and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's bad temper and flamboyant exhibitions at UNO conferences, are no secrets. Well might then the Communists in India pose the question: "If Mr. Nehru and his political colleagues are so enchanted with the Communist regime in Russia, China and other foreign lands, why do they fight shy of it in India? Is it because of their insatiable greed for power?" Were it not manifest before now, surely within the last 10 years it has become quite self-evident in this country that the lust for power is far more intoxicating and harmful than the strongest liquor.

CAPTAIN K. K. LALKAKA
Bangalore.

TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION

Sir,—Sri Ranganatha Swami temple at Srirangam was closed for public worship exactly at the scheduled time, viz. 5-30 p.m. on 5th May 1958, but opened again only at 7 p.m., half an hour behind the schedule. A large number of people began to gather during this period. The staff posted to control the crowd didn't care to regulate them through the queue system. A batch of about ten persons were taken in through another way and the already waiting crowd were thus detained for another half an hour. When the sepy in uniform was questioned about this preferential treatment, he replied that a party consisting of some Government officials was allowed under the special orders of his superiors. On witnessing this sad state of affairs, a gentleman who had come to Srirangam with his family all the way from Bombay

to offer worship, returned dejected without seeing the deity.

The worshipping public are much agitated over this.

N. S. RAJAGOPALAN

Srirangam.

ELECTION ETHICS

Sir,—During General Elections last year, you wrote in your journal that the proper method of facing the electorate for the Ministers would be to resign their ministership and contest as ordinary citizens. Your views were identical with those of our revered leader, Rajaji, and were shared by many of your readers.

The Kerala Communists have assured the people that in order to ensure a fair and free election in the *Devicolam* by-election, no member of the Kerala Cabinet will enter the election arena, although it is only a by-election and may even cost them their Government should they lose it. Instead of following the good principle put forth by the Reds, there is, on the other hand, a concentration of Ministers from other States including Mr. Nehru, canvassing for the Congress!

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PAKISTAN'S THREAT

It does not take much time for a policy to produce its natural results whatever may be the intentions of the people concerned as to why they followed that policy. Ghulam Abbas's threat to lead a volunteer army across the ceasefire line to 'liberate' Kashmir is the natural consequence of the American policy of military aid to Pakistan and of the climate of violence inaugurated by the French army in Algeria and Corsica. Just as France has yielded to intimidation and insurrection which help to solve the moral dilemma in Algeria, Pakistan can easily take cover under "volunteer" anti-Indian enthusiasm and answer any objections made by America to misuse of arms aid. Facts are ever an entangled mass and aggression becomes defence and defence becomes aggression according to the exigencies of circumstances and the bias of the judges.

When any Government is in difficulties with its people, when respect and affection show a tendency to drop on account of misrule or inefficiency or political folly, the usual strategy followed is to seize hold of an external problem and to aggravate popular feeling against an outside nation, thereby turning the energy and the attention of people in a direction away from the country. When one cannot gain the affection of one's own people one seeks to find such matter for their hatred as might lead them into enterprises abroad.

which weaken them and fortify one's own authority. This is as true of modern governments as of the kings of old. The trick very often serves well and is highly attractive to ambitious statesmen. But all such tactics are ultimately doomed to failure and to recoil with disaster. The policy of internal good government is the only right policy for a king or a party that holds power, not a policy based on hatred of an outsider. If America wishes well of Pakistan, it will act in time and prevent such folly as Ghulam Abbas has conceived and which if unchecked is bound to receive the secret support of the Pakistan Government. This is not the time for letting loose ill-considered schemes of hatred or a gamble with fate.

The world situation is explosive and the explosions of this age are a thousand-fold more calamitous than those of the past. No lover of Pakistan who is not a mere partisan but who wishes well for that nation would encourage what is bound to cause ultimate injury. Peace is what is wanted for progress, not war. Any Asiatic people that place their affairs in the hands of the God of War will bring about their certain enslavement to the Western nations that supply them with martial equipment. Do the people of Pakistan wish to lose their independence? It is only then that they could follow Ghulam Abbas's advice.

What is indicated above is as

true of India as of Pakistan. Belligerent slogans are easily uttered, but if seriously accepted they will lead to the loss of independence; be it India or Pakistan, the law of cause and effect will operate in the same way.

Political Recession

General de Gaulle's dictatorship will not end in six months in conformity with the vote of the French National Assembly. Having once abandoned control of the government, the legislature will be in no better position six months hence to recover the sovereignty it has now relinquished. The General's military rule in supersession of parliamentary democracy will go on as long as there is no superior power in the land to challenge and overcome it.

It is in Africa that the most disastrous effects of the new regime will manifest themselves, though they will not be limited to that continent and may indeed ignite a world-wide conflagration. It is in defence of French imperialism in Algeria that General de Gaulle has risen to power with the aid of the army. But Algeria has ceased to be a domestic matter of France capable of being dealt with in isolated fashion by the French Government alone. The whole of North Africa has become interested in Algerian independence, and it can no longer be prejudiced or denied without antagonising Al-

geria's North African neighbours and other freedom-loving nations in other continents.

The United States held a leading position among the world's freedom-loving nations when President Roosevelt threw in his weight in favour of Indian independence towards the close of the second world war. Since then America has receded into a doubtful position in the moral leadership of the world, and now President Eisenhower's gratuitous blessing bestowed on the French General has thrown America into the very morass of pro-imperialist European reaction. It has super-added a new political recession to the already subsisting economic one.

The Lost Leaders

When war is over, grass flattened by battalions marching grows straight again; the split earth heals; the wounds on beaches, forests, tanks and hillsides disappear.

Not so with men. Good men die first, in war: the tall, the fit, the unstunted, the patriotic. When they go, something of the nation's future goes too.

This, observers now remind us, is part—not all, but part—of the tragedy of chaotic, splintered France. A million and a half French soldiers were lost in World War I, out of 40 million people; others, by lakhs, in World War II, the youth and the civilised promise.

A former correspondent in France writes: "Some years ago, during a critical period in the life of France, a former premier was asked where were the men who could solve the pressing problems of the time. 'Alas, monsieur', he replied, 'they sleep on the field of honour'."

JOHN E. FRAZER.

Drums are Out-dated

In an age of atomic power, transcontinental missiles, and air travel in the stratosphere, beating the ancient drums of national exclusiveness is a sign not of intellectual vitality but of the reverse.

SIR LLEWELLYN WOODWARD



A PONGAL GIFT

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

Kuppuswami had saved two rupees out of the money his father sent him every month. It was now four months since he joined his college in Madras. With this sum he wanted to buy some beautiful little Pongal gift for Alli, his cousin in the village, his maternal uncle's daughter, and he was gazing at the things displayed in the shops in China Bazaar as he walked along.

He moved slowly from shop-front to shop-front, wondering "What would Alli like? Is there anything that may be useful to her?"

The shop-keepers accosted him in the usual fashion, shouting, "Come here, Sir. Here are good fountain-pens going cheap!" "Here, Sir, is the very brush you want!" "Come here, Sir! What may I offer you?" "Here is beautiful scent. Don't go to the other shop!"

Kuppuswami walked on, looking silently. None of the things he saw seemed to be what Alli would like.

The shop-keepers made fun of him, saying, "Here is a country youth. Don't you see?"

He went back to the hostel. He took a piece of paper and wrote this letter:

"My dear Alli, I wanted to send you something you would like and I looked into all the shops. But I could find nothing suitable. The only gift I can send you is my heart and I can't send it by post, can I?"

And he posted the letter so as to reach her for Pongal.

But what gift can equal love? What gift bought in a shop can Alli like as much as her own cousin's love?

When the postman delivered the letter, Alli received it and

read it. Without telling anyone about it, she kept it safe beneath her clothes in her own box. The following day she took it out, read it again and put it back again in the box. She did the same the following day.

Somehow her little brother Muthuswami discovered the secret. The box had no lock. He took out the letter, read it and put it back in the box. "Mother", he said, "Cousin Kuppu has written a letter to Alli".

Mother laughed, and sent him off, saying, "How does it interest you? You mustn't rag your sister."

Alli's father took counsel with his wife. "Why should we not finish Alli's marriage this Chitrai month?"

Kuppuswami's mother objected, "Where is the hurry? The boy has not completed his course at college."

Parents are only too ready to postpone things. They don't understand. They make too much of "study". And why should one's study stop a marriage? Where is the conflict between the two?

Kuppu, thinking all the time of Alli, neglected his books and failed in his examination.

But next year, he was more careful and worked harder. Earlier, he had neglected his study while thinking of Alli, but now he paid more attention to his lessons because of her. Wonderful is the force of love and many are the ways in which it works. Now Kuppu passed his examination. His parents were pleased. Alli was even more pleased. She was as happy as if she had herself written the papers and passed the examination.



Sotto Voce

The Unquiet Isle

For over a week the predominantly Tamil-speaking Eastern and Northern Provinces of Ceylon were given over to goonda terrorism. The security measures that have been taken in the last few days have, it is claimed, now completely succeeded in restoring authority. The official drive was two-pronged. The Government, with impressive impartiality, banned two political organisations, one speaking for practically the entire Tamil population in the Island, the other spear-heading the opposition of the Sinhalese jingoes to the Tamil demands for linguistic equality.

The other part of the Government offensive has been directed exclusively at the Tamils. The ground was prepared for this by the dark hints thrown out by the Premier, Mr. Bandaranayake, a hidden hand at work. We have since been told that civilian gangs, directed by some mysterious organisation, had raided police stations and got away with lots of arms. The Government's order to the Tamil-speaking people of Batticala to surrender all firearms, licensed and unlicensed, in their possession has now been followed by a similar order on the Jaffna Tamils. The Sinhalese, it must be presumed, have never seen a gun and if one was put into their hands would not know how to use it.

Their bare hands were however sufficient to pull down people from running trams and beat them up, ambush peaceful citizens on their way to a party meet, hold up office workers in front of their offices and pummel and punch them if they failed in "language tests" of the goondas' devising. In Colombo, the capital of the Island, chaos was let loose for a couple of days. These tactics were in fact so effective that of the 2000 delegates who attended the Federal Party annual confer-

ence at Vavuniya only a hardy three came from the Eastern Province. But, strangely enough, most of the casualties from the police firing in the present disturbances were among the Tamils.

The Tamils, whose sense of humour has seen them through many a grimmer tragedy, were no doubt reminded by the attempt to prevent the conference, of the proverb about the foolish woman who hoped to stop a marriage by hiding the bride's comb. The conference resolved to start non-violent Satyagraha from 15th August and to withdraw the Tamils' representative on the Joint Select Committee which is to go into the question of amending the Constitution. They have had ample provocation, God knows. The Island's Premier, having so solemnly promised that Tamil shall be recognised as the official language equally with Sinhalese, clutched at a flimsy excuse for going back on the pledge.

It was no doubt a childish stunt that the Tamils had launched against the use of the symbol "Sri" on motor name plates. That, incidentally, is not a Sinhalese word at all; it is good old Samskrit to which our eminently Tamil Government in Madras has given its official imprimatur. It was all too reminiscent of the D. K. campaign for the erasure of Hindi name-boards at railway stations. But this, as well as the more serious demand that forms one of the four planks of the Federal Party's platform—"cessation of Sinhalese colonisation of traditionally Tamil areas"—reflects an exacerbation of feeling for which the unbridled chauvinism of the Sinhalese is directly responsible.

But it must be also said that the old Tamils of Ceylon helped to feed that chauvinism. They held themselves ostentatiously aloof

when the Ceylon Government began waging a war of attrition against the large population of more recent Tamil settlers from the mainland. That population had been induced by the most solemn pledges of fair treatment to come to the Island. Its hard and honest labour had helped to turn its barren uplands into a garden. The Sinhalese ruling junta wanted to throw it out like a sucked orange. The old Tamils had a duty not as Tamils but as fair-minded men concerned for national honour, to protest against this injustice. But they kept mum. There was calculation behind their silence. As a Tamil judge, an intelligent man of the world, smilingly put it to me, "We old Tamils are content with our lot and we don't want to thrust our heads into other people's quarrels".

Rather late they have realised their mistake. The Federal Party now stands for the enfranchisement of the Tamil-speaking plantation workers of Indian origin. And it demands a Federal form of Government for the Island and parity for Tamil with Sinhalese as the official language. It was unnecessary for the leader of the Party glibly to falsify history by comparing Sinhalese imperialism to "the extreme communalism of the majority in India that brought about the emergence of Pakistan". If Sinhalese statesmen had been awake to it, conditions in the Island were peculiarly favourable to the repetition of the American experiment on a small scale. They could have helped to evolve an amalgam owing loyalty to a common patriotism and a common way of life, by-passing the disruptive forces of linguism. They lost that chance; but conciliation is still not ruled out.

VIGNESWARA

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SIDELIGHTS : : .

A fine tribute to the contribution of the working journalist to the sturdy independence of the British Press is paid by Francis Williams in his book *Press, Parliament and People*. He says :

Most of them (the working journalists) are always forgetting that what is important is circulation and instead conduct themselves as if what mattered was the public interest and they were its appointed guardians. They give to their newspapers a loyalty that really belongs to the public and involve themselves in struggles for justice, in delving for the truth, in the exposure of evils, in campaigns for this and that, which owe practically nothing to their proprietors' desire for dividends and practically everything to their own journalistic passion.

The working journalist has in fact made the popular newspaper infinitely better than it has any right to be simply by stubbornly refusing to learn the facts of commercial life. Long may he continue to do so.

A long tradition of devotion to the public interest has made the British Press a power to reckon with, and a valuable ingredient in this power of the Press has been the professional character of the British journalist. He kept

himself aloof from the lure of popularity and the blandishments of authority and often sacrificed himself in the performance of duty.

The Press in India was in its origin an instrument of propaganda against foreign rule. The newspaper-proprietor bore the brunt of this propaganda. He incurred great risks. Those who evaded danger were put down as weaklings of poor spirit. To be adventurous was almost equal to being patriotic. Prakasam and Sadanand excelled in the sort of dare-devilry that commanded admiration in those days as an expression of uncompromising anti-imperial zest. Later when Sri Goenka entered the newspaper world, he took a leading part in the August movement and carried his protest against governmental authority to the extent of organising a suspension of newspapers.

Under pressure of the national political aspiration employers and their staffs worked unitedly for

common purposes with a sense of fraternity. The conditions of service were hopeless, but there was no struggle for economic improvement. Adversity was accepted cheerfully as an inevitable sacrifice at the altar of patriotic duty. Emoluments and other amenities were more attractive in the Anglo-Indian section of the Press and in Indian newspapers that kept out of the national movement. But these did not command public and political prestige and the high-spirited among the youth of the day were not drawn to them.

After the advent of freedom the newspaper set-up in the country has changed. The atmosphere of dedication to national service that once belonged to journalism has left it for the moment, and in its place we find an enormous preoccupation over wages and privileges. This is a natural consequence of the greater prosperity that has come to newspapers and also the closer approximation that has taken place between the proprietors and the politicians that have come into governmental authority. The prevailing conflicts have put a great strain on the loyalty of the journalist to his newspaper and to the Press itself as an embodiment of integrity and freedom.

There is no doubt that by organised combination, employees in the service of newspapers will be able to extract to the full just and reasonable terms even from unwilling and obstinate proprietors. But the great danger in the present situation lies in the tendency of the parties concerned to rush to the Government for support. A journalists' lobby hanging round Ministers is as objectionable as a proprietors' lobby. Governmental authority with its easy facilities for tyranny and abuse of power, is what the Press has to keep itself most ready to contend with, as the custodian of the public interest. It is therefore essential for the preservation of the sanctity of the primary function of the Press that alliances with Government and its members

(Continued on Page 15)



THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

By VIJAYARAMARAJU, M.P.

The future of Socialism is of prime importance. The general break-down of the Congress Party necessitates the creation of an alternative democratic party which would be ready to take over the administration of the country. The formation of such a party under the banner of Socialism needs critical examination.

Today in the country more than one Socialist Party exists. In the ranks of these parties the ruling Congress Party also generally finds a place. Thus great confusion exists in the mind of the public.

The Congress Party's avowed interest in Socialism has never been demonstrated in practice. Even after the passing of the Avadi thesis, no attempt has been made to indoctrinate the rank and file of the Congress. It must not be forgotten that it was the right wing Congress under Vallabhai Patel which forced the Congress Socialist Party out of the parent organisation. It was because of this fact that the Congress shirks the responsibility of understanding the needs of the movement. Apart from confusion, nothing concrete has been achieved.

The Socialist Party was forced to split away from the P.S.P. two and a half years ago. The break in the Socialist Party can be traced to a number of causes. The general elections of 1951 had to a great extent weakened the Socialist Party. During those elections it became perfectly clear that apart from certain restricted areas in the country, the Socialist Party was not as powerful as it should be. The defeat in Bombay and Travancore-Cochin affected its fortunes throughout the country. The emergence of a powerful Communist Party in the South, in Andhra and Kerala and in Bengal was a new factor of national politics.

Similar assessments of the politics of that time brought together the K.M.P.P. and the Socialist Party. Such a coming together may have taken the party forward. But instead of that, the

party was split in two. It is easy after the event to rationalise what has happened. I would prefer to lay the blame for the failure of the newly formed P.S.P. fully and squarely at the door of organisational failure. In my State of Andhra, the Socialist Party never existed before the year 1946. Previous to that the Congress Socialist Party had overnight become the Communist

Party. The Socialists of Andhra and the K.M.P.P. in Andhra never really mixed even after merger. While Socialists were trying to find a body, the members of the K.M.P.P. were bewailing the loss of soul. Sri T. Prakasam, Sri T. Viswanadham and other leaders had come to this party via the loss of office. Their attitude was completely different from the Socialist attitude.

The split of the party therefore became inevitable. The Socialist rank and file especially in the Southern States had the example

HITLER IS NOT DEAD

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The unconcealed intimidation of a rebel army has brought about this subversion of French democracy. France has accepted De Gaulle at the point of the Army's sword. He is not premier though he may be so called. He is just dictator on his own terms.

It was not a protest against the instability of the governments formed under the French Constitution. It was just a military revolt in favour of a more effective programme of repression in Algeria and the victory of force over civil authority. The light (or darkness) of Algeria has travelled to Paris and overwhelmed it as claimed by the French General in Algeria. People in their excitement look but a little way into the sombre consequences of their actions.

And America has hastened to welcome this dictator. America supports the autocrats of the Middle East. She runs Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and finds that regime a place in the U.N. itself to the exclusion of all China. To crown it all now America's "Hail De Gaulle" cheers up the Army's rule in Algeria and all France and gives a new turn to the civilization of Europe.

That General De Gaulle insisted on President Coty asking

him to be installed and going through the constitutional ritual added cold insult to the stabbing of democracy. Everyone knows that an army threat and rude violence sanctioned it, not the Constitution! Not all the perfumes of Arabia can sweet-smother this ugly truth as Michael Foot exclaimed in disgust.

"I like De Gaulle!" said President Ike. We are indeed in the Atomic Age which has replaced not only TNT, but democracy and all international law. France reminds us that Hitler is not dead.

How truly Burke saw and spoke a hundred and sixty-eight years ago :

"An undisciplined army is ruinous to society. An armed disciplined body is in its essence dangerous to liberty. Some popular general who understands the art of conciliating the soldiery and who possesses the true spirit of command will draw the eyes of all men upon himself. Armies will obey him on his personal account. The moment in which that event shall happen, the person who really commands the army is your master — the master of your King, the master of your Assembly, the master of your whole republic".

of a strong well-knit organised Communist party. The very technique of inner party democracy needed revision. The graded hierarchical structure of the Congress administration lacked dynamism. Either the creation of a strong Socialist organisation or the effacement of the movement were the only alternatives. It was at this moment of history that I came in contact with Sri Rammanohar Lohia and a decision for split in the South synchronised with a phase of inner party pressure politics that was taking place in the North of the country.

In terms of practical politics the break of the Socialist Party from the P.S.P. in South India was the need for becoming adult in politics. In the general elections of 1951-52 in Tamilnad the Socialist Party after contesting about 150 seats succeeded only in 3 constituencies. It is interesting to note that all the three members who succeeded in the election are with the Socialist Party. In Andhra, out of a contest for 85 seats, only six seats were won, four of which were won through a large measure of feudal influence. In Mysore, Andhra and Tamilnad the whole pre-1951 Socialist Party is in the present Socialist Party. With the break-away from the parent body a new atmosphere has been developed in these parties. A feeling of confidence and organisational strength today is apparent. In Andhra Pradesh the party has 17 men in the Assembly and its influence is far greater than its numbers express. The problem of Socialism in South India was till the split of 1955 a problem of minority or backward parties. Today the whole picture has changed. In Andhra Pradesh the Socialist Party today is well entrenched. In Mysore the P.S.P. is the official opposition. These two States had no Socialist Party prior to 1951. This fact becomes extremely significant to the future of Socialism in the country.

The history of the Socialist movement in the South is not readily available to the public. The politics of the United Front pursued in the C.S.P. till 1937 needs to be critically understood.

Such Communist stalwarts as Mr. Sundaraiiah of Andhra, Mr. Nambudripad of Kerala, and Mr. Ramamurty of Tamilnad were leading the Socialists in those days. After the break between the C.P. and the Socialists, the party in the South existed only on paper but never functioned in practice. The split of the P.S.P. high-lights one factor in Southern politics which must be clearly understood. From the days of the United Front with the Communist Party, a tendency to divide the country into two separate compartments existed in the Socialist movement. Socialist leadership handed over the Southern States to the Communist sphere of influence. Thus as long as the Socialist movement existed in the State of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, it was felt that there was an adequate safeguarding of national unity and sufficient guarantee of future progress. Congress Party politics has throughout stressed the demand for Hindi as the main unifying force of Indian nationalism. Furthermore, the Socialist leadership of the North has always failed to have a deep and abiding personal relationship with the leadership in the South. I do not feel that it is accidental that Sri Rajagopalachari suggested the formation of Pakistan as a solution to Northern problems. This inability of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar politicians to understand the genuine need of Southern co-operation in the councils of the Indian nation has automatically isolated the Socialist movement in South India.

In the pursuit of the freedom struggle a large measure of isolation took place in the South. The Congress Party has been responsible for such Right-wing reactionary forces arising as the Dravida Khazhagam movement. On the other hand, the Congress Socialist Party handed over the Southern States to the sphere of the Communist Party. It is interesting to know that in Kerala, a party called the K.S.P. party thrived at one time. The R.S.P. leadership in Travancore-Cochin also flourished at one time, and was closely associated with the Socialist Party of India. Later on, even this group split away from

the parent body. In discussing the need for the merger of the K.M.P.P. and the Socialist Party, Sri Narendra Dev supported the formation of the P.S.P. on the ground that in the South the merger would be able to face the Communist Party. This very attitude has always led to gratuitous feeling towards the needs of Southern Socialism. It is my belief that the true emergence of a Socialist Party in India is closely inter-linked with a true appreciation of the needs of Indian nationalism. A correct appraisal of minority rights, the recognition of cultural autonomy and an adequate share in the government of the country are prime factors. Today the Congress Party fails to cater adequately to local desires and demands. In every Southern State the break-away from national homogeneity is clearly apparent. The Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa or the Dravida Khazhagam movement in Tamilnad or even the Communist movement in South India represents this phenomenon. While Communism ultimately has a corrective by virtue of its international orientation, these other movements are narrow and restricted but nevertheless powerful in their areas.

The break-away of the Socialist forces from the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar was for creating an alternative national forum. In 1948 Sri Vallabhai Patel challenged the Socialists to take up the administration of a State so that they could implement their policies. This State could in particular have been Uttar Pradesh which, under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Deva and the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru had a large number of Socialists in the ranks of the Congress Party. Yet the split from the Congress took place because of the problem of Congress Socialism in the State of Bombay. The death of Mahatma Gandhi precipitated the break-away, for till that moment the Congress Party tolerated the counsels of the Left. Furthermore, the genius of Mahatma Gandhi allowed for and wanted all the varied elements in the country to be equal partners in

the struggle for freedom. The break from the Congress may be considered from the stand that Socialists would have little or no say in the future of the country. Combined with this factor was the knowledge that Congress influence was becoming more and more dependent upon bureaucra-

tic interpretation of the needs of the country.

