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BROADWAY TIMES



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VOL. I

APRIL 1959

No. 4

Foreign 3 s.

Re. 1/-

Broadway Times

Vol. 1



No. 4

April 1959

JL
M2, NSM
N 14.6
1265.5

BROADWAY TIMES

Edited & Published by MATHEW CHERIAN

33 Broadway Madras 1, S. India Telegram MAPRECO Telephone 3 8 4 1

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Full page	Rs. 100	Yearly 12 issues	Rs. 1,000
Half page	Rs. 50	„ „	Rs. 550
Quarter page	Rs. 25	„ „	Rs. 275

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We welcome contributions from Indian or foreign writers. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor, “ **Broadway Times** ” 33 Broadway, Madras-1 (India.)

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Subscriptions: Post free in India at Rs. 12 per annum. Single copy of the current issue is available at Re. 1 per copy. Cheques/M.O./P.O. should be made payable to “ **Broadway Times**.”

Foreign £1 16s. per annum, post free. Single copy is available at 3s.

Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

In recent weeks Tibet has been occupying several columns in the World press. Mr. Nehru's statements on Tibet are being keenly scrutinised all over the world, not to speak of the bull dog anxiety of the west.

Although Mr. Nehru has not always shown keen insight into men and things on several occasions in the past, he has done well as far as the recent Tibetan issue is concerned. His cautious statements regarding Tibetan refugees to India and his emphatic statement in the Lok Sabha denying outrightly the Chinese allegation that Kalimpong was the ‘ Centre of intrigue ’ were well worth making as they clearly bring out astute statesmanship. In the question of political asylum of Dalai Lama and his people the Prime Minister could have been a little more precise and practical at the outset. Now that Political asylum to Dalai Lama and his people has become a reality the initial doubts are automatically discounted. It is only desirable that a Prime Minister of a great nation should make statements only after considerable thought and consideration especially when such statements are made in an International context. Many critics of the Peking regime have been accusing the Prime Minister in not criticising the Chinese Government's recent policy in Tibet. Many in our country have been at pains to show the slow and unwise attitude of the Government at New Delhi. The “ Fabian tactics ” adopted by our Prime Minister is not only due to his political sagacity but also shows his calibre as a shrewd statesman. In matters of vital International concern and importance, ill digested and hasty statements may not always serve the cause of International peace and amity.

The reference of the Prime Minister to the statement of Mr. Chou En Lai that “ Tibet had always been a part of the Chinese state but that Tibet was not Chinese ” was a subtle and timely reminder. It is true that both India and Tibet have several cultural, spiritual and friendly ties in common. But that is not good reason to openly upholding their cause without going into the merits of the case. There is general agreement that the Dalai Lama, the Grand Council and

the Tibetan National Assembly exercised full temporal power in that State till the recent outbreak. The credit goes to Mr. Nehru as the Prime Minister of a sovereign State in answering the Chinese demand not to discuss Tibetan affairs in our Parliament by emphasising that "this Government or this Parliament" would not submit to any kind of dictation, from any country, however great it may be". He was also justified in pleading for moderation and wisdom in debating such critical international problems.

India is friendly towards Tibet and China in our international relations. From the Prime Minister's statements and the several Indian comments the Chinese Government ought to realise the deep concern of New Delhi and Indians as a whole in the Tibetan "Unrest". Moral persuasion and good offices by India should be used to solve this difficulty in Tibet. As an upholder of world peace Mr. Nehru should persuade China and Tibet to settle their differences amicably. The avoidance of words like aggressor from international politics will surely serve to lessen wider gulfs of international differences. Under the existing era of power blocs it is only wise that we refrain from open condemnation and accusal.

Surely we at any rate do not desire that the issue be dragged to the far off United Nations on some pretext that it falls under the direct purview of that assembly. Further it may have the same fate as that of the Kashmir issue, observers going round at U.N. expense and also spontaneous rendering of fiery marathon speeches which carry us nowhere. It is only desirable that troubles in Asia be settled then and there through peaceful deliberations and negotiations without dragging outsiders into it unnecessarily.