During the last ten years it has become clear that Socialism has been vacillating between its desire to maintain national unity at all costs and its desire to pursue independent Socialist policies. At times the Socialist move-

ment champions the cause of national unity and at the same time supports national opposition. To survive the election contest in 1957 Sri Jayaprakash Narayan furthered the doctrine of United Front with the Communists in Bengal, Maharashtra and the Southern States. In Kerala the de-

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing

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... OVER A. I. R.

By M. KRISHNAN

During the past two months I have heard quite a lot of broadcast Indian music, but not over All India Radio. I have, in fact, been listening to Radio Ceylon, to the programme of Hindi 'fillumi-geet' broadcast so regularly over its commercial service. This service advertises, in the main, goods made and marketed in India: naturally then the music it features belongs so largely to the Hindi silver screen, and naturally both the advertisements and the music are addressed to Indian listeners.

It is difficult to see Dr. Keskar's objection to Radio Ceylon 'beaming' its broadcasts at India, in the circumstance, particularly when we, in India, have no commercial service.

However, week by week, during the past two months, I have been able to see more and more clearly Dr. Keskar's objection to the music itself, which is wholly Indian in origin. In fairness to Radio Ceylon I must add that they do feature some top-notch North Indian classical music in their commercial service, but the 'fillumi-geet' they have been broadcasting for the past few months is tripe of the paltriest kind.

That is because the 'fillumi-geet' of Bombay has, since rock'n'roll, O. P. Nayyar's rise to eminence and Kishore's musical clowning and the jazzy accents currently affected by Asha Bhonsle and Geeta Dutt—comparatively recent trends, all—reached a new low.

I don't intend 'new low' to mean a fresh record, an all-time low. I am sufficiently old in the tooth as a patron of the Hindi

sire for a united contest against the Congress with the Communists did not bar the P.S.P. from coming to an agreement with the Muslim League. Similarly, today, Dr. Lohia as leader of the Socialist Party does not feel any reluctance to meet E. V. R. Naicker and the Dravida Khazhagam separatist movement in Tamilnad.

screen to remember the days when there were no play-back singers, and such nice and essentially non-musical people as Ashok Kumar (still going strong!), Devika Rani and Pahari Sanyal sang their own songs. True there was Saigal, too, then, but as per the rules then in force he could sing only when he himself was on the screen. I think Dr. Keskar, who may not have my expert knowledge of these matters, should be thankful that Radio Ceylon does not dig up those old-time songs and feature them in their commercial programmes—they do have an old-timers' feature, but that is mainly Saigal, with some Kanan Bala, Surendra, Uma Sashi and such singers, quite a pleasant feature, in fact.

Dr. Keskar objected to Radio Ceylon's 'fillumi-geet' because it was 'un-Indian and vulgar—I am not sure if he objected to it on the ground that it was un-Indian (it is), but he definitely did accuse it of vulgarity. He feared it would corrupt the tastes of listeners, and wanted to provide them with more classical fare. But when people asked why he feared that such poor stuff would prevail over the classical music that he loves, he had no reply, at least not in public.

I think I can understand his apprehensions, and am willing to expound them here. Before doing so, I must make it clear that if this is not the learned Doctor's point, but only what I imagine it is, I cannot be blamed for misrepresenting him. One of the risks run in democratic India by Ministers, politicians, and others in the public eye, is the risk of being misrepresented by their friends. I realise that I am a total stranger to Dr. Keskar, but, as I said, I have developed a certain friendliness towards him in the past two months.

The reason why Dr. Keskar fears 'fillumi-geet' is because it is so patently vulgar, so mongrel in its descent, so gaudily clad in patched-up, multi-coloured rags. At no time in the hoary history

of our country has the third-rate had a better chance of reaching the top than today. It is not only in the field of music that this is manifest. Men with no education or other training for comprehending administrative measures or executive projects have been put in charge of governments, or elected to the legislature; untiring fountains of unabashed journalism have been hailed as the literary giants of their age; everywhere mediocrity and incompetence is applauded and accepted, and even our popular tolerance of corruption and the abuse of power is due to the same cause—by and large our people are too easy-going to have critical standards, and too much preoccupied with what Darwin has so aptly termed the Struggle for Existence to live fastidiously.

In such a climate, vulgarity is a far more potent corrupting influence than real vice. Loudness, an easy-going acceptance of the third-rate, verbosity, promiscuity and power-worship are as typical of our popular democracy today as elaborate bombast, a hauteur and closely-guarded exclusiveness that so effectively masked the vacuity behind them, a love of flabbiness and redundancy, and power-worship were characteristic of life in the 'Native States' of not so long ago, the last ditch of decadent Royalty in our history. And both Then and Now we had and have Government Servants, invincible in their ignorance, insufferable in their manners.

I know I have wandered far from Dr. Keskar, along private side-tracks, but if you cannot do that, where is the point in expounding another man's point of view?

Naturally Dr. Keskar fears 'fillumi-geet'. It has all the qualities that go to spell success. Classical music, however, has still its large following, for it is the only live, popular art in India today, but the menace of 'fillumi-geet' is real all right.

Let Dr. Keskar take consolation for this sad state of affairs from the failure of the greatest masterpiece in the world of cine-music. When I first heard 'Lapak jhapak

aare badaruwa' in Boot Polish by Manna Dey and party (David and party), I thought end of the decadent 'aristocracy' that was still there in Indian classical music was sight, that the redundancy and shyness it favoured, the buba-grunts and falsetto heights

that it featured, could no longer survive. As a parody I can compare this magnificent masterpiece only to the 'Rejected Addresses' of Horace and James Smith—it is equally masterful in its elan, equally devastating in its closeness to and betrayal of the original. All the venom and annihilation

lating ridicule that great art could contrive was there, and in its sheer exuberance it was free from malice aforethought. You should realise that this song is now some years old, and that when it was first 'released', A. I. R. had just started inflicting on its listeners the very kind of Northern classi-

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THE MENACE OF ABUNDANCE

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

cal music at which 'Lapak jhapak' was aimed. And what happened? Why, nothing. In due course the masterpiece was forgotten, and relegated to the list of songs broadcast occasionally, very occasionally, over Radio Ceylon, and the tedious classical music of A. I. R. won the day.

On the last night of May I returned to All India Radio, from my excursions abroad. It was not a fortuitous return.

First there was 'Ananda Puravi' from Tiruchi, a radio play based on the life of Anandarangam Pillai, the diarist and Dubash and patron of Tamil verse of Pondicherry. It was not a carelessly-written play, or a light sketch, or anything like that—that is my chief criticism of the effort and reading that so obviously went into the play. Anandarangam Pillai did patronise poets, but his own Tamil, as his diaries will prove, was far from literary—he wrote a rather colloquial Tamil, which reflected the spoken language of his day and place and class. In the radio play he often spoke unlike himself, with a ponderous pedantry of which, in life, he was incapable. And the 'Nataka-medai' Tamil of the ladies of his household!

Then there was the National Programme of Carnatic Classical music—provided by M. Balamurali Krishna. It was not sufficiently assured and finished, technically, for broadcast as a representative programme of Carnatic Music.

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The first thing to do when you talk of abundance as a menace in India is to take at least one precaution. This is to prevent the mentally agile (who incidentally are getting to be a terrific number, constituting yet another menace in abundance) from jumping on your shoulder, clouting you on your head and telling you: "We know all your tricks. Please stop fraying our nerves by another of your hair-raising discourses on the population problem". No: population is not the theme of this article. If you ask "Is there any other sector in which abundance threatens to engulf Bharat, which has been waging unceasing battle against shortages?" the answer is "Yes".

The Second Five Year Plan laid out that we ought by 1961 increase our annual capacity to produce certain basic commodities vastly: for instance, cement to 16 million tons (since revised to 9.3 millions); sugar to 2.5 millions since revised to 2.1 millions; textiles to 13,621,000 spindles and 203,000 looms; iron and steel to 6 million tons. The idea was as simple as it was laudable. We should first cease to depend on other countries for our basic requirements. Secondly, we should, if possible, export the surplus of these commodities to other countries that may need them. Well, we have finished two full years of this Second Plan. We have increased our production capacity in cloth, yarn, sugar and cement fairly rapidly. We have also three mammoth schemes for producing iron and steel—each a million tons. We have been importing plant and machinery for all these from Western countries so fast, that we have not been able to pay for them—in the currencies acceptable to the selling countries. We have therefore asked them to wait and take part-payment later and they have very kindly agreed to do so.

With the plant and machinery we have already received and erected, we have produced more sugar, more cement, more cloth

and yarn and the rest—except steel, where the manufacturing units are under erection. We expected that our population increase, which is a nett five millions a year (meaning the births minus deaths: in other words, the surviving number) would produce consuming capacity that will gobble up the additional production. In fact the added numbers have already created problems on our food production front that make our efforts to produce more food-grains look pitifully meagre. Food being the first and indispensable requirement of self-preservation and the right to live, having been established by the mere fact of being born, apart from being conceded by the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution, the demand for food has no relation to and is completely independent of what we call purchasing power. The pressure exerted on our food supplies and the fact that we are under an unflattering compulsion to import food-grains from abroad for some years to come—(the Ashok Mehta Committee sees no escape from it) are a fair barometer of the consuming capacity of India's growing population. It is not necessary for us to discuss our food problem in this article except as an economic indicator.

On the manufacturing front, we have found in the last six months that we are confronted by two problems. The first is that the cloth produced is not bought by the accumulating numbers, nor the sugar nor the cement. The second problem is that other countries which we had counted on as our plausible markets, do not seem exactly to cry for our cloth or our sugar. No doubt we have embassies or consular offices in these countries, exchanged bouquets and often displayed our abiding interest in these countries by free expression of cute opinions about their internal affairs and done other acts and things revealing our competence in the conduct of our external affairs. But they have not been able to push our goods. What has hap-

pened is that our manufactured goods have become very expensive for the poor home consumer. The evidence of it is that they have become expensive for the consumer abroad, who is vastly better endowed with purchasing power than the Indian is. To the high prices of our manufactured goods many things have contributed; higher cost of raw materials, in producing which high wages play a big part; higher manufacturing costs, to which again, high wages have made an overwhelming contribution. The sugar industry is an instance in point. The cost of cane is the major determinant of sugar costs. Then of course manufacturing charges, composed of the need to provide high depreciation on high cost machines, and high wages based not on the economics of an industry, but by the success and clamorousness of trade union agitation and often supplemented by what a retired judicial officer-turned-labour-adjudicator thinks are fair wages and bonuses. In the last ten years increased wages in industry have contributed more to high cost of manufactured goods than perhaps any other single factor, except imported raw material which some industries require. Curiously there is a widely held belief that increased industrial wages will bring increased purchasing power all over the country, because seasoned industrialists like Henry Ford said so. So far as India is concerned, such high wages have only succeeded in creating small pockets of purchasing power as in Ahmedabad, Coimbatore and other areas of industrial concentration. The extravagance and the improvident ways of the industrial worker in these areas has only made life difficult for the white-collar workers or other professional classes who draw monthly salaries, not fully correlated to cost of living indices. The total industrial proletariat in India is small—below 4 millions—as compared with a vast agricultural population that has not benefitted by any comparable increase in prices for their produce. This small number that receive large money wages, not being either well spread or representative of agrarian India, can at

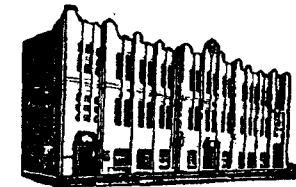
best succeed in creating optical illusions of prosperity. Evenly spread buying power can only come from larger gains in agriculture, which means more economic agriculture. The test of saleability of manufactured goods of India cannot therefore be that they are within the reach of the industrial worker in India. We have cloth accumulation in India because of high prices caused by (1) high wages (2) high cost of cotton (3) high capital cost. The last mentioned factor does not operate except in respect of very recent installations.

In the case of sugar, the Sugar Cane Act fixes the minimum price for cane which varies in various areas, depending on recovery and other factors. Between cane price, labour costs and mechanical efficiency, our sugar has to be sold pretty high, if factories are not to close down. Our cement is still a reasonably cheaply-produced article. But excise duty makes it burdensome for the consumer.

In the case of all the three industries, stock accumulation has reached so critical a stage, that the industries have no money with which to continue buying raw material and pay wages, power costs and freight; in other words, to continue to keep the industry going. The prices of the commodities are such that the consumer has the need and the desire without the economic capacity to buy the goods. In other words, the goods have priced themselves out of the consumer's reach.

External markets that once purchased our cloth do not want it any longer. With Japan fully rehabilitated and producing goods at costs that take our breath away, we have little chance of selling our cloth in even undeveloped countries. As it is, our external markets buy only very select varieties of superior textiles and a meagre quantity of handloom cloth, mostly decorating and furnishing material. We are in danger of losing these markets because of the high cost of our goods. Our sugar is quite expensive and will stand little chance of competing with other efficient low cost countries that also produce more cane per acre of higher recovery and sucrose content than

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we do. This fact has been brought out in more than one chairman's speech at sugar company annual meetings. All these amount to our losing our external markets by reason of our prices, which have been pushed up without regard for consumer capacity, here or abroad.

The question now arises: What of our estimates of internal consumption of various manufactured articles, based more or less on (a) estimates of future increased standards of living caused by greater economic activity, and (b) by an increased population living a fuller life, purchasing more of these goods? Since we drew up our Second Plan, we have been confronted by a vast increase in the cost of requisite plant and machinery that have come from Europe and America and a consequent increase in the foreign exchange component of the Plan at a time when our external resources have been nearly exhausted. On top of expensive schemes that have been commissioned and are in the process of being com-

missioned, and on top of all our existing commitments in the field of industrial expansion and in the light of accumulations of manufactured goods contrary to our estimates, is it wisdom to go forward with our further expansion schemes in order that Plan targets may be fulfilled?

Is it not better at this stage to embark on a survey of consumer capacity in India in the light of (1) the continuous inflation in price levels, the second decade of which we are completing since they started the cycle in 1938 and which has eaten into people's savings and latterly economic staying power; (2) the reasons for present high prices of our manufactured articles and the contribution which raw material, high capital cost, wages and governmental levies like excises and sales taxes at various stages have made to such prices; and (3) an investigation into home budgets of the largest single sector of economic activity, namely, agriculture, with special reference to whether a chronic state of under-consump-

tion is continuing; and if this is true, what steps should be taken to improve agricultural gains and if such an end can be secured by land reforms of the type now initiated, namely, the largest dispossession and unsettlement of the largest number.

An interim survey of this type seems necessary before we go forward to mortgage the future of India in deferred payment obligations to other countries—the mortgage being based on expectations of gainful employment of the plant and machinery sought to be imported—expectations which existing conditions in more than three industries are on the brink of bellying. This may save us from future heart-breaks and posterity from being tied to the chariot wheels of formidable external indebtedness.

Very old enemies eventually begin to regard each other with a kind of affection just as an old couple whose life has been filled with bickering suddenly acquire a sense of humour about their divergent temperaments when they really need each other.

—PETER USTINOV,
Actor and playwright

In a political democracy, the people vote periodically or occasionally for and against a few candidates or issues at a time. In a free-market economy, they vote constantly for and against thousands of competing goods and services. Their votes, instead of being merely affirmative or negative, express minute gradations of preference, and these gradations shift not only daily but hourly.

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: Between one holiday and another of varying length and intensity, the Prime Minister found himself restored to the Capital. While in Kulu he must have heard, only feebly, the rumblings in France; in Delhi he could not have let go the opportunity of reading an authentic account from the historian-ambassador, Mr. Panikkar. But that apart, a secret report on Kashmir awaited the Prime Minister's arrival. What secrets it bristles with, it is not for us to know. But they cannot be such as to make a difference to the Prime Minister's plans. It is one of the great paradoxes of his life that though he is easily irritated over trifles, he is unruffled in the face of dangers. So, whatever is brewing and no matter where, he will think it over. He has almost stopped leaning on any of his serious colleagues. Now his only obsession is Mr. Krishna Menon—yes, once it was Abdullah, more recently it was T. T. K. and now it is V. K. K. What of that? Breathe there a man who has not his blind spots! Yet, such an understanding notwithstanding, one cannot help bothering when personal loyalties are extended at the expense of national interests.

Of the many departments that the All-India Congress Committee boasts of, there is one specially working for organising the youth of the land for constructive service. Among other things, they desire to broaden their outlook by going round the country and taking a closer view of the several community projects and incidentally seeing some beauty-spots. The latest story that has reached Junius from Kashmir is worth chronicling, for it is a story with a moral. Some of the youth who did not like to miss Kashmir managed to take full advantage of the facilities provided by the tourist officers there, having been led or chaperoned by a Gujarati (of the A.I.C.C. youth department) who knew (his) business.

The party went, saw, and carried with them more substantial things than impressions. For, by the time the party was having a sojourn in the South, far from the Valley and its woes, the A.I.C.C. office in Delhi was rocked by the report from Srinagar that its young recruits not only left behind them bills unpaid but took with them (may be as mementoes!) half-a-dozen durries from the place they were lodged in and even some buckets, perhaps full of other things than water! Surely there could be no joy in the vicinity of Jantar Mantar but only a sense of concern that the Congress was getting a bad name for no fault of the High Command. But whose fault is it that any person is given a Congress ticket or badge, if not also a Gandhi cap in the process, without his antecedents being known—or in spite of them? Not that we deny our sympathy to the harassed Mr. Dhebar! These days he is even visiting places without prior notice—and trying to probe. But it seems that these surprise visits will only bring to him more surprises. Unless he has the firmness—and the authority—to take action, prompt and drastic, against those who violate the Code at whatever level, he can do no good, either to himself or the organisation.

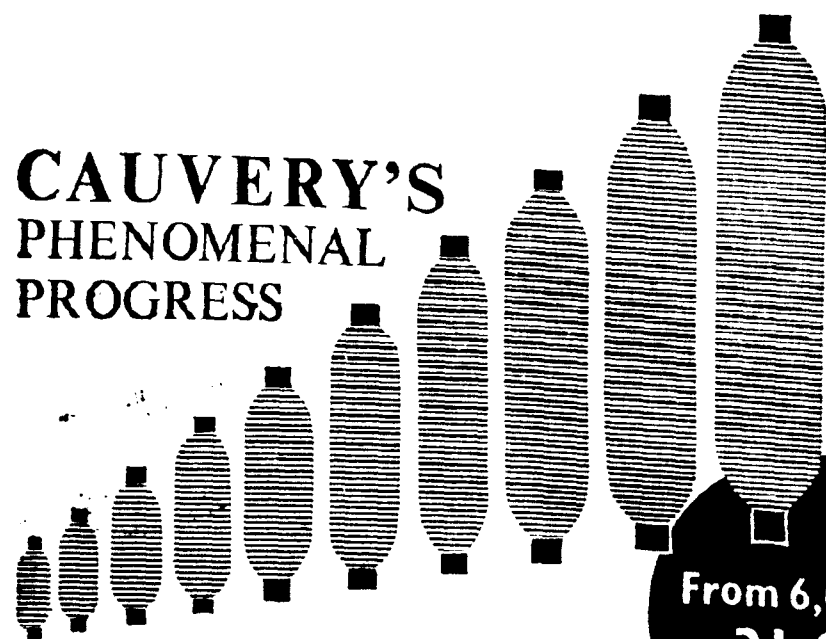
Mr. G. L. Mehta who will soon be back in India, having won golden opinions and goodwill in America, is bound to be somewhere in the picture at the Centre though he has, they say, resisted an invitation to join the Planning Commission. There is still a quest for his successor in Washington. Whoever he may be, for all the speculation in the Press, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh is out of the question, as much from his own view-point as that of some others' in the Nehru Government. Then, will it be Mr. H. V. R. Iengar who is effectively backed by the late Finance Minister? Anything may happen. Recent diplomatic

appointments have, it is interesting to note, gone to service men. For instance, Mr. C. S. Venkatachar is bound to Canada and Mr. M. K. Vellodi to Switzerland. Here are two distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service who have wide experience and wider interests than professional. Both of them—the one from Mysore and the other from Kerala—have about them a personal charm which goes well with diplomatic finesse. And again, both were familiar figures on the Princely stage—and they who knew what it was to handle Princes may succeed in dealing with foreign potentates too. Mr. Venkatachar played his hand admirably when Jodhpur was about to be swallowed by Pakistan while Mr. Vellodi had the distinction of making the Nizam swallow medicine when he resisted doctors from his sick-bed! The two V's should win more laurels. Incidentally, their new assignments go to establish that career diplomats are advancing while those to be drawn from public life are becoming rather scarce. This is a phase which is not without its own significance.

Here is a new question that discerning citizens are asking each other at the Capital: Have the Nehru Government any lesson to learn from the happenings in Ceylon, over the language question? What even a small country experienced should not be lost sight of in a vast one like ours where the problem, unless solved with patience, tact and imagination, is capable of creating yet more difficult situations.



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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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15 Naye Paise

THREAT OF DICTATORSHIP

A weak and inefficient government is an invitation to military dictatorship, this is the lesson of the advent of General de Gaulle to power in France, observed Rajaji at a public meeting he addressed on Monday under the auspices of the L.Y.M.A. He made this statement not as an airy generalisation with no particular relevance to conditions in India, but as an axiom of practical wisdom of the fullest significance in the present state of affairs in the country. As if in immediate justification of Rajaji's words, newspapers carried next morning a report from Sri Jayaprakash Narayan now in London, in the indetical style of the French General, that he was ready to rule India if called upon to do so by the nation in an emergency. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan is not a military man as General de Gaulle is. But that does not make his proffered assumption of the power of the State any the more civil. The suspension of the institutions of representative government like the legislatures is the hallmark of dictatorship distinguishing it from democracy. The overthrow of democracy need not always be immediately signalled by the patent substitution of military rule in its place. It may in fact be brought about with seemingly peaceful means, even by an apostle of non-violence. Sri Vinoba Bhave, for example, has overcome all normal limitations of knowledge which ordinary people labour under, by a sort of Adwaitic consciousness of the

universality of reality. It is as if he has mastered that, knowing which, there is nothing else to be learnt. People succumb to masterful spell-binding of this type when they reach a state of despair and apathy through failure of parliamentary and other institutions of democratic self-government and of the leaders in power and authority associated with them.

The one thing common between Sri Jayaprakash Narayan and General de Gaulle is their reliance on a source of power other than democratic institutions like the Parliament for maintaining themselves in authority. They represent in the very ambitions they proclaim, however much they may be clothed in the form of service to the nations, the break-down of self-government and the substitution of some variation of autocracy in its place. Self-righteous offers to take over power and rule over their fellow-citizens, such as have been made successfully by de Gaulle, and hopefully by Sri Narayan, are unthinkable in countries like the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. where parliamentary government is in full vigour.

In India all the elements of strength were present in the Congress Government when it took over the administration of the country from the British. Eleven years later, it is now in a much weaker position than when it began. Just now it is being realised that the decline that has taken place in the power and

influence of the Congress needs to be met with drastic remedial measures. But the bosses have not been brave enough to probe into the causes of the decline and remove them. They have combined propaganda with their heart-searching and mixed up white-washing with disciplinary reform and reorganisation. The result is that the administrative injustices and selection of wrong candidates to fill the legislatures, traceable mainly to communal passion, continue to flourish unabated, contributing uninterruptedly to the accentuation of the Government's debility. The further ripening of this debility will synchronise with the advent of military rule, Rajaji fears.

We have been forced into the very arms of disaster by the armament race with Pakistan which we got into to counteract the military effects of American arms aid to Pakistan. A strong standing army is always a menace to the stability of civil government. English and American democracies, as Rajaji points out, are able to withstand the potential danger of military encroachment of civil authority, through the protective might of widespread prosperity and money power. Impoverished India cannot reckon on a corresponding rampart against the threat of military dictatorship. Before it is too late, the present regime should take warning from Rajaji's counsel and mobilise all its moral resources for avoidance of further disintegration.



THE NOSE-RING

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

Two sparrows built a nest in a nice spot in the roof of Ramayya's house and the mother bird laid her eggs in it.

"My dear", began the male sparrow.

"And what do you want now?" asked its wife.

"Why does the lady of this house always quarrel with her husband?"

"How am I to know?" said the female bird. "Let us mind our own business."

"You are always self-centred", said the male sparrow and added "Should we not help this poor Brahmin Ramayya?"

The female sparrow said with disdain, "Let me see what help you give. Please do not talk about what does not concern us. See that the cat does not come near our nest. That would be enough for you and me."

Somewhere in the muckheap lay a diamond nose-jewel. The male bird, picked it up and came to the nest with the shining stud in his beak and said to his wife: "Look! Do you like this?"

The wife-bird replied, "What am I to do with diamond nose-studs or with ear-

rings. Find some grubs; the young ones are hungry".

The bird dropped the diamond stud on the floor and went out in search of little worms for the young ones.

Ramayya's wife noticed the jewel as she was sweeping the floor. She picked it up with delight and wore it.

Ramayya questioned her angrily, "How did you get hold of this diamond-stud? Who is the scamp that makes presents to you without my knowledge?"

"Don't talk nonsense. I found it lying here yesterday and took it. That is all."

"We should go and deliver it to the Village Magistrate. If tomorrow the police should come and search our house, who is to stand the disgrace?"

In Minakshi Ammal's house nearby, the talk went thus: "I forgot and left it in the bathroom. Kuppai, the servant-woman, must have swept it out. She is very careless and ignorant".

The mother, Minakshi Ammal, consoled her little girl saying, "Let us search and find it. Don't tell father yet. He would go into a rage if he knew that you had lost the

diamond nose-stud".

"What is the secret you are whispering about" asked Mr. Ramanatham Pillai.

The loss of the jewel had to be admitted. Soon the whole village knew about it. The maid-servant Kuppai was suspected by everyone to have stolen it.

The police came and searched her hut, but could find nothing.

Ramayya's heart was in a flutter. Ramayya's wife put the stud away in her box. She soon developed a severe fever and was confined to her bed. No one thought of searching their house.

The he-sparrow said, "Look at the fun, my dear; the lady of this house is scared and is down with fever".

"Nice fun indeed!" said the she-sparrow. "The poor woman is in a panic. The fever may be the end of her".

"And a good thing too", said the cruel male sparrow.

"It is all your doing; you brought and threw it here and tempted her", said the female bird.

The male bird answered gravely, "Did I tell her to steal the thing? This is bound to happen when a woman is obstinate and disobeys her husband".

"I shall never disobey you, my husband?" the mother-bird said. "Come, let us go now and bring some worms for the young ones." And the two flew out.

derived from U.S. skills or the genius of their own scientists.

And, (3), risk of nuclear war will be diminished not by lone gestures, as Russia's, which win Asian praise but resolve no fundamental issue, but by a covenant among all atomic powers, whether through fear or humanity, to abandon the manufacture, testing, and use of nuclear arms.

Nothing less than this will satisfy requirements of national safety, and nothing less will bring tranquility.

JOHN E. FRAZER.



Sotto Voce

The Re-emergence of de Gaulle

France, the child of Revolution, the country of endemic political crisis, has got a new master. It is easy to be facetious and tempting to feel virtuously indignant. But let us remember that de Gaulle is not responsible for the death of the Fourth Republic. It died of its own insufficiencies. It fell to pieces by a process of internal corruption, rotted by a leprosy of the soul. But France has rare powers of self-renewal. She may rise once again like the phoenix from its ashes.

Those who argue that de Gaulle imposed himself on France using the military revolt in Algeria, forget that Mr. Pflimlin's Government had in fact accepted that revolt and come to terms with it. The alternative was civil war with the certainty of Europe being engulfed again in a global conflict. The prospect could not have been pleasing to anybody in France except the Communists who have no use for dictators except where they rule. Their disappointment that the crisis has passed off is understandable, for the chances of adding one more satellite to Holy Mother Russia has grown dim.

The Socialists betrayed characteristic indecision. Those who lined up with the Communists were probably swayed in a large measure by their personal antipathy to de Gaulle. There is no need to deny that de Gaulle has a past with Fascist overtones. But there is no doubt either that twelve years in the wilderness has greatly sobered him, that he is today a sadder and — if one may judge from his first responses to the crisis — a wiser man. Neither the French settlers who engineered the Algerian revolt nor army hot-heads like Massu got much change out of him.

He has had the courage to take into his Government men who are violently disliked by the rebels and whose presence in it gives it as representative a character as any Government could have in the circumstances. In contenting himself with a "doctor's mandate" for six months and with powers which, though large, are circumscribed in significant respects he has shown a wise realisation that bayonets are not good to sit on. Practically everybody in France is agreed on the need for a radical reform of the Constitution that would give the country a stable government. And if de Gaulle should make a last desperate attempt to 'integrate' the remnants of the French Empire with metropolitan France, he merely shares a forlorn dream with ninety-nine Frenchmen out of hundred.

The Frenchman's idea of empire radically differs from the Englishman's. The latter has been bred in the traditional faith that his institutions are unique, that his culture is not for export and that he does his God-appointed duty and legitimately earns his five per cent by disciplining the helot nations and acting as general utility man for the rest of the world. He has found it comparatively easy to get out of these limited commitments wherever he was intimated unmistakably that he was surplus to requirements. But the Frenchman is not only convinced that there is no culture like French culture. He honestly thinks that every man who accepts it can become a Frenchman in all but skin, though he will never be as good a Frenchman as the Frenchman born.

But the French have also been active and large-scale colonisers partly from the instinctive feel-

ing, put in words by de Gaulle, "that vast enterprises alone are capable of offsetting the ferments of dispersion that her people bear within them". Revolution at home was held in check by adventurism abroad. Where as in North Africa the settler was not separated by large distances from *La France* he could shut his eyes and imagine himself treading the Paris boulevards. Thus there grew up a large French population with tremendous vested interests. And these brought out the less desirable traits of the French character, such as its ruthless possessiveness, when confronted with civilisations which were sturdily autonomous.

Imperialism fights a losing battle everywhere. The Frenchman, for all his tenacity, bowed his head to fate in East Asia and has virtually faded out of Morocco and Tunisia though he has left a bloody trail. In Algeria, the stakes being larger, the struggle is bound to be more grim but the issue is not in doubt. For all that de Gaulle talks the language of integration he may reconcile himself to some kind of partition if he can fend off civil war in France. If he does that, he stands a better chance of carrying the French people with him than any other man alive. For the Army obeys him and the Army in this land of universal military service unlike any other Army in the world, is the people; an Army of which De Vigny could say, "If a man despairs of becoming a poet, let him carry his pack and march in the ranks". De Gaulle, crypto-Fascist though he might be, may paradoxically save France for democracy yet.

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Nuclear China

Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of China, recently gave an interview to the Peiping correspondent of Die Welt, a newspaper in Hamburg, Germany.

"China has at present no atom weapons or rockets", Marshal Chen is quoted as saying, "but we shall have such things in the future."

"We do not believe atomic arms can destroy mankind. History teaches that arms are decided not by weapons, but by the spirit of the peoples".

Overlooking the Marshal's light-hearted opinion of nuclear war, and assuming that what he announces is fact, not a diplomat's manoeuvre, perhaps the following deductions are reasonable:

(1) The Soviet Union, temporarily forswearing nuclear tests, is nevertheless arming Peiping with nuclear weapons.

And, (2), the day is approaching when a dozen governments, more or less, will possess nuclear arms, some, like China's, derived from Soviet skills, some, like Britain's, France's, or even Sweden's,

SIDELIGHTS ::

It was Henry Ford who introduced sensational innovations in the cost structure of American automobile manufacture. He paid his employees wages they had never dreamed of. With cold calculation he looked up to them to be the buyers of the goods they made. He conceived of high wages as an investment for an expanding potential market through distribution of higher purchasing power. When the workers in the Ford industries took to buying cars, it gave a tremendous fillip to the fashion of using a car among other sections of the population. And the industry reached a rich harvest of growth and development which would have been impossible but for the initial stimulus given to the nation's purchasing power by the revolutionary rise in wages decreed by Ford.

Industrialisation in India has not proved to be the great economic panacea for a rising standard of living that it turned out to be in the U.S.A. For one thing, the high wages paid by Ford uplifted the wage level in other branches of American economy. His plan of mass production was linked to a policy of reducing the price of the product, so that the attraction of low prices was added to the advantage of greater purchasing

power through high wages, to stimulate the market. In India, industrialisation has not touched other occupational activities, particularly agriculture, as an incentive to improved wages. It has created only pockets of prosperity isolated from the rest of the country. Its system of mass production has brought no relief to the consumer in the form of reduced prices. When the State entered the economic arena as a trader, it abandoned the traditional *raja dharma* which took delight in promoting the all-round affluence and comfort of the people, and went in for a bania mentality. It mulcted the consumer of the benefit of low prices of commodities rendered possible by efficient and scientific means of production and organisation, and appropriated the benefit to itself, with rapacious greed, as taxes.

Thus industrialisation has meant in India high prices beyond the reach of a large multitude of poor people with inadequate means. Our Ministers are fond of lecturing to one and all about their patriotic duty of producing more and more of goods. But production by itself has no value unless the things produced are bought and consumed. The fact is that less and less of goods are

being bought on account of their high prices, and in certain industries like textiles, the godowns are filled with stocks that decline to move freely into the market.

Our industrial proletariat, numbering some four million, lives in towns, and has grown swiftly in influence. Its capacity for organisation and combined action has outstripped its capacity for restrained and responsible thinking in the public interest. Our industries are overburdened by compulsory employment of supernumerary staffs, indiscipline, slackness and go-slow methods on the part of employees, and a price policy that takes no note of consumer capacity. Meanwhile, the vast bulk of the agricultural population, with diminished incomes brought about by the varying degrees of dispossession that pass for land reform, is starved progressively of the surplus cash required for the purchase of all its needs other than those directly produced by itself.

The comparative affluence of the industrial workers has raised the cost of living for the less favoured communities. Having come to the counting of heads as the ultimate resort for the sustenance of power, it is futile to expect the Government to think of policies reducing the burden of high prices of non-agricultural goods, until a power at least equal to organised industrial labour appears in the rural countryside. At present, those that live on land are hopelessly divided among themselves, falling easy prey to the divisive and predatory tactics of the professional power-hunter. It is only when all the agriculturists make peace among themselves, agreeing on the respective shares of produce justly due to each of the categories into which they are divided, that they will be able to develop a political power sufficient to protect them from wrong governmental policies and create between the agricultural and other sections of the economy the right equilibrium for balanced distribution of the benefits of work equitably.

SAKA

SECRET POISONING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Yet another instance of the international anarchy brought into being by nuclear science has been revealed. It is generally not appreciated that not only nuclear explosions during tests of weapons but the continuous discharge of radio-active waste in all nuclear installations, be it for industrial or military purposes, is poisoning the world without intermission ever since the craze for nuclear energy seized the "advanced" nations of the world. Nuclear installations are producing waste products just as other factories throw out their fuel ashes and the nuclear ashes are disposed of in all sorts of concealed ways, which do not much lessen their danger to human and vegetable hygiene and render foodstuffs poisonous. There is no way of escaping the poison. It is only a matter of time for it to get out of the *ad hoc* concealment provided for it. The nuclear scientists have found the evil so great that it has become very doubtful whether mankind will ever find a solution for it. A message from Sydney of June 4 says: The U.S. had seriously considered sending radio-active wastes into outer space by rockets. This was disclosed by an American scientist at an atomic energy symposium at Sydney University.

Outer space has become the illegal property of nuclear powers by the law of the jungle. We would have no objection to adventurist colonists going and living in outer space setting up their flags in space for exclusive possession. But to throw poison into outer space would distribute it over the whole world. The dark races, the yellow ones, and the people of Southern Asia will all share the poison that is intermittently produced for benefiting the industrialists of "nuclear" nations. Can anything be conceived more subversive of human rights and international law and morality?

It has been revealed that as a result of radio-active fall-outs of test explosions and the waste pro-

ducts of Atomic installations there has been an enormous increase of radio-activity in the vegetables and dairy products of U.K. This must be the case in U.S.A. also. Hence the enquiry into the possibility of other ways of disposal besides dumping the radio-active ash into the waters of the ocean. They may shoot the stuff out into "space"; the space they have in view is a few miles up in the atmosphere and the idea is that if that is done, it is the business of subsequent generations of mankind as a whole to bear the future consequences and treat them as astronomical phenomena and not as injury done by any particular nuclear installation.

There ought to be a high grade and disinterested factual enquiry

into the present practice as to disposal of the poisonous material produced in nuclear installations. It has all been a hole and corner business although it affects the health of innocent people not concerned in any way in the profit and loss account of the installations.

Nature has a way of absorbing all waste matter and converting it into fresh nutriment for man, beast and plant. But now that our scientific advance has interfered with the constitution of matter itself and reversed the process of evolution of matter, man and life, there is no provision in nature for absorbing the mischief of all this interference. Are the mischief makers entitled to distribute the evil over those who have taken no part in the anti-natural operations? Obviously not, but who dare challenge the activities of nuclear powers and their technicians and industrialists?

PROVOCATIVE PAKISTAN

The successful insurrection of the French army has world-wide consequences. The psychology of nations cannot but be influenced by the impact of a great democracy in Europe collapsing before the attack of its army. If the generals of France could by offering to deal more effectively with Algeria capture authority and seize the reins of power in Paris, army leaders throughout the world would naturally begin to consider the possibilities of displacing the weak administrations under which they have been working and of demonstrating their ability to give the benefit of good and efficient government to the people. Pakistan has an army that is not wanting in confidence. Its ambitious leaders cannot but imagine that Kashmir may pave the way to power where democracy has failed to justify itself. The events that have led to the dictatorship of de Gaulle cannot but influence thought among army leaders throughout the world wherever there are not forces enough to counterbalance the power of adventitiously well-

equipped standing armies. Even where conditions are not likely to lead to ultimate success, these thoughts and precedents may be enough to lead men to take the first steps and their consequences are bad enough for men to ponder over. The timing of the border events and threats on the Indo-Pakistan border must be deemed unfortunate. Apart from the ambitions of the army leaders, there is a political strategy of a type at once simple and time-honoured.

Pakistan's leaders finding the internal troubles too severe for solution seek to divert the people's attention in another direction. They create border troubles and issue threats about Kashmir, an obvious target for directing the thoughts of their discontented people and a sovereign remedy for disaffection. And if, on the other hand, Indian leadership too follows the same line and as a diversion from the pressure of criticism and the set-backs of the Congress party encourages chauvinistic reactions to Pakistan's untimely provocative antics, a

USE DAILY

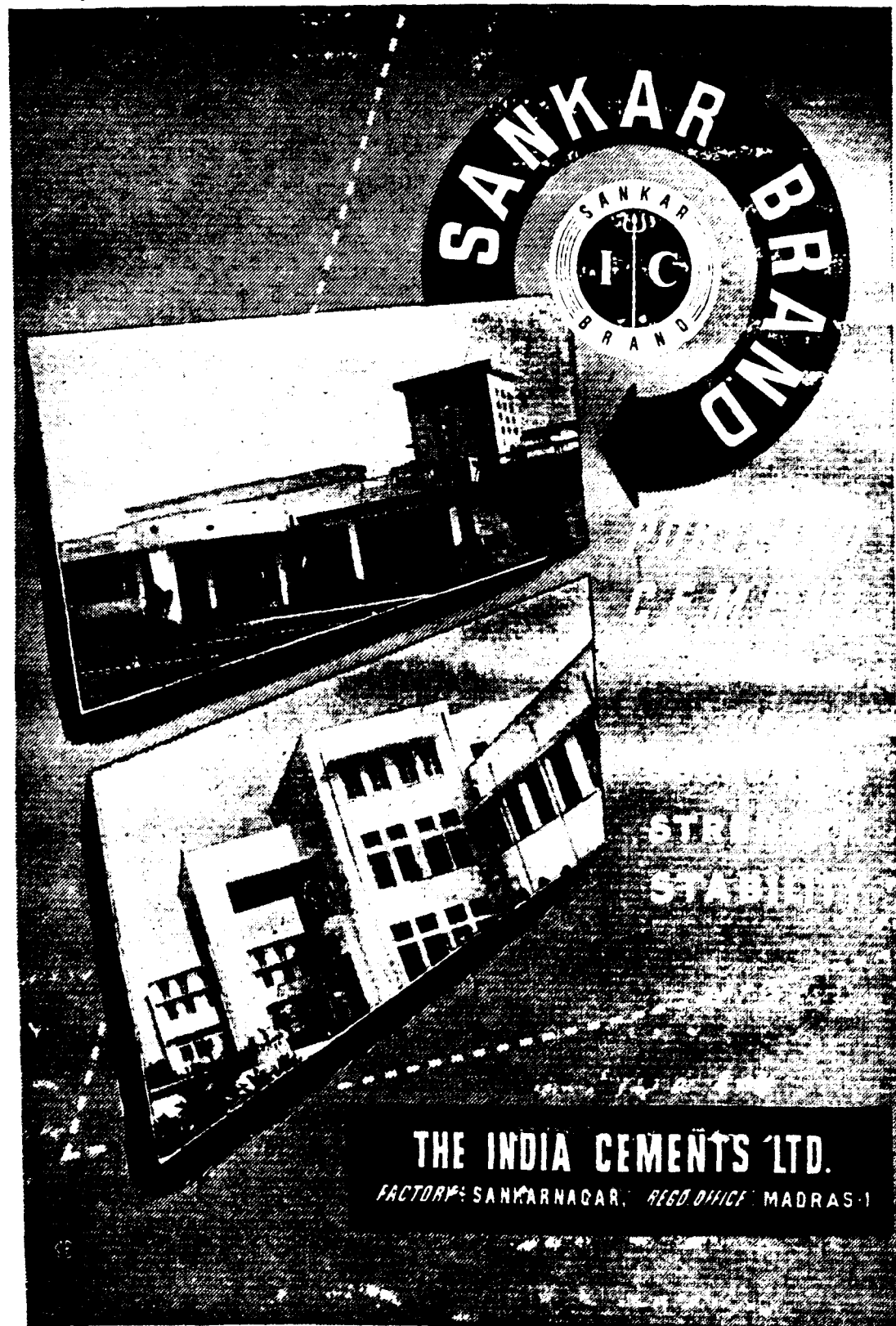
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situation may soon develop for both countries that may not be amenable to control, and invite bilateral disaster. We may lead ourselves down the garden path to foreign intervention, which would mean the collapse of independence and both Pakistan and India would succeed in writing for themselves a black page in history.

Both sides ought to remember that provocative language is of no use in dealing with a sister nation and its leaders. We cannot ridicule a sensitive people or their leaders without creating ill-will which is the enemy of civilized neighbourliness. We may talk truth and say it plainly, but there is much that can well be avoided.

In the diplomatic area, too, there is a wide scope for explaining the evil effects of the policies now pursued, not the least important of which is Aid which sets a minor armament race going and itself becomes an incentive to provocative conduct. America should not be given up as hopeless.

What we must keep in mind as an inflexible rule is in any case not to be the first to do the wrong or dangerous thing. We should also remember that there is no true glory in anger and no shame in patience. If we observe these principles and do nothing smacking of dishonesty or meanness, either nation may rest assured it will not be hurt. On the other hand foreign military intervention would be unqualified shame, what is more than shame, it would fulfil the worst prognostications of the enemies of Asiatic freedom and progress and justify their expectations if not indeed their wishes. The world situation calls for great patience from India as well as Pakistan. It would be folly for either to rest content with blaming the other while walking into common misfortune.

It should be the joint and several ambition of Pakistan and India to belie the longstanding expectation of the brass-hats of the West that the next world-war will start in Kashmir.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

JAYAKAR AS 'JUNIUS' FINDS HIM

* Taking a day off this week and dispensing with 'Capital Comments' for a respite, JUNIUS does a review of the first out of four volumes of THE STORY OF MY LIFE by Dr. M. R. Jayakar (Asia Publishing Co., Bombay — Price Rs. 25).

If I may start this review of Dr. Jayakar's book with a confession of faith, I was impatient till a copy reached me; I was impatient till I read it through from cover to cover; I now feel impatient till I reduce to writing my reaction to this outstanding Maharashtrian's 'Midlothian' effort in the realm of biography. Dr. Jayakar is more than a mellowed Maharashtrian or a patriarchal Bombayite; he is one of the eminent sons of modern India. It is no sign of parochialism but 'native' strength that he is a good, perfervid Maharashtrian, hailing as he does from the historic soil which gave India heroes like Sivaji and Tilak, thinkers like Ranade, Judges like Telang, statesmen like Gokhale, scholars like Bhandarkar, reformers like Karve (happily still amidst us) and several others of stature and grit. No mean representative of the great tradition that these giants established for the glory of Western India in particular, Dr. Jayakar has so heartily dedicated his gifts and services to the cause of the Motherland.

To a discerning mind nothing is more revealing about Dr. Jayakar than that he is always fascinating without ever dominating—or seeking to dominate. His place, it seems, is one step down the pinnacle. Ever in demand, invariably in 'the thick of it', Dr. Jayakar is either content, or by a strange decree of fate ordained, to distinguish himself as the indispensable collaborator rather than the indisputable chief. To understand Dr. Jayakar and appreciate his role in our history, it is essential that one should not overlook this feature of his life—his passion for service without any craving for position.

Dr. Jayakar seems to have suffered quite a bit from the handicap of versatility. If his interests in life were fewer, he would have possibly gone farther in a given direction. But an educationist with a longing for varied pur-

suits, a lawyer with a zeal for piling up more books than briefs, a politician with a taste for music, a man of affairs with ideas of his own for the re-construction of society, and a patriot who subordinates emotion to reason or sentiment to sensibility, he would rather influence decisions than inspire the populace. He would stand by men whom he trusts, give them good counsel, comfort and cheer them but would not manoeuvre to elbow anyone out of primacy in any scheme of things for his own advantage, whereas if anything happens to make him uneasy, he would love to seek the solace of books. He is too cultured for the market-place, too refined for the prison-cell. Essentially meant for senates and salons, he lives a life of cultivated taste, which, even in troublous times, seldom loses its flavour and never its inward grace. That is the keynote of Dr. Jayakar's character; therein lies the charm of his personality.

It is against this background of an understanding of the man that the story of his life needs to be read. It is a service, not the least of his services to his countrymen, that he has begun to take the world into confidence. For he has a story to tell and he knows how to tell it. In essaying the task, it is perhaps typical of Dr. Jayakar that he has chosen to draw the long bow—the bow, so to say, of the Ulysses of the Deccan. If nothing else, age is against him in projecting four portly volumes—too prodigious an effort in the eighties of one's life. Like the three-dekkers in the London dailies, even two-volume biographies are out of vogue. For all the periods of a Gibbon, Surendranath Banerjee was satisfied with one. Dr. Jayakar, it seems, overlooked the very significance of the title of his book. It is the "Story of My Life" and not the "History of My Times". Already in the first volume there are chapters which

FOOD POISONING TRAGEDY IN KERALA

By T. V. SUBRAMANIAM

(Retired Entomologist)

have a meaning that the enlarged perspective of the latter category alone comprehends.

The tendency to trail off into 'outer space' has already made things difficult for Dr. Jayakar to concentrate on his own story. To give excerpts from his diaries is one thing; to quote lengthy extracts from the annual reports of the Congress, is another. It is impossible to resist the impression that, in the difficult and delicate art of combining biography and history, Dr. Jayakar has not excelled as an artist. More than anything else, in any autobiography worth the name, the author as the hero should fill the whole stage and dominate the whole story. Dr. Jayakar's is a well-documented book, not particularly a well-constructed one; it is an authentic chronicle but it hardly reveals the hand of the consummate artist.

This caveat hardly detracts from the value of Dr. Jayakar's volume as a valuable addition to our none too rich literature in the branch of political biography. He surveys stirring times with a serene detachment and records his own role with a disconcerting restraint. It is a proof of Dr. Jayakar's winning qualities that he has attracted pairs of striking dissimilarity like Tilak and Gokhale, Gandhi and Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru, and enjoyed by turns their esteem and confidence, without ever wholly surrendering himself to any. It is interesting to see how, for instance, the nearer he moved into the personal orbit of Gandhiji, the farther he drifted from his political orbit. Not the least attractive part of his first volume which carried the story up to 1922 (when Dr. Jayakar was yet to reach the zenith of his career) is his etching or sketching of the great personalities whom it was his privilege to know intimately. It is an arresting piece of work, particularly enduring for his insight into their character. It is more than brilliant writing; it is penetrating study. The reader is rewarded with a characteristic close-up of the celebrities—Gandhi, Motilal and Das chiefly—in all their

Indiscretion and indifference, casual or wanton, may be said to be the chief causes for the recent food poisoning tragedy in Kerala which resulted in the death of over 150 innocent persons.