Under international law intervention by a state in the affairs of another state is justified only in instances of self-defence, as reprisals or in the course of executing the clauses of a treaty already entered into by the states concerned. A mere tender of advice by one state to another about some matter within the competence of the latter to decide for itself would not be an intervention though it might be popularly so described. The interference must take a definite form, it must be forcible or backed by the threat of force. Hence India can intervene in this issue only as a good neighbour of Tibet, of China as well and can persuade them to amicably settle their temporary difficulty. That will surely be a workable and positive contribution to international peace and security. Total accusation or condemnation of one party as some expect Mr. Nehru to do is not only unwise but is the root cause of the so-called cold war and international tension.

A COSTLY RELATION

BY

M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

How the federal intentions of the Government of India Act of 1935, the last chapter in the history of constitution-making for India by England were baulked by a series of political events which had nothing to do with constitution-making is one of the most fascinating studies in political behaviour. The dilatory tactics of the Princes in accepting the consequences of federation to which they had agreed at the Round Table Conferences of British and Indian political leaders which preceded the introduction and passing of the Government of India Bill into Parliament, the refusal of the Congress party in India to accept the Government of India Act, the heavy-footed moves of Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General who had been commissioned to bring the Act progressively into force, finally the outbreak of World War II put a stop temporarily, the advocates of the Act hoped, to the federalization of Government in India. After the end of the war, as long as there was a prospect of keeping the Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly and of preventing the partition of India, the Congress party, the dominant party in the country and in the Constituent Assembly, was willing to profess federalism, going to the extent of allowing the residuary power to rest with the States. But once the Muslim League went out of the Constituent Assembly and Partition was certain, the Congress threw federal cargo overboard. An authoritarian party like the Congress finding no impediments in its way would be more at home in centralization than in federal decentralization. It is one of the ironies of history that a popular political party that had fought for freedom and self-government should in the days of its power hark back to the halcyon days of centralization of British rule.

This drift towards centralization was revealed early in the months of constitution-making in the Constituent Assembly when the Federation of India became the Union of India, the Federal Court became the Supreme Court, the Federal Public Services Commission became the Union Public Service Commission. These changes in title were only signs and symbols of deep constitutional changes. These were revealed in Section 248 of the Constitution according to which "Parliament (i.e., the Central Legislature) has exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Concurrent List or State List (of subjects for legislation and administration), such power including the power of making any law, imposing a tax not mentioned in either of these lists. In other words the residuary power, i.e., all power over subjects not mentioned in any of the lists rests with the Union or Central Government. This constitutional provision is repeated in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution where the last subject of the Union List of subjects No. 97 includes "any other matter not enumerated in List II (the State List) or List III (the Concurrent List) including any tax not mentioned in either of these lists. As if this were not enough Section 249 of the Constitution provides that if "the Council of States has declared by a resolution supported by not less than 2/3 of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that Parliament should make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List specified in the resolution, it shall be lawful for Parliament to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to the matter while the resolution remains in force." It is true that such laws are to be of only tempo-

rary duration. But the effect of such laws may not be temporary for, according to a learned commentator, "actions as regards rights or liabilities for acts or omissions committed during the operation of such laws will lie even after expiration of such laws." Still again, by Section 254 "if any provision of a law made by the Legislature of a State is repugnant to any provision of a law made by Parliament which Parliament is competent to enact or to any provision of an existing law with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the Concurrent List, then the law made by Parliament whether passed before or after the law made by the Legislatures of such States, or as may be, the existing law shall prevail and the law made by the Legislature of the State shall to the extent of the repugnance be void."

The effect of these sections of the Constitution (singly, much more taken together) make of this our Government hardly federal. If the sections are frequently brought into play it would be doubtful if it would continue to be even a quasi-federation. Under the threat of these sections, the constitutional autonomy of the States hangs by a thin thread. These rods in pickle make of that autonomy a name—even "*magni nominis umbra*"—the shadow of a great name.