It has been definitely found out that "Folidol", a formulation of the deadly parathion, a dangerous insecticide, has been the cause of the tragedy. The story goes that the insecticide had been brought down from Bombay to Cochin in the ship S.S. Jai Hind and had been stored in the steamer along with food materials like atta, maida, sugar, etc., in the same place, and that during the voyage of the ship the cases containing the insecticide got damaged and

a large quantity of the stuff leaked to the packages of food stuffs and contaminated them; cases and bottles of the insecticide had been labelled as "poison" on one side and as "harmless medicine" on the other side.

The indiscretion which brought about this tragedy started long ago when the free unrestricted use was allowed of dangerous chemicals like this one and others such as D.D.T., B.H.C., and so on, for the control of insect pests in crops, especially food crops, though it was well known that these were highly poisonous to man and animals. These chemicals had their origin during the last World War when they were

strength and in all their weakness.

Some luminous passages make up for occasional pedestrian surveys of the political landscape in India from the days when as a boy Jayakar hobnobbed with revolutionaries, till in his fifties, he was groping his way in the new climate of Gandhiji's making. Readers have their individual preferences; mine are unabashedly on the side of Dr. Jayakar when, himself young, he found himself out of the same door by which he went in. Whether it was with Gandhiji at Sabarmati later, or with Gokhale earlier at Poona, Dr. Jayakar had a like experience in entertaining doubts and taking decisions. As he unfolds his story, he carries the reader with him. But I would even go to days yet more remote when the young Jayakar, trying to wrestle with his destiny in life, would pour out his heart in letters that make a delectable reading. At about 23, leading a quiet life in Lonavla, distributing his time between music and reading and, in the cool of the evening, 'penetrating into sequestered spots', he writes to his grandfather:

Above me lie, as Carlyle would say, the silent immensities, "Stars silent above me, graves silent below

me". Around me, lie the newly cultivated fields, with the young sprouts just peeping above the furrowed globe, with the twinkling Venus in the heavens shedding dim lustre on the Western horizon, though partly eclipsed by the languid rays of the setting sun and the silvery light of the buoyant moon growing brighter every moment with the Sun's departure. The hum of a distant village, the barking of a vigilant dog or the whistle of a hurrying train falls upon my rear, thus relieving the unvaried calmness of the scene. The distant hill forts, famous in Maratha history, rear their tall and majestic heads, touched with the last rays of the departing Sun and they nod, as it were ominously, on the dusky horizon. Surrounded by such scenes I sweetly commune with nature, fancying every fort to be still the seat of the mighty Maratha and I recognize in every passer-by a member of that unorganized yet powerful class, whom Shivaji shaped into a mighty force.

In that passage from his early postbag lies hidden the future Jayakar, with the pride of a good Maratha and the imagination of a gifted Indian, a man with a way of his own in the troublous time that have been his.

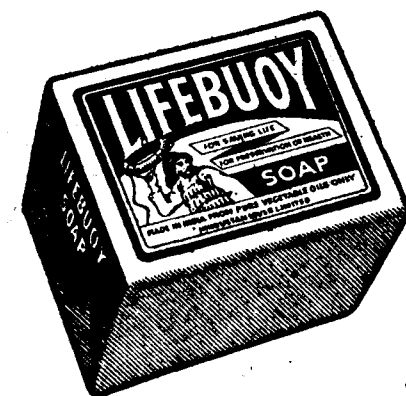
His is a book not only for every student of Indian politics but for the rising generation with a concern of its own for life's values.

formulated to control the menace of flies, mosquitoes and lice in the army camps. The chemicals had, of course, instantaneous and spectacular effect on these insects and the effect was very lasting. After the end of the war these

chemicals began to enter the agricultural field for the control of pests affecting stored grains, field crops and cattle. Owing to their extreme toxic effect on the insects they became very popular and began to be strongly advo-

cated, and the Government and their experts began to advocate their use as a panacea for all insect pests in their propaganda under the Grow More Food campaign. The illiterate ryot was greatly impressed when he saw

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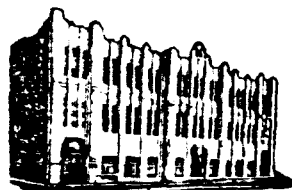
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his insect enemies destroyed en masse, and that quickly, by these "Wonder" insecticides. The ryot did not know and hence did not bestow the least thought on the after-effects of these insecticides on the crop or on the animals and men consuming the sprayed material. It is excusable in an illiterate ryot. But it is an act of indiscretion on the part of the Government with an army of scientific experts to help them, to have neglected this serious aspect of the problem and allowed, and even strongly advocated, the free and indiscriminate use of such dangerous chemicals on crops, especially food crops. This was done though there was plenty of evidence about the disastrous effects of these insecticides in the records of medical and other scientific journals like the British Medical Journal, the Journal of the American Medical Association, and these had been brought to the notice of the Government as early as 1952. Tons and tons of such chemicals are freely distributed by various firms with Government patronage under various names such as Folidol-E 605, Nitrox-E 605, Potasan-E 838, Mintacol-E Compound 4049, Pestox 15, De-600, Dithione ASP 47, Malathion meton Bayer 8169, Hanane, Schraden, Tetron, Fosvex, Eke-tox, and so on.

Among these chemicals D.D.T. and Gammaxene were the first to enter the agricultural field. Early in the forties attempts were made to use them for the preservation of grains in the store. But experiments at Coimbatore and elsewhere showed that mixing of these substances with grains had great toxic effect on albino rats fed on them. Their use for such purposes was given up. The effect of these poisons on animals and men is not so quickly discernible when they are used against pests in the field though their effect on the pests is immediate and spectacular, and so their use in the field goes on unabated.

D.D.T. and B.H.C. belong to the chlorinated hydrocarbon group. These were followed by a still more toxic group of insecticides known as "Organo-phosphoric" group to which the in-

secticide in question—Folidol-E 605—belongs. It is a formulation of parathion. It is said that exposure to these chemicals has caused several deaths and severe poisoning to a comparatively large number of persons. Death from parathion has been reported among agricultural workers in various countries; a typical case is reported from California where 48 men among 90 employed in picking fruits from trees sprayed with parathion 10 days before, died. Exposure to as small as 0.3 gms. daily is said to be dangerous to man. Parathion is highly toxic to all species of animals and we have been told that in Kerala a few minutes after the men developed symptoms of poisoning a number of crows and monkeys in the vicinity were found to be falling dead. A similar instance of squirrels and birds dying in large numbers was noticed in a plantation in the Nilgiris some years ago where crops like coffee and tea had been sprayed with these chemicals. Is it not regrettable that the free and unrestricted use of such chemicals by the illiterate ryots is encouraged by the authorities?

With this sorrowful tragedy in Kerala costing the lives of many and endangering the health of many more, it is hoped that the public and the authorities will open their eyes to the danger of allowing these highly poisonous chemicals free and unrestricted entry into agricultural operations and ban them until a complete investigation of the hazard to plants and animals is completed.

In this connection it may be interesting to mention that we have a very good insecticide—Pyrethrum—a vegetable product, equally effective but absolutely harmless. A scheme for cultivation on a large scale of this product was in working some years back. It is not known what became of that scheme. The fact is that this useful product is not easily available now. This question may be taken up seriously in view of the good toxicity of this stuff to insects without its having at the same time any harmful effects on animals and men.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

By VIJAYARAMARAJU, M.P.

Continued from last week's issue

Between the demand for Nationalism and the separate need for a Socialist Party, alternate policies of softness as well as opposition to the Congress party are seen. In March 1953 Jayaprakash Narayan met the Prime Minister with the purpose of forming a coalition government with the Congress both in the Centre and in various States. Politics of consolidation were pursued and in Andhra Pradesh, Sri T. Prakasam headed the Congress Ministry. In Travancore-Cochin also the P.S.P. formed a government with the tacit support of the Congress Party. While this tendency of coming closer to the Congress has always been there, supported by all the leadership in the Socialist Party inclusive of Dr. Lohia, who formulated the doctrine of a minority government in Travancore-Cochin, a factional fight in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to increase the distance between the Congress and the Socialist Party was taking place. In the years before the split of the Socialist Party from the Praja Socialist Party, an attempt to characterise the attitude and leadership of the P.S.P. in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar went hand in hand. It was one thing to consider the need for co-operation on the national plane and completely another thing to preserve discipline and cohesion in the organisation. Clashes in personality finally led to the break of the Socialist Party from the P.S.P. in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Consequent on this happening the Southern wing of the Socialist movement allied itself automatically and directly with the radical wing of the Socialist movement in other parts as it furthered the need for a revolutionary orientation. Today, within two years after the break from the P.S.P., the question of the reconstitution of the Socialist movement throughout the country has arisen. The immediate cause that has brought about the pro-

cess was the meeting of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia in July last year. At that meeting both leaders seem to have agreed that a new Socialist Party should be created taking into consideration all that has happened in the past but without essentially tying themselves to either of the organisations. A certain basis for the amalgamation has been suggested and remains to be critically examined by both parties. While the Socialist Party rank and file rightly feel that the basis for the recreation of a Socialist movement must be a principled one, the P.S.P. rank and file and leadership alternatively feel that these principles merely express the personal feeling of individuals and in no way cater to the needs of the Socialist movement. While I do not think that the Socialist rank and file desire to completely destroy the P.S.P., it must not be forgotten that the problem of the relationship to the Congress Party rankles in the thinking of the Socialist worker. Unfortunately, the problem of recreating a single party of Socialism in the country has predominant chauvinistic undertones as is demonstrated from the subsequent policies pursued by the Socialist Party. While the P.S.P. Party would stress the need for Socialist unity as an anti-Communist move, part of the leadership of the Socialist Party would stress the need for this move from the angle of the consolidation of northern politics through the demand for abolition of English. Both these positions are unrealistic because they fail to solve the basic problem of the creation of a genuine Socialist movement in the Southern part of the country.

The creation of a strong Socialist movement in the country is closely inter-linked with the problem of industrialisation. So far the Socialist movement has been over-possessed with the idea of Gandhian economics which

rightly stressed decentralisation of administration and overall support to small-scale industry. By emphasising these two needs the Socialist movement tends to isolate itself. It is true that Sri Asoka Mehta talks of the compulsions of a backward economy thereby stressing a pragmatic approach to the needs of industrial planning. However, Socialists, by rejecting both Capitalism and Communism as inadequate answers to the future needs of the country, have only fallen into the trap of Gandhian revivalism which at best is a political palliative. While it is understandable that Capitalism talks of modern industrialisation through the contact with the West, while it is understandable that Communism stresses the need for industrialisation by breaking the shackles of the industrialist's hold, Socialism so far talks of gradual industrial development. This emphasis has failed to stimulate the middle class and intelligentsia of this country. The economic tool of analysis suggested by Dr. Lohia rejects the possibility of quick industrialisation of the nation on the ground of the doctrine of inadequate capital formation. The pace and tempo of capital formation, it is felt, would be such that an imbalance would be created in the national economy if there is too rapid an industrialisation. The creation of a few pockets of modernisation and the pauperisation of the whole country would automatically follow. This attitude is good sentiment but impracticable politics. The problem of Socialism is not the postponement of industrialisation, but the stressing of industrialisation as part of a national urge for modernisation. I feel that modern industrialisation should go hand in hand with democracy. But the mere stressing of democratic forms without a clear objective ultimately would defeat itself. By failing to stress the central theme that freedom and industrialisation and the creation of a modern nation are one and the same, the Socialist movement alternatively has to support sectarian, sectional and caste opinion.

The problem of industrialisa-

tion has necessarily posed to the people of every backward country a choice between isolation and estrangement from one half of the world in world markets and world industrial, technical co-operation, and a catholic association with all countries. While Communism attempts to restrict contact through its characterisation of the historical forces of Western Capitalism, diehard Indian capitalists with an over-developed sense of personal preservation have tried to exclude and destroy any contact with the proletarian revolution of Soviet Russia and China. Indian Socialism between its emotional approval of Western democratic forms and its rational acceptance

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of a struggle as a prelude to adequate industrialisation, possibly today has neither rejected the one nor accepted the other. The concepts of both Capitalism and Communism are found to be totally inadequate for India's needs. The moment Socialism was prepared to treat existing facts as irrelevant, from that moment an unreality crept into the politics of the Socialist movement. I do not believe that 40 crores of people can separate themselves from what is happening in the world.

The future of Democratic Socialism becomes one of deciding its internal relationship to Capitalism on the one hand and Communism on the other, America in the West and Russia in the East. As far as Communism is concerned, I would relegate the skeleton to the cupboard because Communism has its own dynamic which may crop up in the event of a national war with our neighbour. However, as such a contingency is far removed, it will be found that even these communal parties would have ultimately to grapple with the problem of industrialisation, caste hierarchy and the need for social harmony. In deciding therefore the problems of a Capitalist party and Communist party, the problem of democracy has to be put into the background. As has been suggested, the doctrine that any two democratic parties are closer to each other than a democratic and totalitarian party cannot be applied to the present situation, for it is possible logically to deduce from this that the Socialist movement could once again combine itself with the ruling Congress Party. This suggestion has been mooted by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan and I believe that it has caused great harm and damage to the Socialist movement. Again this idea finds some measure of support in the country by virtue of the fact that the Communist Party has been categorised as a foreign party. I for one would never subscribe to this view, or question the loyalty of the party to the Indian nation. It is however a different question whether I accept that Communists have become a democratic party as understood in the Western democratic tradition. It is

perfectly clear that the Congress Party, whatever be its present leadership, has so far failed to implement an adequate Socialist policy or orientation in the administration of the country. A large measure of confusion arises when a person like Sri T. T. Krishnamachari talks of "a man-eater at large" in the country, meaning thereby Capitalism or capitalists. Socialism has to have a more narrow and restricted connotation than the concept of the term *Dharma* which is used in Hindu religion. The tradition of India has been also the concept of synthesis. As such a synthesis means the reconciliation of various tendencies under a comprehensive and persuasive doctrine. But such a moment has not yet arrived on the Indian political horizon. Therefore it is that today I feel that the coming together of Socialists who are in no way connected with either the ruling party or with Communism is the only measure of synthesis which is possible.

The continuous splitting of the Socialist movement into smaller and smaller groups seems to be a disease of the Left throughout the world. In India a spate of Socialist parties exists. Every time a group breaks away, it happens on the basis of revealed truth or divine revelation. The attempt to form a type of cult-religion also has led to the creation of the God or father figure who ultimately causes untold damage. Indian thought especially caters to this figure through the concept of the holy man. Mahatma Gandhi expressed this by managing the destinies of the Congress Party. This figure accepts the adulation of success and rejects the responsibility of defeat. Today the Socialist movement is victim to this attempt at deification.

There is at the moment a first class crisis, which can be described as a fear psychosis. It is well known that bigotry often creeps in when reason is withdrawn.

Even though we are an apparent minority at the moment, we propose to be disciplined Socialists in action, with a broad-minded approach to the growing historical needs of Socialism.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay : The spirit of trade unionism is spreading in the film industry. The technicians have already formed their unions. We have now separate associations for cinematographers, art directors, editors, and sound recordists. The musicians have also their union; and in the recent dispute between the producers and the musicians, the strength of the union was quite evident.

Thanks to this dispute the music directors have also formed their union or association as a result of which no music director will dislodge his colleague without his consent. Some of the producers who are eager to change the music directors as they find that the music directors are adopting delaying tactics are in an awkward position as they cannot substitute a new music director without the consent of the one they want to dismiss. Even though such embarrassing propositions may arise, the spirit of unity among the music directors would in the long run prove beneficial to the industry.

Even the writers, whose association has not been functioning smoothly, are trying to revive their activities with renewed vigour. A general body meeting of the writers was held on Saturday, 7th June at Shree Sound Studios; a meeting of cinematographers was also held on the same day at the same place. Over forty writers including scenarists and lyricists attended the meeting which elected new office-bearers with K. A. Abbas as President, Kamal Amrohi and G. D. Madgulkar as Vice-Presidents and Qamar Jalalabadi as Secretary. The Writers' Association has half-a-dozen disputes to settle and at least two or three disputes have arisen between writers and writer-producers. The success or failure of the Writers' Association would depend upon its ability in resolving these disputes and safeguarding the rights of a writer. If the writer finds that his membership of the Association would pro-

tect him from unhealthy rivalry from his own colleagues and from the injustice of the producers, then he is bound to enroll himself as a member and take active interest in the progress of the Association.

It is worth noting that cine advertisers of Bombay have also formed an association and by refusing to do the work of 'defaulters', they have been able to recover dues of over a lakh of rupees owed to their members. If the other associations show the same strength, then no technician, artiste or writer will have difficulty in getting his dues and in ensuring smooth working. But in each case the strength of the association or union will be the deciding factor.

Can you imagine a sentimental, melodramatic Indianised version of De Sica's classic 'The Bicycle Thief'? Well, you don't have to imagine; it is presented with all the frills of box-office in Vasant Joglekar's first independent production 'Karigar' starring Ashok Kumar and Nirupa Roy.

The first half of the picture is 'original' and depicts the tragedy of an unemployed worker who feels humiliated when he finds his wife and son are working. The bitter comments of the neighbours who blame him for

sending his wife to work only aggravate the humiliation.

In the second half, the worker gets a job; but he loses the tools which symbolise the job. And the search for tools, instead of being always realistic, is full of coincidences, some of which provide excuse for songs and others for suspenseful drama ending with the worker being caught for a theft and the wife invoking God. The picture ends on a happy note with the wife's faith fully vindicated.

But for the concessions made to the box office and an overdose of sentimentalism, 'Karigar' is realistic, moving and refreshingly different from the common rut of crime thrillers and escapist romances. Ably directed by Vasant Joglekar, from his own story, the screenplay by G. D. Madgulkar is moving and appealing and it is enlivened with pithy dialogue by Sarshar Sailani. Ashok Kumar, the versatile artiste, has given another sterling performance as the worker while Nirupa Roy as his wife is equally good. Ramesh Kapoor makes a good son. Lalita Pawar is life-like. Om Prakash, Sumati Gupte and Jagirdar give good support. C. Ramachandra's music is pleasing, V. Avdhut's photography is also good and the production values are above average.

Thanks to the economy drive necessitated perhaps by the reduction of prices, Burmah Shell has closed its Film Unit—the unit which produced some of the out-



Mynavathi and Rajagopal in the forthcoming Devar Films' production *Sengottai Singam*.

standing documentary shorts under the leadership of James Beveridge. James Beveridge left for Canada last week after spending four years in India during which he was associated in the making of some remarkable documentary films about Indian life.

Beveridge whose services were loaned to Burmah Shell by the Canadian Film Board, hopes to return to India within a year under an Indo-Canadian agreement.

Shammi Kapoor and Kishore have been added to the cast of K. A. Abbas's 'Char Dil Char Rahen' starring Meena Kumari. Kishore incidentally is playing the lead opposite Vyjayantimala in Rawal Films's 'College Girl'.

Vasan is making a Hindi version of Sarat Chandra's 'Nishkriti' which has already been made in Bengalee, Tamil and Telugu.

Raman Desai performed the muhurat of his new picture 'Griha Laxmi' on Saturday, 7th June. Pandaribai, Shahu Modak, Lalita Pawar, Roop Laxmi and newcomer Prafullah are starred in this picture.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GROWTH OF DESPOTISM

Sir,—The disclosure in last week's *Sidelights* of free labour being extracted by the police from members of the public will not surprise many. For all our ostentatious devotion to democracy, sensitive and informed citizens are very gravely perturbed at the steady growth that is taking place in our Government of despotism. It is a novel kind of democracy in which it is possible for governments to detain in prison for months on end citizens without producing them in courts. It is becoming increasingly common for State governments to put in prison members of legislatures on the eve of no-confidence motions moved by oppositions.

The continuance of preventive detention powers in the hands of the rulers is a challenge to our democratic professions. Preventive detention law has invested the police with enormous powers over the lives of citizens. Parliamentarians should appreciate that to increase the powers of the police, for however justifiable reasons, will have the ultimate consequence of undermining the principles of popular rule. That so many of us are living securely without finding ourselves in police lock-ups and getting beaten up, we owe to the fact that the personnel and officers of our police are most of them good, honest men.

Calcutta, R. MANI
SCPTICISM ABOUT THE PLAN

Sir,—After nearly seven years of planning, our beloved Prime Minister exhorts his countrymen to take interest in the Plan and understand the problem of planned economy. It has been already proven that the administrative machinery is out of kilter. People lack in energy and enthusiasm. It will not therefore be a surprise if, in course of time, people prove to be sceptical about the socialistic pattern of society etc. Instead of development and improvement, we only find deterioration and degeneration and

could not but wish that the Planners must be more realistic.

Bombay V. T. RAJAN

THE COMMON MAN AND HIS REPRESENTATIVES

Sir,—I am a common man and I am surprised that what is discernible even to me is unintelligible to many in power. I understand the difference between national and official language. I can also see the unwisdom of having two official languages and when one of the architects of Indian freedom recommends English for official use, I am convinced he would not suggest anything hurting national pride or honour.

It is clear to me that the lot of the handloom weaver could be bettered only when the solution offered by India's elder statesman is accepted — sarees and dhoties must be reserved for handlooms. Celebration of 'handloom days' or 12 nP. rebate can only touch the fringe of the problem.

The undernourished population needs nourishment and not vaccination of doubtful value if not positive harm. Money invested in procuring and in free distribution of vitamin tablets to the underfed would do more good to the community than the money spent on mass BCG inoculation.

I do not see any urgency for the change-over to the metric system; nor do I see the necessity for the novel taxes. I can go on narrating instances which are quite intelligible to me. To be brief, let me say what is unintelligible to me: that there should be many in authority professing to represent the common man without being able to gauge his mind!

Madras. S. SRINIVASAN

TRAINING FOR TYPING IN TAMIL

Sir,—The news that a Government school will be opened in Madras from July next for giving

training to 200 typists in the use of Tamil typewriters with the standardised key-board, is indeed welcome.

It is said that, in the first instance, 200 typists in the service of Government will be selected from all over the districts of the State and given training in Madras for four months. This implies that the selected typists will continue to draw their salary and allowances during the period of training for four months, besides travelling allowance to and from Madras, and that substitutes will be appointed for all these 200 English typists.

As a practitioner of the twin-arts for a number of years, I can say that it is not after all a difficult thing for an English typist to switch over to the Tamil keyboard. One who has practised on the English typewriter requires only the chart containing instructions regarding fingering and he can himself learn it in a few days. Once he understands the principles, speed can be gradually attained according to the amount of practice he puts forth each day.

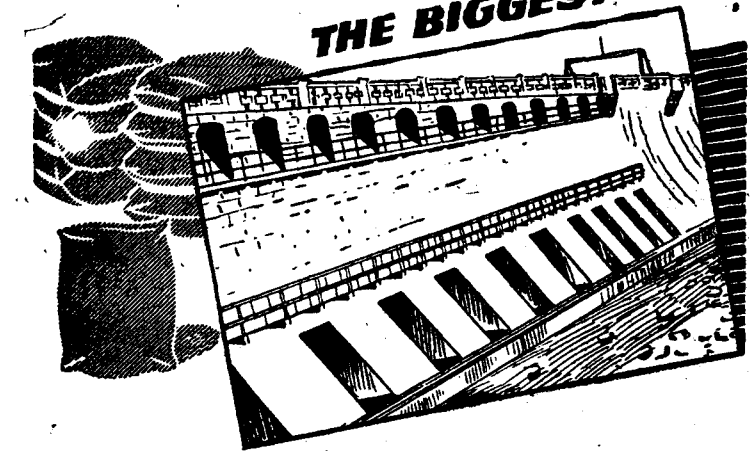
In the circumstances stated above, the most economic and wise thing for the Government to do would be:

- (i) to supply the new type-writers, one to each of the Government offices where it is proposed to introduce Tamil type-writing, together with a printed chart of the new key-board containing instructions
- (ii) to announce prizes for those who come out successful in any prescribed test, say, in a period of six months
- (iii) to offer a special pay of, say, Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 p.m. for those who come out successful in the prescribed speeds for lower and higher respectively.

In addition, the Government may also subsidise the existing commercial institutes, as is being done in the Mysore State, for coaching candidates in Tamil typewriting.

K. RAGHAVACHARI,
Retired Chief Reporter,
Madras Legislature.

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15 Naye Paise

BLIGHTING TOUCH

Sometime ago the Supreme Court passed judgment invalidating (for reasons given) the award of the Journalists' Wage Board. The Government of India have now passed an ordinance professing as one of its intentions the removal of the objections to the award raised by the Supreme Court. It is doubtful however whether the Government have chosen a proper method for giving effect to their professed intention and whether their expedient of resorting to their ordinance-making powers in the very brief interval of time between the end of one session of Parliament and the beginning of another, is constitutionally praiseworthy. This ordinance creates a committee mainly composed of officials of the Government's choice, to whom are given powers virtually enabling them to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court. It will then be lawful for the Government to act on the recommendations of the committee even if they should run wholly counter to the interpretation of the law as given by the Court. It is the preservation of the sanctity of judicial judgments that serves as protection to the citizen against the arbitrary tyrannies of the executive. Democratic tradition has clothed the judiciary with a supreme sovereign authority not to be interfered or tampered with by the executive except on occasions of the gravest emergency involving the safety of the State itself as in war. During peace it is normally

the duty of the Government to carry out the behests of the judiciary implicitly without subjecting its content to further, independent scrutiny on its own account. It is the right of citizens to have the authority of the judiciary maintained in this manner and it is the duty of the Government to sustain throughout the country the atmosphere of obedience to judicial decisions, by itself setting the example, conceding such obedience invariably as a matter of course.

When the Government evade or proceed to counteract the judgments of the courts by legal legerdemain or exploitation of emergency provisions designed for altogether different purposes, they promote chaos in the country instead of orderliness and undermine the basic foundations of freedom. When the executive violates the spirit of the Constitution by proceeding needlessly and dubiously to rule by ordinance upsetting the normal healthy procedure of legislative discussion, it becomes the duty of the Press to protest against such a violation.

In the present instance newspapers have failed in the performance of this duty. Under the lure of some possible advantage to themselves, the journalists have fallen into the dangerous state of appreciating and applauding an official act which they would have felt it to be their professional duty to condemn in the severest terms if it had been indulged in in other circumstances.

As for the proprietors, they seem to have been put to fright by the dreaded consequences of a possible combination against themselves of their own employees and the Government. Whatever the reason, silence prevails in the Press in place of the firm resistance against a grave wrong committed by the Government, which it is the inherent function of the Press, as the guardian of the public interest, to maintain.

Here is an instance of duty abandoned for the sake of a gain hoped for. To this extent the freedom of the Press has been impaired. Freedom of the Press is not consistent with acceptance of official aid by parties to disputes within the Press. Whichever party accepts the support of the Government in any dispute it may have with another, lowers, to that extent, the sacred banner of Press freedom, and whatever advantage it might thereby gain will be at the cost of something infinitely precious, its very soul. We hope therefore that journalists and proprietors who have common interests within a single economy, will settle their disputes by mutual discussion and adjustment, eschewing the blighting official touch so inimical to independence and freedom of thought.

Whither, Gokhale's Society?

The Servants of India Society founded by Gokhale in 1905 has on its 53rd anniversary on June

12 painted its history black by dismissing Sri P. Kodanda Rao for holding a view on the language issue and giving expression to it to which the members of the executive of the Society do not give their approval. Who can now point the finger of scorn at Communists for repression of thought or suppression of views among their members? Sri Kodanda Rao holds the view that English should continue as the Union official language and he has been struggling with the executive of the Servants of India Society who wanted him not to give expression to such a view. He has been assuring them that it is his personal view and conviction and he has been expressing it as such and not as the view of the Society of which he is a member. This has not satisfied the authorities of the Society and his "resignation has been accepted". The ideals of the Society were based on the principles of Mill and Burke, Bright and Morley, names associated with freedom of thought and expression. Here is an issue which is important, and which has not been imprisoned one way or the other within the walls of the creed or articles of association of the Society. How then could the Society justify its action in seeking to asphyxiate any of its members on the point? We are in an atmosphere of contagion of repression of thought. Indoctrination and disciplinary control of opinion render the functioning of the human mind a continuous battle. It seems all organizations are more a danger to liberty than an aid to co-operation. It would appear we have arrived at an age when the soul cannot function unless one keeps well out of any political organization. We deeply regret that of all political organizations the Servants of India Society should have acted in this manner with all its great traditions brought to fresh memory on its anniversary occasion. Have the authorities forgotten the aims and objects of the Society? Intellectual integrity and laborious research into social and political phenomena, these we always associated with

(Continued on page 2)



PAPER FLOWERS

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

Every morning musicians would come to the hall of audience of King Veerapandya and perform in his presence. The King and his daughter whose mother had died long before that time would listen to the music and enjoy it. Chandramati was cultured as well as well-read and her bearing pleased the King highly.

All round the hall, on the walls and on the pillars, were statues of Nataraja, Muruga, Ganesa, Krishna, Sitaram and other gods.

These gods in stone also enjoyed the music. As they listened, the faces of some would shine brightly; tears would drop from their eyes.

One day, a great musician from Kashmir came to the court. A celebrated master, he had visited many countries and learned many systems of music. His name was Gandharva Veeramaheswara.

The great musician entered the hall and sat in the seat specially prepared for him. He sang and the instrumentalists in his party accompanied him. Many clever, subtle improvisations he introduced into his singing.

The musicians of the court showered praises. The King too was pleased and rewarded him richly. The great musician was satisfied and went on to the capital of the Chola King.

When Gandharva Veeramaheswara sang, the statues in the hall did not shed a single tear; none of the faces brightened up as they used to.

The King smiled and said to his daughter, "Apparently these statues have had no training and have no real taste in the art of music." Chandramati said, "It seems to me that

the artist was not filled with faith and devotion as he sang his songs."

"What you say is true, my daughter," said the King. "Even my heart was not touched as I listened to this Gandharva Veera singing. No doubt I gave him a big prize. The music was indeed competent and clever. But it did not pierce the heart. He raised before us a beautiful temple with towers and alcoves. But there was no God within. Even a little song sung by our court musician stirs us more than the music of this mighty master."

"And there comes our Deekshitar. Let him sing. We shall listen to him," said the princess with enthusiasm. The palace musician Vaidyanatha Deekshitar sang.

At once the faces of the images shone with a divine glow. So did Chandramati's face lit up with rapture. A light filled the hall. The eyes of the statues were filled with tears.

"The Kashmir master's music was a garland of pith and paper flowers, beautiful but with no fragrance. Our Deekshitar's song is like the fragrant Ketaki petals we wear in our hair", said Chandramati.

"True" said the King. "As the red lotus springs from the water in the tank, so music springs from devotion; that is how it came into the world. The lotus plucked from the tank will spread its fragrance for a while and then fade away. Flowers made of pith and paper — but why talk of them?"

"Come. Let us go," he said, and went into the palace with his daughter.

June 21, 1958



Sotto Voce

Benares Hindu University

That all was not well with the Benares Hindu University was evident almost from the very beginning. Even a man of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's stature found it impossible to hold the Vice-Chancellorship for more than a year or two. Pandit Malaviya was not at all an easy man to work with. And Malaviya was the University, whoever might be the titular Vice-Chancellor. (The lesson to be drawn from this is that no man, even if he had all by himself created a public institution, should think he is indispensable. The proprietary attitude is as insidious as it is dangerous.) Malaviya, at least, with all his peculiarities, was a Titan. But the dynasty which he founded inherited few of his merits.

Pandit Malaviya himself succeeded Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in 1919 and held the office for 20 years. He then resigned to become Rector for life. But he was an exceedingly busy man for the best part of this period. And it was no secret that latterly he tended to lean too heavily on people who were sustained by none of his lofty idealism. In the past twenty years many eminent men have held the office of Vice-Chancellor for more or less short periods. But apart from the mischief wrought by cliques and cabals to which the Investigation Committee refers, there was student demagogism which was not put down with a firm hand by most of the Vice-Chancellors. Those of them who took a hand in the power-game no doubt hoped for the passive support of the students.

The Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar Committee's recommendation that the statute constituting the University should be amended is certainly a sound one. Indeed the revision of the Act, as a preliminary to which the new Ordinance suspends its working, was long overdue. But, so far as one may judge from the brief press summary, it is doubtful whether the Committee's proposals for change will be effective or beneficial. The Committee wants to "rid the University of the undesirable activities of the pressure-groups in the various authorities of the University and ensure that it functions smoothly as an academic centre in the best traditions of a University". But if the Vice-Chancellor is to be the linchpin of the whole show, the University might find that it had exchanged King Log for King Stork.

It is stated that the present practice of the Vice-Chancellor being selected by the Visitor (the President of the Union Government) out of a panel of three persons recommended by the Executive Council "has given rise to the emergence of rival parties". The Committee therefore recommends that in future the Vice-Chancellor be selected by the Visitor. This in practice would mean that he would be a nominee of the Government of India. The result might well be the emergence of a far worse type of political intrigue, since the Government is run by a political party and has not shown conspicuous success in withstanding lobbying. Incidentally one would like to know what the Committee thinks of the fact that its distinguished chairman has been repeatedly selected Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University by a process which is not very different from that which it would scrap in the case of Benares.

In Madras too the process of approval by the Chancellor has for many years now been a formal rite. So in its different way has been the case with the Annamalai University also. The

lesson to be drawn from all this however is that the play of politics cannot be eliminated by any procedural device, however ingenious. In order to be able to withstand such pressures the University must become truly a fellowship of first-class minds. And the government of the University must then be vested in the fellowship and not in the hands of groups whose interests are not primarily academic.

The Investigation Committee finds that unqualified students are admitted on a large scale under pressure which includes "unseemly demonstrations"; that there has latterly been an undue concentration of power in the hands of certain Professors and of the Principals; that the selection of teachers has been done with little regard for merit; that the University has long lost its all-India character. The University has for years been the plaything of the Hindi fanatics. The excessive importance accorded to Hindi as well as the overweening provincialism which is rampant in the U.P. is probably responsible for a big fall in the strength of non-U.P. students. But the main cause undoubtedly is the deplorable fall in standards. That, unfortunately, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Benares. But if it is tackled rightly and with resoluteness there, that may help to stem the rot elsewhere. VIGNESWARA

Waither Gokhale's Society?

(Continued from page 2)

the work of the Servants of India Society either before or after Independence. It is not a political organization or party setting up candidates at any level of legislative or local body elections. There can be no justification whatsoever, therefore, for the authorities of the Society making the ridiculous mistake of placing organizational solidarity above integrity and freedom of opinion and expression on any issues of grave importance the answer to which is not found in any of the fundamental articles of the Society, where a member speaks for himself and not for or on behalf of the Society.

SIDELIGHTS ::

In a talk to Pressmen in Bombay Sri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, attributed the mounting wave of strikes in the country to unpardonable indiscipline and said he was determined to root out indiscipline at least from his ministry. He does not seem to have realised that indiscipline has become so all-pervasive and got so chronically established in the very atmosphere itself of labour politics that it is futile to seek to dislodge it from any selected sphere of industry. The offensive against it should be all-out, comprehensive and on a national scale if it is to be effective at all.

There are of course certain factors that militate against continuous hard work all the year round in Indian industrial concerns. When we appreciate the Western worker for the great impression he makes of spontaneous, unsupervised industriousness, we do not often realise how much of it is due to the stimulating effect of temperate climate. The extreme heat of India is exhausting and not conducive to a high rate of industrial production. The severity of difficult climatic conditions will have to be moderated by modern scientific devices before the Indian factory worker can be expected to give as good an account of himself in the matter of labour output and productive efficiency as his Western compeer with a more equable and physically pleasant habitat. He cannot be blamed if he tires quickly in hot weather and exhibits avidity for more holidays.

But discipline is a different matter. Discipline is the innate sense of what one owes to oneself and to others in the performance of duty. A high standard of discipline will reduce the need for supervising middlemen. The cost of the saved supervision can then be put into the wages of the industrial worker. Labour in India has totally failed to grasp one or two simple truths bound up with

its own prospects and prosperity. It has savoured trade union power to the full and understood the effectiveness of mass action for winning response to its demands. But this understanding has not been combined with intelligence and practical wisdom. Trade unionists have not realised that to get more, they have to put more energy into wealth-production; and that no benefit will spring mysteriously from somewhere to bless them, unless they have first created it with their own effort to enrich the common divisible pool of the institutions employing them. Thus they have fallen into the fatal habit of accomplishing less than their capacity and expecting more than their accomplishment.

There may be exceptions here and there, but it has become common practice for employees in many industrial enterprises to slacken in their work or do it without care and fall foul of newcomers if they reveal a greater level of diligence and industry. The prevailing atmosphere is one of battle with the employer who is looked upon as an enemy to be put down. The managements are helpless as under existing labour laws they cannot impose proper discipline or get rid of recalcitrant trouble-makers or even eliminate superfluous and unwanted employees. The whole attitude of the Government to labour should change in the light of ordinary commonsense, patriotic considerations and the requirements of the national economy, if the unruly temper of the labour force, egged on frequently by leaders of doubtful wisdom, is to be checked before it lands the country into still more disastrous consequences.

In other countries where industrial labour is lavishly paid, the whole background is that of already accomplished full employment for all the people. India's background is totally different. We have millions of unemployed who have no income at

all. If these are to be absorbed into paying occupations, the scope for expansion of existing industries and the formation of new ones must be constantly stimulated by conditions that will enable profits being ploughed into further industrial ventures. The raid on profits that has become customary under legal enforcement in many branches of industry is fatal to the potential economic development of the country.

In a country where only a fraction of the people are employed and the vast majority are idle and unemployed, the perfectionist demands of the trade union leaders have in reality the unpatriotic effect of preventing further industrial expansion for the benefit of the poorest of the poor without any present means of living or hope of future economic salvation. The privileged who have the good fortune to have jobs are organising themselves with varying degrees of rapacity, each class bent on its own sectional benefit, with little or no thought for the indigent unfortunates lower down the scale, or the economic laws that govern work and wages. The pressure of the various sectional agitations for more emoluments, divorced from any concern for the source of wealth out of which they are to be drawn, has begun to throttle industry instead of encouraging it.

The dead weight of a vast and increasing army of unemployed is pulling our whole economy down. A less expensive system of industrial organisation with greater facility for the multiplication of enterprise affording improved opportunities for the absorption of the unemployed, can alone relieve the mounting tensions of uncared for mass poverty. The isolated pockets of prosperity created for the benefit of limited sections of people under the existing policies of the Government, which they blindly imagine to be progressive, are a source of constant and unendurable injustice to millions left out in the cold, and can end only in chaos.

SAKA

FAREWELL TO CIVILIZATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

*A world too cruel for laughter
Too miserable to hate
So crazy that, hereafter,
One can't exaggerate.*

REGINALD REYNOLDS

"I do not believe any country has the right to condemn unknown, unnamed and unborn children to mutilation, torture and death, merely by experimenting with weapons for its own defence. That is a fundamental immorality" said Mr. Aneurin Bevan on June 10 in Parliament. Logic and humanism must lead such a strong conviction to pressing for the unilateral suspension of tests by Britain and Mr. Bevan should join the movement initiated by Bertrand Russell, Priestley, Stephen King-Hall and others. Not a day passes but some ugly news is printed in the papers disclosing with what remarkable and tragic ease the Western conscience has accommodated itself to barbarities once thought unthinkable. Nations claiming high descent and noble men and women for their historic founders and leaders are now engaged preparing wretched poisons of all kinds for use in war. Cricket is confined to the play field. The Powers have determined that there shall be no code or cricket in international life.

We are told from Washington that a new array of weapons 'as effective if not more effective than H-bombs' is under study by U.S. Defence officials, and C.B.R. is the comprehensive name for this type of weapons. These letters stand for Chemical Biological and Radiological deadly poisons. The plan includes gas to kill and blind and mutilate human beings. We are assured in this news item from Washington that 'even if H-bombs were banned, the Powers have enough destructive agents at their command to wage war efficiently' — that is with monstrous barbarity. And so the banning of H-bombs would not matter.

A front-page head-line in the New York Times reads:

U.S. ready to cope with the Soviet end of nuclear tests.

Reading this, an old fashioned indignant American wrote in a letter to a leading weekly: "To cope according to Webster is to struggle or contend on equal terms or with some success. Odd, isn't it, that we should need to contend against a plan which might reduce the cancer of blood and bone in millions of children?" The correspondent has not marched with his government! What grim humour that the aims of America and other great Powers are not only to surpass one another in military equipment but to undo all efforts at reducing the horrors of war and that they should congratulate themselves on coping with difficulties in that line!

We watch with tragic interest the successful manner in which America has been combating the proposal for a Summit meeting for disarmament. America seems indeed in love with the cold war!

Richard Armour contributes some doggerel lines to New Leader:

*Though Russia's bomb tests are suspended,
That doesn't mean that they are ended,
But just suspended, if you please,
As was the sword of Damocles.
One is inclined to play some bad verses back to this:
I tell you, Armour, they're bound to end
If Ike but say, 'We too suspend!'
Shed your fear of a Soviet trap,
The sword of D can be sold for a scrap!*

What is this strange attachment to a disastrous cold war? Is it only fear and suspicion? Or, God forbid, is it also that America's economy has got entangled with the cold war? What a sad pass for the world indeed if industries, vested interests and national economies prevented the suspension of diabolical forms of war, of if

the continuous poisoning of the world's air must be kept up to support employment. Let us hope this cannot be.

After what has been sworn by eminent men of science over and over again, no good citizen or nation can escape the conclusion that we should rather ourselves dig than use these explosions and poisons on human beings. In no case can any nation have the right to contaminate the air that belongs to all peoples. I am using the very language in which Mr. Norman Cousins has expressed his considered opinion on the subject in a very recent article. He has there discussed the whole question from the American angle and concludes that there being a serious question about the effects of nuclear testing on human tissue, he would have America suspend her tests at once and call upon the United Nations to institute immediate compliance by all nations.

The stopping of test explosions does not of course dispose of the problem of war or of the use of nuclear weapons in war, but as Mr. Norman Cousins has said it is "a good place to begin".

It seems as if science too has split into one science for Western and another for Eastern! The United Nations' fifteen member committee appointed to investigate into the hazards of test explosions has not been able to speak the truth with one voice. Secrecy, the great enemy of science and the best accomplice of untruth and quackery has crept into where it does not belong. There is a curtain drawn over the proceedings of this committee of scientific investigation. The committee's views and proceedings are of urgent and universal interest and of capital importance if U.N. still holds to its foundational duties. It seems as if political considerations may asphyxiate truth. Even in less important matters there should have been no doubt as to the function of science. Here is a case where the quality and the magnitude of the matter involved call for utmost frankness and adherence to truth which is the only code of conduct for scientific investigation. It is not the res-

possibility of such committees to help or hinder policy either Western or Eastern or to advise on political steps. There ought to be no hesitation in the public promulgation of what they have found as men of science — and after weighing expert scientific opinion.

The world however will not find it difficult to perceive where the truth lies in spite of political pressures seeking to suppress or distort! Unwillingness to publish will lead men to infer the worst about what is sought to be covered up. In fact however there is nothing new to be discovered.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

The other day a young (comparatively) assistant editor of an Indian paper and his wife a Cambridge Ph.D. in law came to honour me with a visit on their way back from Kerala which has now become a place of pilgrimage in India.

"What did you take your Ph.D. in?" I asked. "What was your thesis?"

"The conflict of laws" the young lady said.

I remembered what this subject was. I knew it when I was myself a law student.

"You were in Cambridge for three and a half years on this single subject?"

"Yes", she said, and we talked on, about a number of things including Communism in office and about a Communist ministry in a provincial government in India. But I am not putting all that or anything of it here. My mind went on to think about the conflict of laws.

It is a chapter of private international law as it is called. Is there any international law now? I am afraid there is not. It is all gone. It belonged to an age that has terminated. There is at present no international law or morality as poor old Austin called it with concern for juristic accuracy. There is no one to guard that department of morality and so there is no one observing it. It is remarkable how things that live only in conscience die so unobserved.

So much has been publicly told already by the best and most eminent men of science. The arguments for pushing all mankind into serious hazards in order that American or other technicians may perfect their weapons of destruction or even moderate their effects for tactical reasons cannot possibly make any appeal to the judgment of independent men be they jurists or be they men of science. The whole thing is a barbarous programme of aggression on world health and human rights and a total renunciation of civilization — Heaven knows for what purpose!

Edward Teller and a collaborator have produced a book on nuclear energy in which the danger to mankind from strontium 90 fallout is dealt with. Teller's exposition is frank and clear. The difference is pointed out between estimates of world average increase in radio-active intensity and of increase in any particular region. Everyone knows that a poison or, for that matter, any human misfortune, if uniformly distributed over the entire population of the world, wouldn't hurt any single person. Yet it may have obviously fatal effects if concentrated all on a single individual or on the population of a district. It is pointed out that danger from fallout cannot be correctly estimated by taking the low world averages of increased radio-activity. The last rice crop in Japan showed strontium 90 content eight times the world average. Even this however is not my point. The point is that the book discloses the revolution that has happened in conscience. In the next thirty years six million people will die of leukemia and bone cancer. The past nuclear tests have produced fallout that may increase this by 10,000. "It has been claimed that it is wrong to endanger any human life. Is it not more realistic" ask the scientist authors of the book "and in fact more in keeping with the ideals of humanitarianism to strive toward a better life for all man-

kind?" A thing done by you may endanger human life — human life wherever it may be, not in your own family or in your nation. Is it to be excused because your test explosions are supposed to help America's striving toward a better life for all mankind by confounding the knavish tricks of Communist Russia? What does it matter, modern conscience says, if 10,000 or more people die of bone cancer or leukemia in any country in the world if as a result we may be able to add one more effective type of weapon to defend the American way of life against Communism?

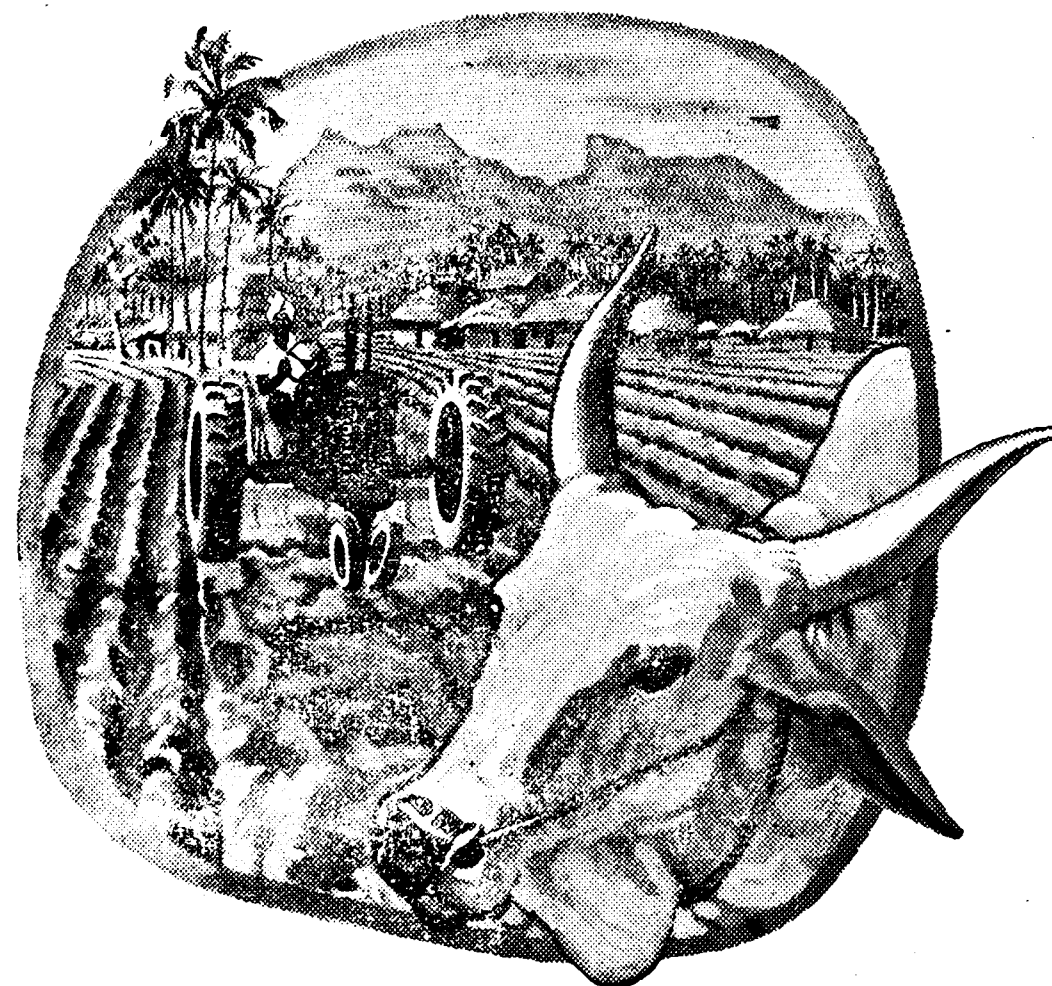
"We are certainly talking here about questions" says the book, "which may strike hard on some individuals, but which from the point of view of the community or race are not serious".

The meaning of this sentence in American language is that nuclear explosions are justifiable from the point of view of adding something to the defence of the world against Communist aggression, although these explosions may cause disease and death to a number of individuals who would otherwise have not died of cancer of bone or blood.

Where is international law now? Even if the whole world had become subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, these tests that poisoned the air and the earth would be criminally punishable unless a special law were passed authorizing the dangerous contamination as an act of State in the interests of the U.S.A. But the whole world has not passed into the jurisdiction of the U.S.A. yet and the poison spreads over the non-American world and non-American air and soil as well as over the U.S.A. Had there been any international law alive, these test explosions were inconceivable.

Yet young men and women study international law and spend money and energy over it. They might as well spend time over the study of astrology or haunted houses and the mutual behaviour of ghosts.

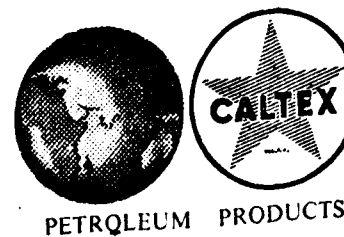
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: It seems that Delhi is becoming increasingly uninhabitable in summer. This year there is a record number of dust-storms. There is something in the theory that the deserts of Rajasthan are ruthlessly expanding. The versatile Mr. K. M. Munshi's Vanamahotsav effort to combat the desert warfare has proved to be no more than the proverbial 'offensive' of Canute against other elements. The Planning Commission does not seem to have any plans for saving Delhi from being slowly swallowed up by the neighbouring deserts. It is too late in the day to think of any alternative Capital though at one time, when the British were very much here, Congress orators were railing against Delhi as the grave-yard of empires. But political sentiment apart, both for physical and strategic reasons, it is time the Government of India gave some thought to the important question of having—and naming—a second capital. But they can be trusted to leave things alone or leave them to the sweet will of Providence. They cannot take too much on their hands.

In the nature of things in India to-day, all roads lead to Delhi. It is so not only where the Government are concerned but even when the Congress is in the picture. No week passes without bringing in its quota of Congress workers from places, near and far. But most of them leave the Capital thoroughly disillusioned.

For, the AICC office at 7 Jantar Mantar Road functions just like Whitehall, utterly impervious to long-distance appeals or far-flung protests. Aggrieved parties or irate individuals converge on the Capital in the hope of getting a hearing, not knowing that good money is wasted on a doubtful mission. They leave the place, not only disappointed but with a sense of disgust, for they either do not get a hearing or are summarily, if not brusquely, dismissed, which is all so strange as they happen to be, in their own humble way, the standard-bearers of the Congress, with a record of service which few among those that are shown preferment can possibly claim. One such was known to have written to the High Command that the Congressman recommended by the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee for a seat in the Legislative Council was not even born when he was behind prison bars in the cause of the Congress! But it was all a cry in the wilderness; for the High Command has invariably, and even deliberately, reduced itself to a mere ratifying body, leaving decisions to the P.C.C., irrespective of its arbitrariness. It is little surprising that seasoned Congressmen, having been asked to plead with the very men who were supposed to have wronged them, are now thinking in terms of a convention of all old, genuine Congressmen who have no place in the set-up. The day is not, it seems, far distant when Mr. Dhebar will see from his window in the Congress office, a few exasperated Congressmen either fasting or doing some kind of Satyagraha, if only to make the High Command realise that it has certain moral obligations (even in administering political affairs) to set its own house in order by not filling 'houses' with some men who have no pretensions to use the name of the Congress. Mr. Dhebar has yet to profit by experience as well as by errors.

The Congress President, by virtue

of his position as the head of a people's organisation, should be the most accessible person at the Capital. He should at any rate be accessible at reasonable hours to those who come from long distances for his 'darshan'. It is difficult to understand why several of those who have an appointment with him should ever be made to wait indefinitely, Ministers being no exception. It may be no fault of Mr. Dhebar's but Mr. Dhebar must not put himself in the position of being blamed too often for secretarial bungling. Only recently there was the instance of a scion of an illustrious family—a family whose name is bound up with the history of Indian Nationalism—having been made to wait for over an hour, and then disposed of rather funnily. At the given time Mr. Dhebar could not extricate himself from other visitors. And it was time for him to call on a dignitary. So he would rather take his exasperated visitor with him in his car for a brief interlude till he reached his destination in another ten minutes or fifteen and then let him go back quietly, full of gratitude for the great consideration shown him by the President! What was that urgency about going to the other place when someone whom he had asked was waiting for over an hour to discuss with him an important matter? But one could understand. Mr. Dhebar was to see no other than Shri G. D. Birla while both of them were to rush to Pandit Pant. The comment of one in the know was that these tri-partite talks are no uncommon feature of the season. Maybe Mr. Morarji too was there to make it a Four-Power Conference! The Prime Minister was in the city but he would be the last man to take a 'petty' view of group confabulations!

It is to the credit of Mr. Shriman Narayan to have shown the way from the General Secretaryship of the Congress to a place in the Planning Commission. He has earned the distinction as much by hard work and assiduous study of problems as by his foresight in declining the Congress ticket for the Lok Sabha

June 21, 1958

out of deference for the aspirations of new recruits. For one who, as a student in Allahabad donned silk suits, as a professor at Wardha was clad in Khadi, and as a politician annexed, on the matrimonial plane, a daughter of the late Jammalal Bajaj, the ascent is by no means giddy. At the A.I.C.C., the commercial

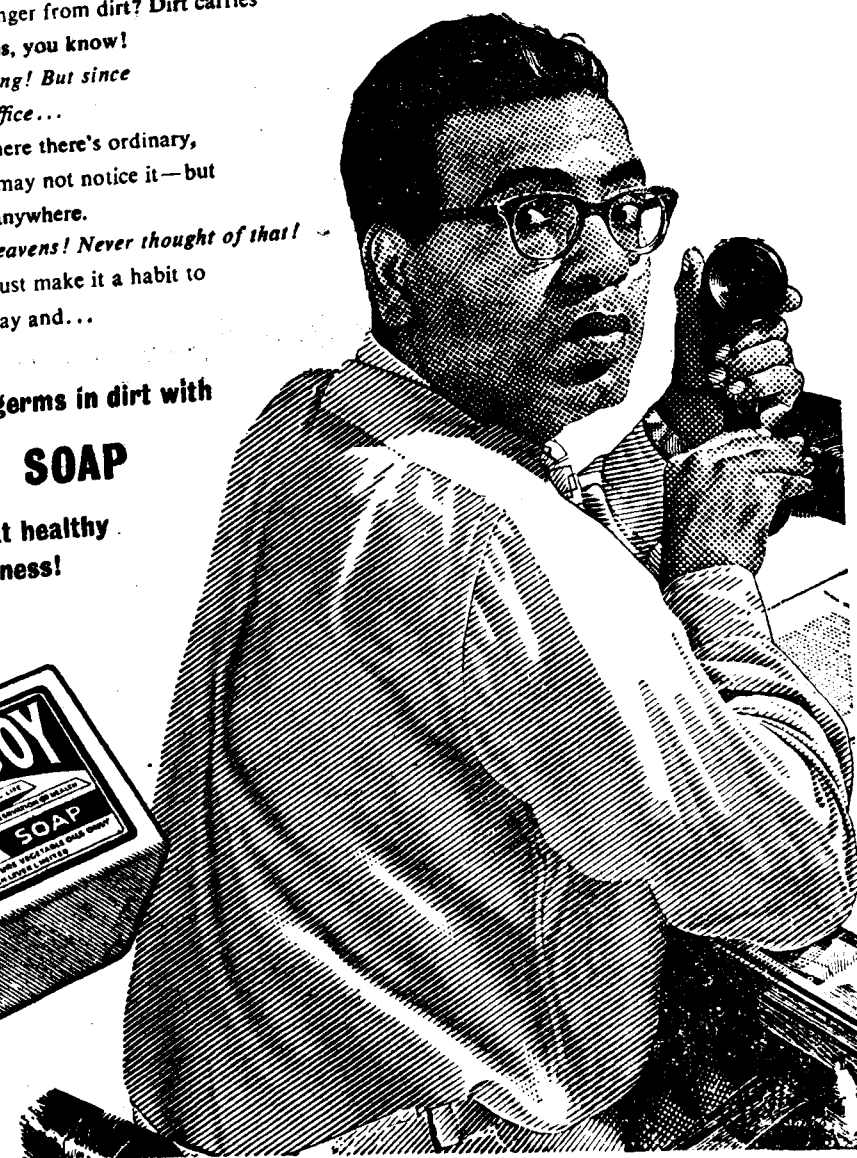
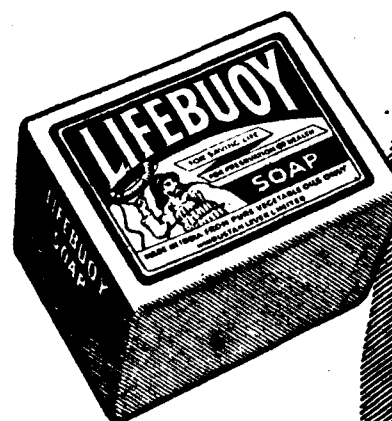
success he has made of the *Economic Review* is a standing example of his singleness of mind and uncanny resourcefulness. It was a victory for secularism when he got rid of the caste suffix 'Agrawal' and insisted on being 'Shriman Narayan'; he had not taken much time in making himself familiar to the

world as Shrimanji. His ability, earnestness and affability have deservedly raised him above the level of Dhebar's 'understudy', and one may well be prepared to hear one day that from the Planning Commission he has moved on to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. He is young enough to sow and old enough to reap.

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
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—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!



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REVIEW

RAJAJI'S SPEECHES

When India attained freedom from British rule in 1947, there was a wave of hope and optimism that swept the country. While not quite up to the emotional level of Wordsworthian bliss at the dawn of the French Revolution, there was yet a glow that warmed the heart as at the attainment of a long cherished desire. Like the prelude to philosophical discipline, the impediments had been cleared and the climate had been created for the initiation of positive achievement. And then truth, in all its manifold ugliness and cruelty, reared its head. The Muslims and the Hindus indulged in recriminatory massacres on a scale unknown outside the field of battle. A fanatical Hindu shot Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest amongst us all. The food crisis was snowballing itself into gigantic dimensions and the Grow More Food campaign was passing into the region of national humour. Kashmir was sticking out like a thorn in the crown. The inherent forces of separation by language and community were elbowing themselves to the forefront and tarnishing the pristine ideals of the Congress. So much so, even a move to introduce a rational system of primary education in the villages was given a communal rope to hang itself with.

The present collection of speeches by Rajaji reflects the reactions of a great Indian and a great patriot to the changing circumstances of the country subsequent to the advent of political freedom. They are compounded of hope, and fear, admonition and encouragement. They cover a variety of subjects, and in spite of the fact that they were the utterances of the Governor of Bengal, the Governor-General of India, and the Chief Minister of Madras, the individuality of the intellect forces its way through rock-restraints of official protocol.

The 15th of August filled him with hope. "The people of

Rajaji's Speeches—Two Volumes.
Bharati Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1958. Price Rs. 2.

India", he said, "have been given the untrammelled right to shape their own destiny from today onward. Let us, on this occasion, pay silent homage to all those who have worked for this end through the long years of aspiration, agitation and struggle, and who are no longer with us in the flesh to see the fruition of their labours and their sufferings". But political freedom was only an opportunity and not the whole of national achievement. To begin with, "violence or the forms of obstruction, non-co-operation or direct action, to which recourse was justified on the grounds of sheer necessity when we were struggling against foreign rule, were out of place when popular leaders were in charge of their affairs". They had won freedom, but had not yet learnt to be free. It seemed easy to be loyal to British authority, but difficult to be loyal to the authority of their own democracy. Freedom was just the daybreak calling them to their duties, and if they went to sleep over their freedom, not a tortoise, but misfortune will overtake them.

What was the remedy? The first was work. "Let people think that Mahatmaji is not only speaking through the mike, to vast audiences, but that he is putting forward a plea for a continuous and honest endeavour. He wanted people to work. Work is the only thing by which man can justify his existence. He must work and produce, and it is only then he has a right to live. He has to work honestly and without caring for personal advantages. He has to work in a detached way. That was Bapu's doctrine, the doctrine of the Gita, and of all the other scriptures of the world". The second need was thrift, understanding, love, character. He told the Trivandrum Municipal Council "We have not yet learnt the technique of creating and developing trust. We have to trust people to understand people, and to create trust in people and to do these things we have to use such tools and machi-

June 21, 1958

nery as are available. They cannot be done by new Ministers unless you give them time". Further, character was not a mere copybook ideal, but the wisest national policy, and unless they made up their minds that it was easy to be straightforward, the glory that their country deserved could not be built.

But what he saw around him caused him pain. When Mahatmaji was killed he said "Even our grief tends to find shape and solace in anger and violence. Our vigilance against this original sin which poisons our natures must therefore be eternal. Suppression and State-coercion cannot be avoided in this imperfect world. But let us realise clearly and once for all that goodwill cannot be established except in the way that our beloved leader taught. There is so much war-like talk about peace, and so much belligerent demand for goodwill. But fire cannot be quenched by oil. May we remember the wisdom of the love which our departed leader has left for an inheritance, his teaching and the memory of the life he lived". Gandhiji had to prove himself by dying. Rajaji moralised on this in sorrow. He said "This goes to show that in these modern, complex days, people must demand the extreme form of truth—truth that kills the thing which is itself truth. We cannot prove ourselves unless we die. This is a thing that makes us sad, but let us be proud that here in India, we had one who was able to prove himself in that supreme manner".

Rajaji did not rest content with mere moralising. His has ever been a constructive mind, bright with a logic that builds and not destroys. So he first postulated the purpose of education. "The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time, and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightaway". He carried out this principle by proposals for a three hour primary education per day to be

followed by three hours of some craft. He had a double purpose in making this proposal. Firstly, he desired to prevent a shift of emphasis from work to words, and to maintain the traditional skills of the rural craftsmen. Secondly, the three hour shift gave him the chance to double the number of children that could receive education. But he was grievously misunderstood as trying to perpetuate the frontiers of caste and the scheme was scrapped by his successors.

About religion also his approach is dynamic and constructive. Our forefathers "left a tradition of wise conservatism that has ensured the continuity of culture and been a safeguard against decay and destruction. At the same time, it did not prohibit a readjustment to modern knowledge. Failure to readjust must lead to decay and destruction. It is our own fault and not that of our forefathers, if we misinterpret a protective conservatism as a death trap of truth". The fathers of Hindu religious thought conceived of their subject in a scientific spirit, as a search for truth and not as dogma; so the

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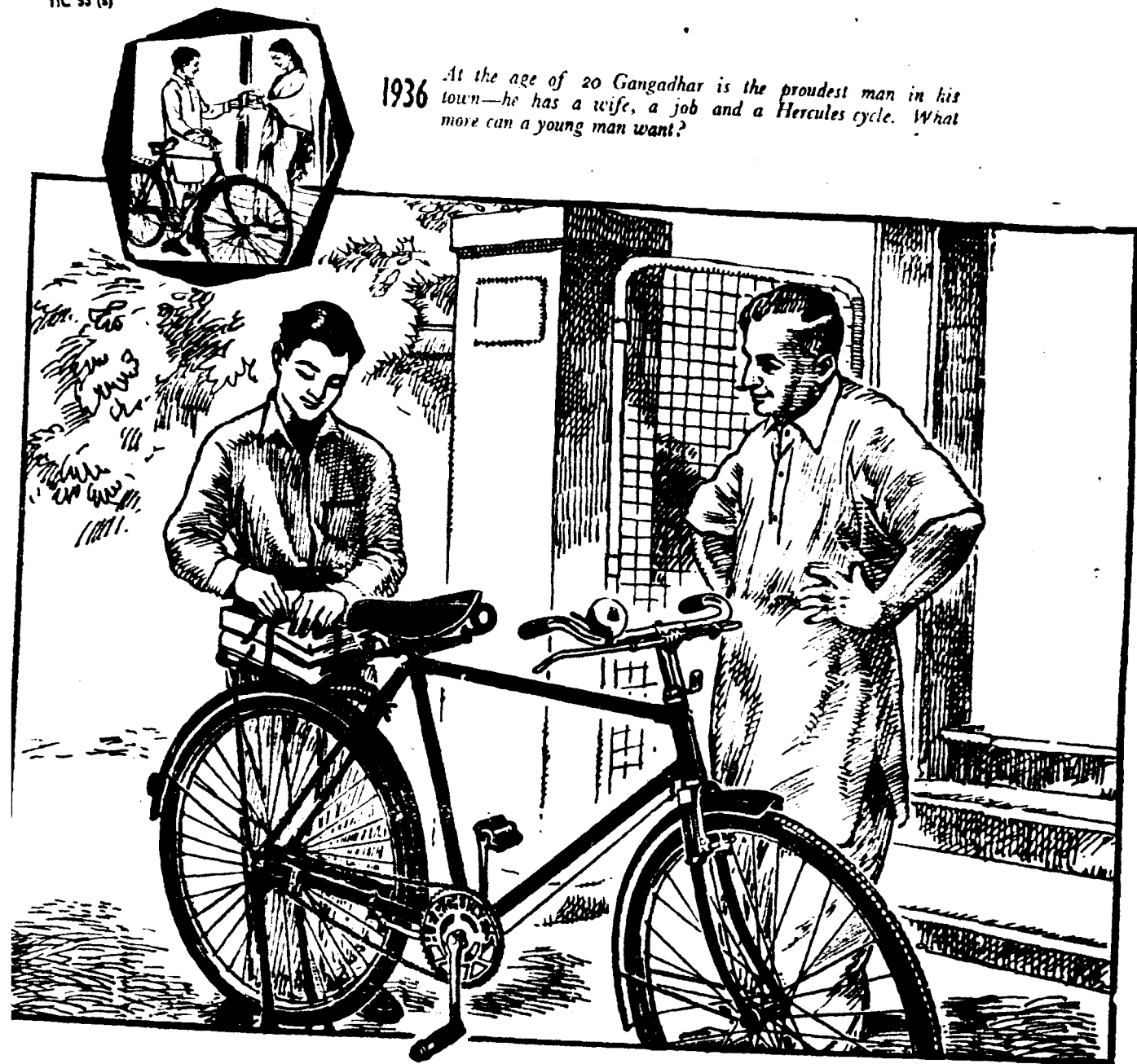
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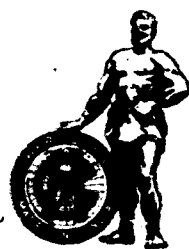
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THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

spirit of Hinduism is to welcome other hypotheses and to instil a feeling of toleration and reverence for other scriptures. Thus the Vedantic life is pre-eminently fitted for a planned, co-operative, community life, wherein every one must work according to capacity and get according to his need. It necessarily eliminates the selfishness of competition. The Vedanta also rests on the principle of the rule of law as understood by natural philosophy, not authoritarian law, i.e., "The universe is recognised therein as the result of a gradual unfolding of the creative power inherent in the primordial substance". Without contradicting the conclusions of science, and degenerating into formalism, Hindu philosophy lives as a necessary guide to modern life because it inculcates the new economy of social unselfishness, makes toleration and understanding compulsory, and work a worship.

One may grouse against the editors of this collection that they have not recorded the speeches in full. A speech is not an essay, and the extraction of the didactic portions of a speech takes away from it the human quality that was evoked by the circumstances of its making. The topical portions add to the value of the speech, as pure material for reading, while the bare pith of the sermon uplifts without always enlivening.

The speeches refer to a short period in the official life of Rajaji. A caged lion roars but weakly, true to character but not with spontaneous exuberance. A full collection of his speeches should contain his famous performances at the Gaya Congress, in the Madras Assembly, at the Lucknow and Patna Conventions, and on numerous political platforms, during the period that he was a vital force in the councils of the Congress; and more recently, his still vital speeches on the language medium, the atom bomb, and B.C.G. This reviewer looks forward to such a completely representative collection by which one may get a true idea of the man.

S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY.

Bombay: The Film Critics' awards were declared at Metro on Saturday 14th June in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of film personalities. Indeed, but for Mehboob, Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor, Nutan, Vyjayantimala, Mohmed Rafi and Leela Chitnis, almost all the nominees were present on the occasion. And it must be said to the credit of the members of the executive committee of the Film Journalists' Association that they managed to keep the awards a secret almost till the last moment.

The award winners for 1957 were: Best film—'Do Ankhen'. Best director—V. Shantaram. Best actor—Dilip Kumar ('Naya Daur'). Best actress—Meena Kumari ('Sharada'). Best supporting actor—Ajit ('Naya Daur'). Best supporting actress—Leela Chitnis ('Basant Bahar'). Best story—Akhtar Mirza ('Naya Daur'). Best dialogue—Vishwa-mitra Adil ('Sharada'). Best music—Shankar-Jaikishan ('Basant Bahar'). Best lyrics—Sahir Ludhianvi ('Pyasa'). Best male singer—Mohamad Rafi ('Pyasa'). Best female singer—Geeta Dutt ('Pyasa'). Best cinematography—Fareedoon Irani ('Mother India'). Best audiography—A. K. Parmar ('Do Ankhen Barah Haath'). Best editing—C. Borkar ('Do Ankhen'). Best art direction—M. R. Acharekar ('Pardesi'). Best choreography—Sohanlal and Gopi Krishna ('Kathputli'). Best foreign film—'Rainmaker'.

These awards were given by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon who presided over the occasion. The award presentation was preceded by a variety programme of songs, dances and a skit. Gopi Krishna's dance proved to be the highlight of the entertainment programme.

While B. R. Chopra received Dilip's award and Rafi's son received his award, the presentation was marred by a confusion between the poets, Shakeel Badayuni walking to the dias and receiving Sahir's award. Shakeel had to go back on the stage and

make amends by giving the award back to Sahir. With more alertness on the part of the organisers, this mistake could have been easily avoided. It is also a mystery how Shakeel could have misunderstood when the picture 'Pyasa' was clearly mentioned.

Shri V. K. Krishna Menon made a short speech in which he emphasised the important role of films. He also presided over the silver jubilee celebrations of 'Bhabi'. At this function also he made a very brief speech and complimented the producers of the successful film and distributed the shields to all those who had contributed to its creation on behalf of A. V. M. Ltd. Shri A. is Meiyappan also made a significant speech stressing the responsibility of the film makers to wield so potent an instrument as the film with care and consideration.

Earlier, Shri Menon met some of the film personalities at an informal function arranged by Rajbans Khanna at his residence in Juhu. Here he met Guru Dutt, S. Mukerjee, A. V. Meiyappan, Mohan Segal, R. Chandra, Balraj

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Sahni and some of the film journalists.

When I asked him about his speech in Madras, Shri Menon averred that years ago he had told Shri Vasan and others to start a raw film manufacturing factory in India. But at that time, the producers, who could buy raw film in an open market, did not bother. Shri Menon was aware of many things about the film industry including the star-system. And though the raw film was not his 'department' he felt that Shri Shastri had an open mind, and if the producers prepared a good case, they would be able to get their demands.

When someone said that the producers do not look beyond their noses, Shri Menon retorted: "The trouble with you is that you have too many noses". He also suggested that the State Trading Corporation would help the film industry to buy raw film from Eastern Europe as the stock could be bought in terms of 'rupees'. Shri Menon said that

since we are going to have a raw film factory in co-operation with East Germany, it would be advisable for producers to get used to the stock that will be manufactured here.

It is not birth but upbringing that determines the character of a person — this theme which has already been tackled successfully in 'Awara' and 'Anhonee', is presented again in Rookkala Pictures' 'Parvarish'. Like its predecessors, it takes a progressive social viewpoint and disproves the theory of blue blood.

In 'Parvarish', we have the story of two children brought up together. One of them is a dancer's son and the other the son of a blue-blooded Thakur. As the identity of both these children is lost in a maternity hospital Thakur brings both the children home and his wife brings them up as if both of them were her own sons.

But Thakur is keen to find out the truth as he does not relish

the idea of bringing up a dancer's son in his household. To give him peace of mind, one of the sons, after they are grown up, pretends to be bad and leaves the house. The Thakur is happy; but his wife who loved both the children equally, is unhappy at the turn of events.

The Thakur's friend who had hoped that 'blood will speak' is forced to change his opinion, when after an accident he is given the blood of the 'bad' son, who declares himself to be a dancer's son. The Thakur also recants in the end.

While the theme is laudable, the screenplay is rather phoney and lacks dramatic conflict. Generally, in a maternity hospital, a mother never fails to recognise her own child. Later, there is no genuine conflict as the son 'pretends' to be bad and is not really bad. In fact, in the picture everybody is pretending while the real issue is never dramatically brought out as both the sons are good. Apart from this basic

defect, the screenplay abounds in coincidences with both Nazir Husain and Krishna Kant shouting at the top of their voice. Their interpretation of blue-blooded aristocracy on the screen is itself the worst commentary on the aristocracy. In contrast, Radha Kishen's lovable portrait of a dancer's brother, uncle of one of the sons, is human and makes a good case for the so-called 'mirasts'.

Now as the kind of usual self. Had the movie known the secret and yet tried to protect both the children, her character would have become more noble. Raj Kapoor, poorly photographed, enlivens the role of the son who goes bad and Mala Sinha makes a good romantic foil. Mehmood appears to be suffering from Raj complex. While the production values are just average, Dattaram's music is pleasing and S. Banerji's direc-

tion, for a maiden effort, quite promising. 'Parvarish' in spite of many phoney situations has the popular melodramatic appeal and a good theme.

The untimely death of Robert Donat at the age of 53 last week is a great loss to the film world. He was one of the most versatile artistes; and the role that he made immortal was that of Mr. Chips, the school-teacher in 'Good bye Mr. Chips'!

Though a great and popular star Robert Donat appeared in only a few films as he was suffering from asthma. In his childhood, Robert Donat triumphed over stammering and made his debut as an actor on the stage. He was 'discovered' by Alexander Korda while he was appearing in a crowd scene. It is said that during the shooting he was so relaxed that at one place he

laughed into the camera. Korda called him next day after seeing the rushes and signed him.

His first notable films were 'The Count of Monte Christo', 'The 39 Steps' directed by Alfred Hitchcock; but it was his performance in 'Good-bye Mr. Chips' that won him the Academy award. Since then he has appeared in 'Vacation from Marriage' and 'Winslow Boy'. For the last two decades, he was waging a fight against asthma. Only last year came the news that he had triumphed over the disease and he was staging a come-back in 'The Inn of the Sixth Happiness' in which he was co-starred with Ingrid Bergman. He died while the picture was in the last stages. One hopes at least one will be able to see his work in this picture. Robert Donat was an idol for all those who worshipped good acting.

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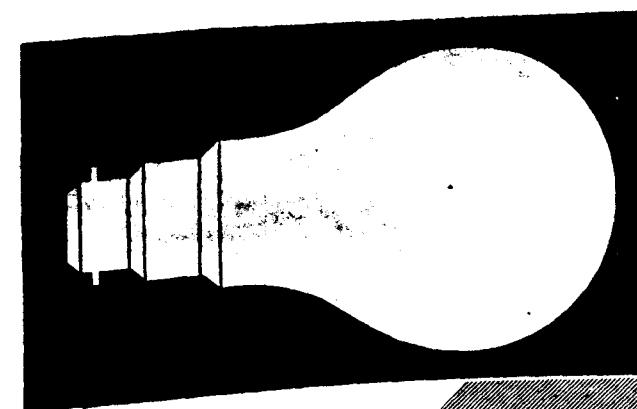
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SWARAJYA

Editor: Khasa Subba Rau

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THE NEW DESPOTISM

The Economist (London) makes some interesting suggestions in an article discussing trade union law as at present administered in Britain. It concedes that the existence of trade unions is still essential as a counterweight to the industrialists' long purse. But it points out that the trade unions themselves have taken over far too many intimidatory powers. And it cites the admission of a trade union leader himself that "there is now in some factories an atmosphere of fear that anybody who gets on the wrong side of the shop stewards is for the high jump." From this the journal argues that "it lies in the logic of Britain's history that controversial legislation will eventually have to be introduced to curb this new despotism, the sooner the better."

On what lines is such legislation to be envisaged? The right course, according to The Economist, is to safeguard the freedom of individual workers. As there are individual work-people who prefer to be non-conformist in the matter of strikes, what is wanted now, The Economist argues, is a charter for break-away unions; "but in much bigger part the need is for what union leaders will no doubt call indignantly, a charger for black-legs."

The need for protection of workers who do not want to join strikes is even greater in India than it is shown to be in Britain in the article from The Economist summarised above. Here the available employment is a small

fraction of the demand. Millions of unemployed would be glad to do more diligently for less wages most of the work which the trade union leaders are so ready to injure with their incitements for strike. It is also a well-known fact that labour law and labour organisation have together brought about conditions of discipline and slackness in Indian industrial undertakings which their managements are powerless to check or prevent. The enormous expense put into the Government's five year plans would have resulted in a far greater economic achievement if the ordinary laws governing the supply and demand of labour had been permitted to have their way at least to the extent of stimulating respect for work and a sense of discipline in our badly-led industrial proletariat. As it is, the volume of unemployment is appalling. The unemployed without any income at all, and little prospect of any in the normal course, would count it a blessing if they could get jobs half as attractive as those that are so constantly being subjected to dislocation through strikes. This fact is not unknown to many who participate in the strikes themselves. They know that if they lose the jobs they have, their condition would be much worse than ever before; and left to themselves they would prefer work to strike. It is the denial of the right to abstain from strike and the atmosphere of fear that prevails in many factories that en-

ables the labour leaders to hold the pistol at society in a rapacious attempt to secure further pampering of already privileged sections, widening ever more the already great gulf between the employed and the unemployed.

It is better that all people earn a little than that some already well off should achieve more and more of exclusive benefit. Because of failure to realise this, there has been no diminution in the area of national pauperism, for all the crores sunk in the five year plans and impressive improvement in the wages and amenities of particular sections of industrial labour.

The Mayuram Convention

I must pay a public compliment to the great lawyers and the other educated young men of South Arcot and Tanjore districts who organised the Union Language Convention at Mayuram last Sunday. It was a great and well-organised meeting and a complete success. The manner in which the young organizers conducted the business exhorted the admiration of us visitors who went from Madras. Their good sense, self-effacement and modesty were wonderful and put hope into my aching heart.

The following is their resolution which was accepted by acclamation by a huge audience that filled the spacious thatched structure in the Municipal Park. On the chairman's call for dissentient votes a solitary hand was raised

and there were renewed cheers from the vast audience :

Having regard to the importance of the study of English and, in particular of its modern scientific technical literature in the Universities of India in the future, and also the intimate connection between the University study and the Union official language, it is in the best interests of India as a whole to continue English as the Union official language.

If Hindi is to be made the official language, the disadvantages, which would for the first time be felt by the people of other regions, would create a feeling of unnecessary hostility, which would hamper national unity as against which the continuance of English, the maintenance of the status quo, would be the best means of maintaining and improving the efficiency of the administration, which had adjusted itself to English during the last 100 years and more.

Possible dissatisfaction with a foreign medium from the point of view of national dignity should be met by the use of Sanskrit formulae in ceremonies and protocol on special occasions, rather than by enforcement of Hindi for all official purposes.

The use of two languages in the same office would be wasteful and lead to confusion, delay and inefficiency, and therefore the vague bilingual formula of the Madras Government is not a practical solution of the problem.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

To set in motion

Mr. Nehru's perplexity, recently expressed, over the continual bitterness between India and Pakistan might find benign elucidation in some words by the President of the German Federal Republic, Mr. Theodor Huess.

Speaking in Washington early this month to the Congress of the United States, upon an entirely different subject, the 74-year-old scholar-writer-executive said :

"These issues are full of difficulties, but examples have shown us that they are capable of solution : one need only recall the problems of Trieste and the Saar.

"All that is required is to set in motion some of the all-pervasive forces inherent in human nature : reason, a sense of proportion, and perhaps a little love"

The key words in the venerable President's formula are, "to set



SUDARSANA OIL

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

A disciple came and stayed with Jnaanasamudra Desikar and learned many *saastras* at his feet. Having acquired much learning, he performed ablutions and offered prayers in the orthodox manner. After a time he had an *ashram* built for himself on the banks of the Kaaveri where he gave his teachings to people and distributed sacred ashes. He came to be known as Kapila Desikar.

One day, a madcap mendicant came to the *ashram* and, bowing before Kapila Desikar, gave him an oil, saying, "Oh, holy one, anoint your body with this oil before you bathe." Desikar asked him, "What is this oil good for?"

The mendicant answered, "It is good for the skin which guards the body. Please do use it for your inunction for four days. This is your slave's desire and one you can easily fulfil."

Desikar, well pleased with the mendicant's solicitude, gratefully accepted the oil and used it for four days as prescribed.

On the fifth day, the visitors of the *ashram*, for some mysterious reason, turned away quickly after performing their formal prostrations and taking a good look at the Swami. They did not wait as usual to listen to his teaching or to receive the sacred ashes. The same thing happened the following day and the day after. Desikar could see that the sight of him repelled people.

He thought, "There must be some evil witchery in this oil. That is why people are losing their respect for me. The fel-

low must have been envious of me."

Not knowing what to do in this situation, Desikar went to his preceptor, Jnaanasamudra Desikar and sought his advice.

After listening to Kapila's story, Jnaanasamudra said, "Let me have a look at the oil."

He sniffed at it and said, "My child, here is the explanation. This oil has been prepared to the chanting of the *Sudarsana Mantra*. If any one anoints himself with this oil before his bath, the skin and flesh will reveal, instead of hiding, the thoughts within. The beholders' sight will then penetrate the transparent flesh and skin. Some yogis use this oil and train themselves for self-control. But all this is not for people of our sort."

Kapila Desikar felt ashamed. After he left, Jnaanasamudra Desikar told his other disciples, "It is not enough if an unregenerate man, having read the *saastras*, plunges in water and offers his prayers. Till the mind and heart are pure, there is always the danger of discovery."

Some of the disciples talked among themselves, "This *Sudarsana* oil is a pretty terrible thing." Others said, "One can acquire learning, but it is not easy to keep the mind pure. When shall we become fit to use this oil on our bodies?"

Yet others said, "Plain sesame oil is good enough for us. We will have nothing to do with these oils that make the body diaphanous and expose the mind to view."

in motion". Of most, though not of all, the world's conflicts there is no lack of knowing what ought to be done. But to energise the stalled motor, and to start

things going, is something else again, as Mr. Nehru, and perhaps even President Mirza, well know.

JOHN E. FRAZER



Sotto Voce

The Peace that passeth belief

The Communist bantam from Kerala came to crow on Madras beach over the discomfiture of the fighting cock and the bedraggled clucking hens of the Congress at Devicolam. Only, as E.M.S. is the very pink of courtesy, his discreet triumph took the form of blandly telling Kamaraj Nadar, whose rugged eloquence had been requisitioned on the eve of the polls, "Heavens would not fall even if there ceased to be a Congress government in Madras. Why should you have been so worked up about Devicolam?" And he told Mr. Nehru even more kindly, "Have done with spell-binding for a while; there are clearly limits to what it can do. What about getting on with the Plan?"

Kerala's Chief Minister spoke with the assured aplomb of one who was firmly in the saddle and had no intention of stepping down. He has discovered that it is not at all difficult to play the parliamentary game in a country where the ambition of every "democratic" party is to appear to be more to the 'Left' than all the rest. He gave the Congress his recipe with great goodwill. "Soak the rich as I am doing, and you will save the Plan." What he didn't say out loud was, "And you will be playing my game nicely".

"Taking the money wherever it lies" or, as Mr. Nambudiripad put it with pithy concreteness, taxing the big landlords, plantation owners and capitalists to the limit is not, however, the whole secret of his success. The Kerala Government found that by imposing a ceiling of Rs. 1,000 on salaries they could hardly save enough to give a rupee extra to the poorer paid classes of Government servants. They said, "How we wish we could give you more! But, alas, we can't. You will however have the satisfaction that if we can't give you more, we shall

give others less. The great thing is to lessen disparities". And the poor enthusiastically applauded Communist justice.

An even more striking example of that justice is to be found in the way the Kerala Government regulate employer-employee relations. If there is a strike on, it is clearly a case of labour fighting for its rights. The police have no call to butt in, though there might be in existence a lot of musty legislation requiring them to safeguard the legitimate interests of the employer. Presumably, as all property is theft, to help employers to protect their own is to connive at the perpetuation of an injustice.

We have just had a shining example of democratic justice at work in Hungary. The People's Courts that decreed the secret doom of Imre Nagy and his companions found from "the investigation material"—no such old-fashioned stuff as evidence for People's Courts—that "Nagy and his accomplices, due to their former revisionist bourgeoisie nationalist political views, have logically slid to an alliance with the ultra-reactionary imperialist forces of the bourgeoisie to the betrayal of the people's democratic system, the Hungarian working people and their socialist homeland." You see how much circumlocution is needed to gloze over an ugly act. The fact was that though Nagy was given a safe conduct and an assurance that he would not be tried he was nabbed by the Russians the moment he stepped out of the Yugoslav embassy. And—eloquent testimony to the freedom of Hungary—news of his murder after a farcical trial comes from Russia.

Everyone will cordially agree with C. R. when he says that E.M.S. is a man of character. So was Imre Nagy. But that did not

save him from Russian vindictiveness and duplicity. Is it not naive in the extreme to contend that Imre Nagy's fate is irrelevant to what is going to be done at the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament and that as it is imperative to stop nuclear tests and Russia has promised to do so the Western Powers have no right to entertain doubts about her integrity? Is it not even more pathetic to see well-meaning people ready to believe at this time of day that because Khrushchev has peace on his lips he has peace in his heart?

Mr. Nambudiripad has no doubt that in spite of the Nehrus and the Sriman Narayans Communism will conquer India. To him as to all the faithful "Marxism and Leninism were sciences of universal application". Milovan Djilas knows more about Marxism and Leninism than most men living. He points out that Marx and Engels displayed a fierce intolerance to ideas opposed to their own which was not conducive to the discovery of truth; while to Lenin "anything was erroneous and valueless if it was not in accord with original Marxism". And those who grow ecstatic over Russia's passion for peace may usefully ponder on these lines from Djilas: "Founded by force and violence, in constant conflict with its people, the Communist State, even if there are no external reasons must be militaristic. The cult of force, especially military force is nowhere so prevalent as in Communist countries".

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SIDELIGHTS ::

A correspondent, whose letter is published in this issue, is surprised that Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan should have been compared to General de Gaulle in SWARAJYA. The Indian Socialist leader is not a military man as the French General is. But both are acknowledged patriots. Many of their compatriots look up to them for saving their respective countries from the mess into which they have fallen. De Gaulle is a great historical figure who heroically saved the honour of France in the last war. Nobody distrusts his motives. It is the extra-constitutional basis of the power he has come to, that renders him dangerous for the present and the future. In his regime he is a law unto himself and there is no other authority sharing his sovereignty or capable of checking it. It is this state of affairs that symbolises a rebound to the outmoded autocracy of the middle ages, and there is no knowing, once it gets started, into what mishaps it may lead the country concerned. The post of prime minister is not for unilateral assumption by means of declarations of willingness to accept it. On this point Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan has rendered himself a legitimate target for criticism. And if he is criticised for it, it certainly does not mean that full credit is not given to his conspicuous and distinguished services to the nation in the past.

Here is an extract from a letter from Sri Kumar Venkanna :

Whenever we apply for registering our papers for postal concession, we are asked to send the list of our subscribers. When it is sent the concerned persons keep quiet for months or till some of the subscribers die or leave their addresses and thereupon start their enquiry. By this time at least six months pass and many of the periodicals die due to heavy payment of postage. And if one reminds the P.M.G. he surely gets no reply; instead he gets a letter after eight or ten months stating that his paper cannot be registered.

It is next to impossible to get the registered number from the Madras

Postmaster-General for Kannada newspapers.

A children's monthly of five years' standing was made to wait a year and thereafter registered number was refused, forcing the publisher to stop the paper. The reason given was that it does not contain news, as if all the story magazines contain any news! Now another weekly is refused registration after more than six months of waiting.

These remarks make painful reading. Their purport is entirely contrary to my own experience. When two years ago SWARAJYA was started, the registration number for the journal was given within a few hours after the application was made, on the same day in fact. This exemplary promptitude might have been due to the graciousness and courtesy of the then Postmaster-General with whom I sought a meeting at that time and who impressed me as an officer of great understanding, dignity and diligence. Since then however I have had several complaints from other publishers about exasperating dilatoriness on the part of the Postal authorities in dealing with their applications for registration. A registered number printed on the cover of a paper entitles it to be posted at concession rates. It is a substantial concession and denial of it entails comparatively heavy expense which few new publications with uncertain incomes mostly yet to be tapped, are in a position to incur indefinitely. To many of these, too long a postponement of the postal concession will naturally mean hardship and difficulty, if not indeed a downright death warrant.

Nowadays there is scarcely a branch of business that is immune from Government regulation. But with the expansion and multiplication of their jurisdictions, the Government have not learnt the art of expeditious transaction of business. Existence is made intolerable for those whose work depends on official efficiency. Things are done in a trice for the lucky ones who have

influence at their command. For the rest, it is a purgatory of eternal subjection to the harassment of slights, insults, rude treatment, uncertainty, waiting, suspense, expense, humiliation, and waste of time. The dead weight of this hard experience sits as a blight on the whole economy of Swaraj India. If the Ministers succeed in the one single act of getting for people quickly and in reasonable time what they are entitled to in response to their applications to the various controlling authorities, without having to wait indefinitely, or come again and again, or bribe or go influence-seeking, they would be giving a greater stimulus to social contentment, good works and public morale, than with all their speeches and grandiose advertised plans put together.

The main objection to the continuance of English as the Union official language has come from those who feel that national dignity demands that this honour should be reserved for an indigenous language. The Mayuram Convention has responded to this objection by suggesting the use of Sanskrit formulae in official ceremonies and protocol on special occasions. Sanskrit is the mother of all Indian languages, and no region in the country is excluded or subjected to discriminatory injustice by its being elevated to special importance. The sonorous music of Sanskrit, peerless in rhythm and diction, may be expected to take the world by storm if chanted in proper style at the U. N. and other international gatherings, thereby doubly contributing to the enhancement of national dignity, doubtless to the gratification of all who perceive a reflection of national dignity in the sound of spoken words. At the same time the Mayuram formula ensures that by adherence to the status quo in all matters of communication between the State and the Centre, efficiency does not suffer, and no administrative injustice is done to any part of the country or to people born to any of its languages.

SAKA

THE VOICE OF THE SLUM-WORLD (RAJAJI)

We live in slums in Madras. The wise ones who live in Delhi and whose pity is great dislike of our ugly thatched roof huts and threaten to send us back to our villages. They promise to open industries and give us work there. When will they do it? Who will start industries in villages where there is no electricity and no railway line? Will the railway lines and the ports be taken there? And even if this be done will they build us non-slum houses there?

Do they imagine we have all our own houses in the places where they will select and plant new mills and factories? Have they even gone into or seen our own huts in our villages? Do they imagine they are so many 'home, sweet-homes'? We have no water there, no drainage, underground or overground, no lights at night, no sanitation service. Our children use all the ground round our homes for such purposes and we use the desert ground round our huts for it and the sun and rain are our only sanitary service. We go to a well where there is doubtful water and fight for a turn there to draw some drinking water.

If a 'slum' is removed from your sight it settles itself somewhere else. What poets you are to imagine that what is not seen has just been extinguished! Do you know we prefer to live on the slope of a dirty drain in Madras because we get work and send some money home for the wretched ones whom we have left there? We get the benefit of some public lighting in Madras which is not available in our villages.

You will make slums wherever your decentralised factory goes. Be sure of that. It is inevitable your factory out of sight will be worse than your factories under your eyes and the slums correspondingly worse. The slum is not an accident. It is inherent in the 'progress' you have adopted which requires a coal-driven or electric-powered machine to be

master and a number of living men and women as slaves.

You want your fastidious eyes to be saved from the sight of misery. How foolish to believe that we can be happier elsewhere when we know what is what and have come here of our own accord. We have not changed our opinions or regret it. How stupid of you to think that factories have arisen by chance in the cities. They have reasons to be there and they cannot but be there. Move the factories out and you will be making dirty towns where they are planted, meanwhile the factories suffering losses.

The inherent nature of collective work in the machine civilization brings into being our 'slums' or our one room 'chawls'. One cannot be sure which is the worse of the two. That depends on the relative values you give to things, men and women. If you follow the difficult path of living plain and thinking high and believe in using (not exporting) cottage-produced articles of food and wear—then the poor worker will live in his own house and suitably extend and improve it. Otherwise great people are bound to suffer the painful sight of our slums. We offer our respectful apologies for the annoyance we cause by the ugliness of our huts. Give us a little more attention in sanitary services,

lighting and schools and playgrounds and some simple social amenities. Use the law that has been passed to acquire the sites whose owners and some tout-gangs combine to exploit us and rob us of a substantial amount of what we earn. Slums are poor men's houses, the living and sleeping places of those whose work is essential for the life of those who occupy your other houses that contribute to the beauty (or ugliness) of your city.

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"THE FUTURE CRIME"

By Dr. ALBERT SCHWEITZER

In an American newspaper in the beginning of this year, Edward Teller, the father of the dirty hydrogen bomb, sings a hymn of praise to the idyllic nuclear war to be waged with completely clean hydrogen bombs. He insists on a continuation of the tests, to perfect this ideal bomb.

Here are two stanzas from Edward Teller's hymn to the idyllic nuclear warfare:

"Further tests will put us into position to fight our opponents' war machine, while sparing the innocent bystanders."

"Clean weapons of this kind will reduce unnecessary casualties in a future war."

Of course, neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union is thinking of producing this less effective bomb for use in a possible war. The American War department has quite recently declared that the irradiation of whole areas has become a new offensive weapon.

The clean hydrogen bomb is intended for the show window only—not for use. The bomb is to help people to believe that from now on nuclear tests will be followed by less and less radiation, and that no real argument speaks against the continuation of the tests.

Those who think that the danger created by nuclear tests is small, mainly take the air radiation into consideration, and persuade themselves to believe that the danger limit has not yet been reached.

The results of their arithmetic are, however, not so reliable as they would like to believe. Through the years the toleration limit for radiation has had to be reduced several times. In 1934 it was 100 radiation units per year. At present the limit is officially put at 5. In many countries it is even lower. Dr. Lauriston Taylor (U.S.A.), who is regarded as an authority on protection against radiation, holds, like others, that it is an open question whether there is anything called

a harmless amount of radiation. He thinks that we can only speak of an amount of radiation which we regard as tolerable.

We are constantly being told about "a permissible amount of radiation." Who permitted it? Who has any right to permit it?

When speaking about the risk of radiation we must take into consideration not only the radiation coming from outside, but also that coming from radio-active elements in our body.

What is the source of this radioactivity? The radioactive elements brought up in the air by nuclear tests do not stay there permanently. In the form of radioactive rain and radioactive snow they fall down on the earth. They enter the plants through leaves and roots and stay there. We absorb them through the plants by drinking milk from the cows or by eating the meat of animals which have fed on it. Radioactive rain infects our drinking water.

The most powerful radioactive poisoning occurs in the areas between the Northern latitudes 10° and 60°, because of the numerous nuclear tests conducted mainly on these latitudes by the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.

The radioactive elements absorbed over years by our body are not evenly distributed in the cellular tissue, but are deposited and accumulated at certain points. From these points the internal radiation takes place, causing injuries to particularly vulnerable organs. What this kind of radiation lacks in strength is made up for by its longevity, working, as it does, day and night for years.

It is a well-known fact that one of the most widespread and dangerous elements absorbed by us is Strontium 90. It is stored in the bones and emits from there its rays into the cells of red bone marrow, where the red and white blood corpuscles are made. Blood diseases—fatal in most cases—are the result.

The cells of the reproductive organs are particularly sensitive. Even relatively weak radiation may lead to fatal consequences.

The most sinister aspect of internal as well as external radiation is that years may pass before the evil consequences appear. Indeed, they make themselves felt, not in the first or second generations, but in the following ones. Generation after generation, for centuries to come, will witness the birth of an ever-increasing number of children with mental and physical defects.

It is not for the physicist, choosing to take into account only the radiation from the air, to say the decisive word on the dangers of nuclear tests. That right belongs to the biologists and physicians who have studied internal as well as external radiation, and to those physicists who pay attention to the facts established by the biologists and physicians.

The declaration signed by 9,235 scientists of all nations, handed to the U.N. Secretary-General by the well-known American scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling, on January 13, 1958, gave the reassurance propaganda its death-blow. The scientists declare that the radioactivity gradually created by nuclear tests represents a great danger for all parts of the world, particularly serious because its consequence will be an increasing number of deformed children in the future. For this reason they insist on an international agreement putting an end to the nuclear tests.

One incomprehensible aspect of the propaganda for the continuation of nuclear tests is its complete disregard of their harmful effects on future generations which, according to biologists and physicians, will be the result of the radiation to which we are being exposed.

The well-known French biologist and geneticist Jean Rostand calls the continuation of nuclear tests "the future crime". It is the particular duty of women to prevent this sin against the future. It is for them to raise their voice against it in such a way that they will be heard.

It is a strange fact that till now nobody has taken into consideration that the question of whether nuclear tests should be stopped or continued is not one which concerns the nuclear Powers exclusively, a question for them to decide at pleasure. Who is giving these countries the right to ex-

periment, in times of peace, with weapons involving the most serious risks for the whole world? What has international law—enforced by the U.N. and so highly praised in our time—to say on this matter?

International law would at once discover the interesting case of

Japan. That country suffers heavily from the effects of nuclear tests. The radioactive clouds created by the Soviet tests in North-East Siberia and by the American ones at Bikini (an island in the Pacific Ocean) is carried by the wind over the country. The resulting radio-

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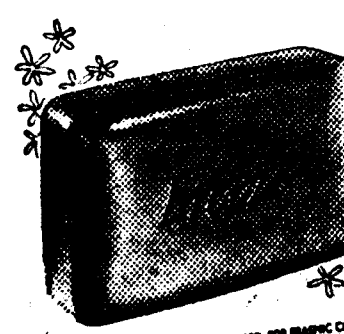
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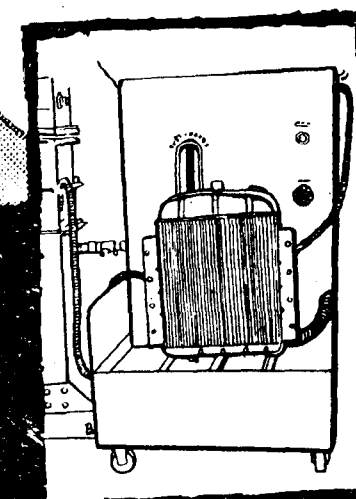
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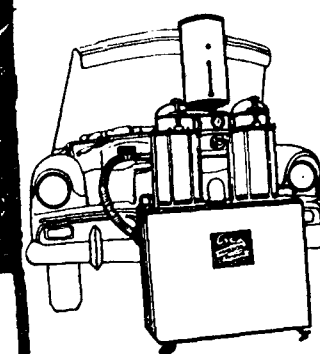


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active poisoning is the worst possible. Very powerful radioactive rainfalls are quite common. The radioactive poisoning of the soil and the vegetation is so powerful that the inhabitants of various districts ought to abstain from using their harvest for food. They are then faced with situations in which they are forced to eat rice infected with Strontium, an element particularly dangerous for children. The ocean surrounding Japan is also at times dangerously radioactive, and thereby the very food-supply of the country—in which fish has always played an important part—is being threatened because of the large amount of radioactive fish unsuitable for consumption.

It is high time that it is realized that the question of the continuing or ceasing of nuclear tests is a matter for international law to take up. Mankind is imperilled by the tests. Mankind insists that they stop, and has every right to do so. (Excerpts from a talk broadcast from Oslo Radio.)

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CAPITAL COMMENTS

By JUNIUS

New Delhi: If hasty comment has its dangers, belated comment has its own drawbacks. Nor is silence always a virtue: it is even sometimes a mere cloak to indecisiveness which again is not the same thing as open-mindedness. It is a kind of mental inertia that has, it seems, seized Delhi when the world is in ferment. Whether it is the crisis in Algeria or the trouble in Lebanon or the backstage politics in Pakistan or the shrill echoes of Hungarian horrors, Delhi is strangely unmoved. All political oracles are dumb as if holidaying. Prime Ministers necessarily impose silence on their capitals. The world should be convinced that Delhi is a one-man show. It is not enough if the Prime Minister returns to his seat. One should await the next Press Conference for a survey of world affairs, from the simmering cauldrons abroad to the sleepy hollows at home.

Now that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has freshened up a bit, what will he say or do? He may say anything or quite a lot, but what about the doing? The interval between the two visits to Kulu Valley was by no means hope-inspiring. The way he handled Mr. Kairon showed no disposition for any shock-treatment. Certificates were given in the old style. To have settled ideas about a man's innocence is one thing; to argue that no father can be penalised at all for the misdemeanours of any of his offspring is another. If no Minister is to be held responsible for the actions of the men around him in his Ministry, and no father for what his sons at home may do, how can the springs of justice and purity be kept unsullied? It is wrong to maintain that Mahatma's standards have no relevance in any discussion of public issues as out of such large allowances made, deviations from the code will emerge in abundance and destroy the very

foundations of good conduct or ideal behaviour. Earning sons need not necessarily be disinherited where parental righteousness cannot manifest itself, but they must be publicly disowned if parental reputations are at stake. Condoning doubtful things is as hazardous as conniving at them. It is the principle involved in the assessment of public character at its highest that is of vital consequence to a nation's affairs or fortunes and whoever may treat such issues haphazardly, Mr. Nehru should not.

Half of his troubles seem to arise out of his utter reluctance or inability to be stern always and ruthlessly sometimes. If persons can descend from high pedestals with the certain knowledge that everything else failing, the Prime Minister's known softness can be relied upon or exploited, where will it all lead to — except to the weakening of his own position? He has never had the reputation of being, in legal parlance, a competent judge. But he should not easily pass for an acquitting expert. His innate goodness is certainly not meant to be a sheet-anchor for those who are guilty of lapses. Nobody wants him to be cruel or even unkind but every true friend of his wants him to be firm. That is not an impossible demand or an unjust request. It is a fallacy to mistake firmness for fanaticism: the latter smacks of a certain blindness; the former comes only out of light. It is not adequate if Mr. Nehru is merely loved by the people; he should also be feared, particularly by his colleagues at all levels whether in the Government or the party; for, on the tradition they will help him to establish, will depend the good name of the administration and his own strength and success at the helm of affairs.

In well-informed circles there is a general apprehension that the Prime Minister, far from

tightening his grip, is loosening it, if not losing it altogether. The result is that certain Ministries are becoming independent satrapies — Defence, for instance. Mr. Pant and Mr. Morarji have learnt to look after themselves, almost blissfully free from any over-all control. And between them they are the joint custodians of the Right Wing — in the Congress headed by Mr. Dhebar and outside by Mr. Birla. It is difficult to say who is precisely pinning for the much-advertised Socialist pattern. To be fair to Mr. Krishna Menon he is more convincing from that point of view but, poor man, for all the Prime Minister's avowed partiality for him, he can hardly claim to have any roots in the party. It is not surprising that Mr. Nehru has hardly been able to bring to his Cabinet a sense of cohesion or any ideological fervour. How long can things continue on such a slender basis? What is more disconcerting is Mr. Nehru's tendency to let things drift. Not even his instinctive faith in the people of India has been an inducement to him to give them the dynamic leadership which he alone can. One wonders — indeed, people are loudly asking each other — if a sense of frustration has already crept into his mind. Would to God that it were not so. For the beginning of his frustration will spell the ending of all our adventure. It will lead to an yet greater demoralisation in the country. But why should he feel frustrated? The people are failed whom? The people are prepared to follow him if only he leads them. They will give him ten more years if he will but act like a General ordering about his lieutenants and getting things done. Where is the promised Land? Where are we? God knows if Mr. Nehru has given his thought to these questions during the last few weeks or has just come back from respite to let things drift and men dawdle while the sands are running out.

Today fame is a commodity from which money can be made; and perhaps the decline of the hero is really due more to those who try to build him up than to those who seek to knock him down. P. M. F. R.

RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION UNDER DEMOCRACY

By K. R. MALKANI

Rapid economic development involves vast investing in various sectors of the economy. We can invest only what we save from our current national income. That means tightening of belts. A party government dependent for its life on the free-will of the electorate, cannot at the same time make men tighten their belts and give it their votes. A country which wants to develop fast must suffer a measure of authoritarianism. There is no record in world history where a country with a democratic form of government has made rapid progress on the economic front. England was the first country to industrialise itself. This industrialisation started towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century. England had a very very limited franchise at the time. The first Reform Bill came only in 1832 after Lancashire's textile industry had already been established. Till the latter half of the nineteenth century there were no labour laws in England. Men — even small children — were made to work up to 18 hours a day. England had to suffer hideous factory conditions for long decades. It could inflict all that suffering on the common people because it had no real democracy till the emergence of the Labour Party early in the present century. Power, till recently, was concentrated in two hundred families. Adult male franchise came to England only in 1921 and adult female franchise in 1929. Besides this, England had a whole empire to exploit for its industrialisation. Thus industrialisation in England was achieved by misery at home, vastly greater misery in the Empire, postponement of democracy at home, and its virtual denial abroad.

French economy was built by the exploitation of the French Empire and the over-flow of surplus wealth from England. For example, it was England which built railways for France.

Germany made tremendous economic progress in the last quarter of the last century. But of course Germany had no democracy till 1918 when it adopted the Weimar Constitution.

Japan's progress was even more phenomenal. But Japan not only had no democracy till after the second world war, Japan was given huge loans by rival Western powers in a bid to secure support for their own adventures. Also the early conquest of Formosa and Korea gave Japan cheap raw materials and a ready market. Later, Manchuria's wealth fed Japanese economy.

Russia has made phenomenal progress during the last 25 years or so. But its progress was made possible only by limiting living standards and by other stern measures.

USA, perhaps, is the one country that has had the best of both worlds. But the Americans got a rich and empty continent to exploit to their heart's content. Also, being the strongest single power in the Western sphere, USA has used this position to extract advantage out of smaller countries in the "New World". There has been exploitation of a sort. India has no empty continent of its own. And it has no colonies to exploit. Foreign aid is more propaganda than real substantial aid. That being so, we have to lift ourselves by our own bootstraps. We have to face the politico-economic consequences of rapid economic development. There is no escape from it.

It might be said: But we are a democracy and we are developing our economy rapidly.

A friend suggests that we are only a formal democracy, that Nehru is a dictator — albeit inefficient — and that what progress we have made is due to his dictatorial powers. I don't agree. Nehru is dictatorial, but he is not a dictator. He is not even master of his own party house. We do

have a democracy, though not very efficient.

However, are we really developing our economy rapidly enough? Official propaganda apart, we are making no more

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progress than a man in mire. During the first Plan period we proposed to increase national production by 3 per cent a year. In spite of excellent monsoons we didn't make it. The second Plan target is an increase of 5 per cent a year. But statistical manipulations apart, indications are that we will be lucky if we made 4 per cent. Even this progress has meant painful taxation and a cheating price level. But does this 3 and 4 per cent constitute "rapid economic development?" It does not.

The average per capita income per annum in Western Europe is £300. Of this 10 per cent or £30 is saved and invested. But in India and in the rest of Asia — the per capita income itself is only £20 — i.e. less than what a

West European invests! This means that West Europeans are not only fifteen times richer than Indians, they are all the time becoming ever more rich than Indians. By comparison, with all our taxes, we are all the time becoming poorer. The prospect is nothing short of ghastly.

It might be argued that the West is no model for India, and that we believe in simple living and high thinking. But do we? In the West men work hard and live in comfort. Here, the idealism of a few apart, most of us want to live in comfort even without working hard! That is the naked reality.

Is there then no hope for this country? Must we bow our head to some dictator? Not necessarily. There is one way out of this dilemma. We can have rapid industrialisation along with democracy. But in that case our democracy will have to be more real. The Government must be a national government, representative of the bulk of national opinion. Its policies must be something more than personal fads or party stunts. Even though there may be no formal coalition, the Government must formulate its plans and policies in full consultation with other parties.

Rapid economic development and the protection and promotion of the national culture can form the base for the unity of national opinion. People must be inspired to great endeavours. They must be told the price of national greatness — blood, toil and tears. Our education must make a good patriot out of every school boy. Unless men are thus inspired to great efforts to make the country great, the country may either drift into dictatorship, or else remain stagnant and lose not only its democracy but also its industry, its unity and its independence.

The great regret is not that Pandit Nehru is not thinking out the basic problems of the country in a realistic way. Stalin was terrible. But he at least made Russia great. And Nehru? Perhaps he has made only himself great, if even that. The country is yet to start on really rapid development.

THE CINEMA

By V. P. SATHE

Bombay: Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting inaugurated the regular screening of documentary films at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan on Wednesday 18th evening. For a month, a regular one-hour show of newsreel and documentaries is scheduled to be held at the same theatre at a nominal admission fee of 25 and 37 paise. If the shows prove popular, Bombay will soon have a permanent newsreel theatre.

Inaugurating the first screening Dr. Keskar expressed the hope that in due course, there will be permanent newsreel theatres not only in Bombay but in other big cities as well. Already, the Films Division is running a theatre for documentaries in Delhi. It was a pity however that neither Dr. Keskar nor Dilip Kothari said anything about the public response in Delhi. But apparently it must have been encouraging enough to impel the starting of a similar theatre in Bombay.

The Union Minister in his speech said that the commercial film people were not ready to make documentaries or newsreels and screen them as they considered it to be a risky proposition. The Films Division had undertaken the production of documentaries and newsreels as the Government believed that the fact-films were as important as fiction films. The success of fact-films depended upon their ability to make even dry subject-matter interesting. Dr. Keskar referred to a documentary on 'Oil' which he found so interesting that he expressed his desire to see again. The Films Division had aimed at an excellent standard and won many international awards. Dr. Keskar felt that there was an audience for these films that the experimental show would bring this audience to see documentary films.

The inaugural function which was rather poorly attended did not give rise to great hopes for the success of this new venture.

the part of the Films Division. But unlike the invitees, perhaps the intelligent middle-class would evince greater interest in documentary films and patronize them in greater number. If they do, the venture would be successful.

The success of this venture should be welcomed by even the 'private' sector of the film industry. For, once the newsreel theatres become popular, there will be no necessity to 'compel' the commercial exhibitor to screen documentary films, and even if the 'compulsion' is not withdrawn, the newsreel theatres would create a taste for documentaries in big cities. In Europe, as Dr. Keskar averred, newsreel theatres are common in all big cities and they are quite popular. In India, too, one hopes that the experimental venture at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan will succeed, and both Delhi and Bombay will soon have permanent newsreel theatres. But, for a newsreel theatre, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is rather too big a place and its situation is far from ideal. If only the experiment had been started at a smaller theatre in the Fort area or Lamington Road it would have had better chances of success. In any case, the results of this experimental venture would be worth watching.

After Dr. Keskar's speech, a newsreel and four documentary shorts in colour were screened for the invitees. All the documentaries were of a very high standard.

Bhagwandas Varma whose last picture 'Aurat' recounted a biblical story in Hollywood style has presented another tale of the Rome-Christian feud in his new magnum opus 'Baghi Sipahi'. The picture is obviously inspired by 'Quo Vadis'; but it would be foolish to compare the two films as 'Baghi Sipahi' is crude and 'poor' in production values when compared with the Hollywood spectacle.

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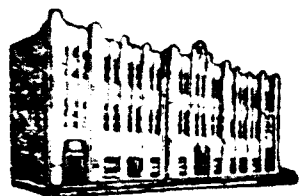


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has a subject which has no appeal for an average Indian, though the religious persecution, suffering and martyrdom of Christians and the brutality and tyranny of the Romans have a parallel in Indian history. True, Bhagwandas Varma and scenarist Kavish have tried to lay stress on the human side of the story, but thanks to their limitations they have reduced the character of Nero, the Roman Emperor, portrayed by Om Prakash, to a comic villain and that of Popea, the Empress in love with the commander, played by Madhubala, to a poor vamp. Even the commander as portrayed by Ranjan is not very impressive and his mock fight with a tiger in the arena is marred by too many stock shots to give an illusion of reality. The only character that has a note of sincerity is that of the poor Christian girl Louisa, portrayed by Purnima. Purnima alone succeeds in investing life to her role and lifting the picture from comic opera to serious drama.

The other redeeming feature of the film is the music score by Shankar-Johnson, and lyrics by Shailendra and Hasrat. The songs are generally pleasing and some of them have a haunting lilt. Especially the song "Koi Hoon Main" by Lata and rendered by Purnima just before the interval is a haunting piece of melody.

With all its shortcomings 'Baghi Sipahi' reveals that Bhagwandas Varma is a capable director; his picturization of songs is specially good. Had he not taken such an 'ambitious' and 'foreign' subject, he would have been able to make a better and perhaps more popular picture. Incidentally the original 'Baghi Sipahi' made by Kardar was also not 'original' but based on a foreign picture; and yet the picture succeeded because of its tense melodrama which is sadly lacking in this new venture.

This has been a most prosperous and happy year for A. V. Meiyappan. On the one hand he has won the Prime Minister's gold medal for 'Hum Panchi Ek Dal Ke'; on the other his production 'Bhabi' has proved to be a phenomenal hit. According to ex-

perts, the collections of 'Bhabi' which was produced without any top stars and at a moderate cost, would excel those of Gemini's 'Sansar'.

A. V. Meiyappan has one of the best organised studios in Madras and it is his business efficiency and sound knowledge of showmanship that has been responsible for his continued success in the film world. Popularly known as 'Chettiyar' in Bombay, he is not actively connected with any creative task. But he is the final judge of all creative work coming out of his studio and it is his 'uncanny' judgement in choice of stories, stars and other personnel that has paid him good dividends so far.

Though he is now at the height of his glory, he played a modest host at both the functions arranged by him to celebrate the silver jubilee of 'Bhabi'. While the function at Swastik was short and sweet, the dinner was both informal and sumptuous. In his speech also, Meiyappan did well to emphasise the co-operative venture of film production and the difficult task of making pictures which are both entertaining and purposeful.

In the success of 'Bhabi' and the award for 'Hum Panchi' one hopes that Meiyappan will not follow the usual policy of providing 'entertainment' but add to the production of purposeful pictures in future. If he does, the success of 'Bhabi' will auger a new era for A.V.M. and boss Meiyappan.

'Imuhurat of Parijat Pictur Patharelee Rahen' is being performed on Sunday 22nd at Raj Studios. Written by G. D. Matkar and directed by Naresh Sai the picture stars Pradeep Kuj, Mala Sinha in the lead. The inauguration of Filmalaya is scheduled on Sunday 22nd at Taj. Shri S. K. Patil is presiding while Shri A. D. Shroff is giving the inaugural speech. Thuhurat of S. Mukerji's first picture starring Dilip Kumar and directed by Subodh Mukerji was performed on Saturday 21st at Filmistan Studio.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

UNFAIR COMPARISON

Sir,—I am indeed surprised to find the seasoned editor comparing Sri Jayaprakash Narain to the French General, de Gaulle. To impute any motive other than that of preparedness to serve the country to him, is the misreading of the man who has sacrificed everything only to bring about a democracy of the conception of the Father of the Nation. The criticisms he has been making of late against parliamentary democracy are not due to any lack of faith in democracy, but to an acute awareness of the inadequacies of parliamentary democracy. As such one wonders how he can be likened to Gen. de Gaulle. It is at best an apparent similarity, which misleads the readers.

S. J. SASTRI

PROGRESS OR
RETROGRESSION?

Sir,—Dr. S. Bhagavantam, Director of the Indian Institute of Science and a member of the delegation which recently visited U.S.S.R. said in an interview that the "atmosphere there was such that anyone who had the calibre to become a scientist could become one"; that the Russian methods of training "were characterised by intensive specialisation and large-scale opportunities" and the Soviet Government realised that scientific advancement should be given the highest priority. It saw to it that the "best talent in the country flowed automatically into the field of science and technology". He added that "any consideration other than talent and merit to creep into the field of recruitment to science and technology would hamper progress". He emphasised that "there should be no communalism, favouritism or nepotism" and expressed the fear that "even the way admissions to colleges were sometimes made had been cutting at the very root of our structure in regard to technological achievement".

No one who has a single-minded concern for the progress of the country can gainsay the whole-

someness of this opinion. Yet in their wisdom the Madras Government have recently stated in a notification regarding admission to engineering colleges in the State that seats will be reserved in the proportion of 16% for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and 25% for backward classes, and that in their case, the minimum qualification of a pass in Intermediate with 50% of the total marks and the age restriction of 22 years do not apply. This effectively shuts out a good number of students who would, otherwise, have been eligible to pursue higher studies. We see the sad spectacle of outstanding talent in a technical field being directed to clerical and other posts which need no particular specialisation. The loss to the country of the services of men of outstanding worth is irreparable.

K. NATARAJAN

S. Sitaramayya

A correspondent writes:

Sri S. Sitaramayya of Kodaikanal passed away on the 20th instant, in Madras, at 82. After a brilliant academic career in the 'Zillah School' at Madura and the Presidency College, Madras, he joined the Meteorological Department at Nungambakkam and was transferred to the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal soon after its inception. His scientific work there was varied and of a high order. His photographs of Halley's Comet (1910) were of international importance. In 1915, he went to Kashmir, along with Mr. J. Evershed, to investigate the advisability of setting up a Solar Physics Observatory there, and reported favourably. He delivered one of Sir S. Subramanyam Lectures (Madras University), the subject selected being "New Stars".

Sri Sitaramayya was a great Sanskrit scholar and practical philosopher. His cultural interests were wide and catholic; and he remained a student till a few years back when his sight failed.

He rendered the Mahabharata into English and wrote a Tamil novel called "Karattoor Ramu" in which the possibilities of happy and useful socialistic group life were explored in a practical manner. He demonstrated the feasibility and social usefulness of Vanaprastha life for retired officials both in his Vegavati Ashram near Aundipatti (Madurai district) and in his farm at Perumal Malai (Kodai Hills). He was a good and unobtrusive host; and the numerous people who came in contact with him in private life learnt how life could be made richer and sweeter.

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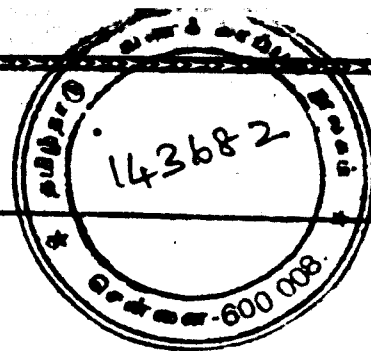
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