As if the Constitution was not enough, the States themselves have helped to transfer their dependence on the Central Government from the paper on which the Constitution is written into reality. The state of their finances has made them hang on the Central Government for financial favours. Some of them like Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh have reduced themselves to this financial condition by their own acts e.g., by following the will-o'-the-wisp of Prohibition. By this airy-fairy Prohibition policy they have thrown away useful excise revenue into the sea. If they had pursued a policy of check and control, abolishing the auction system which encouraged the indiscriminate sale of liquor in demoralizing

circumstances and rationing the consumption of liquor they would have secured the attainment of feasible social reform without sacrificing income which would have financed so many welfare services now being starved. Instead they proposed to throw out the child with the bath water. They are surprised that the child was thrown out with the water. Some of them by no fault of their own by following welfare programmes they could not afford are in a sorry financial condition. Some of them are in this condition for no fault of their own Rajasthan, Orissa elevated to the position of democratic states when they were not financially prepared for this sudden elevation. Most of them are deficit States. Without financial contributions from the Central Government they would not be financially viable. In 1955-56 the Andhra State with a deficit of 10.73 crores got contributions and grants-in-aid from the Central Government of 5.49 crores, Madras with a deficit of 13.57 crores got 11.18 crores, Uttar Pradesh with a deficit of 10.80 crores got 18.20 crores, West Bengal with a deficit of 25.06 crores got 14.97 crores and the deficits were not thereby wiped out.

And with these subsidies and grants came also direction and command to do and refrain from doing certain things. The Central Government who pays the piper calls the tune. The picture of the dependence of the States on the Centre becomes fuller when we fill in the administrative activities of the Centre on subjects allotted by the Constitution to the States. Education which according to the Constitution is primarily and principally the concern of the States has a large and costly Ministry and Department of Education. The Ministry and Department of Education beside a Minister and a Minister of State and a Parliamentary Secretary has

- 1 Secretary and Educational Adviser.
- 1 Joint Secretary and Educational Adviser.
- 2 Joint Educational Advisers.

- 1 Adviser (National Discipline Scheme)
- 3 Deputy Secretaries
- 6 Deputy Educational Advisers
- 15 Under-Secretaries
- 18 Assistant Educational Advisers
- 3 Special Officers (for Hindi)
- 1 Secretary (F.L.C. whatever that stands for)
- 1 Director (Bureau of Technical Research)
- 1 Director (Bureau of Educational and Vocational Research)
- 22 Educational Officers
- 61 Section Officers
- 31 Other Officers, etc.
- + the clerks etc., required for the 6 Divisions of the department, the total strength of the staff being 319 in Secretariat 5,077 in subordinate offices.

And all this large and costly department has to administer "the institutions known at the commencement of the constitution as the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University" and a few miscellaneous academic institutions, whereas except for the small area of the territories of the Union, the whole of Primary Education, the whole of Secondary Education and all other University education all over the country are within the provision and scope of the State Government. The cost of administering this department which exists mainly to distributing of grants and includes amounting to it 30 crores runs to 68.92 lakhs.

The Central Ministry and Department of Health beside the Minister of State has

- 1 Secretary
- 4 Deputy Secretaries
- 8 Under-Secretaries
- 20 Section Officers

+ the clerks etc., required for manning four divisions, the total strength of staff being 361 in the Secretariat, 588 in attached offices, 1,995 in subordinate offices.

The Central Ministry of Health is to administer Central Health Institution and Promotion

of Medical Research and maintenance of standards in drugs, etc., whereas the whole of the Medical and Public Health Organization and Services are within the jurisdiction of the State Governments. The medical and public health grants and subsidies administered by the Central Ministry of Health amount to Rs. 20 crores and the cost of administering their services amount to Rs. 13.71 crores.

Agriculture which according to the Constitution is mainly a State subject and which may be said to be a Central subject only for the promotion of research (Union list) and prevention of adulteration of foodstuff (Concurrent list) has another large Ministry and Department. Beside a Minister and Ministers of State and two Deputy Ministers it has—

- 1 Secretary.
- 3 Joint Secretaries.
- 7 Deputy Secretaries.
- 20 Under-Secretaries.
- 61 Section Officers.

with a number of clerks, etc., totalling a staff of 995 in the Secretariat, 1,553 in attached offices, 7,865 in subordinate offices. The Ministry and Department costs the country 73.59 lakhs. Surely, the maintenance of the Agricultural Research Institute, and the prevention of adulteration of foodstuff does not require such a large and costly Ministry. Other Ministries which have little business at the Centre are the Irrigation and Power, the Labour, Industries and the Housing Ministries. It is true that under the combined action of the Union List and the Concurrent List, these subjects to a limited extent and for a few defined purposes are within the jurisdiction of the Central Government. Under the Constitution the Central Government is to coordinate and supplement the activities of the State Governments in the administration of these subjects. But that supplementary and coordinating function does not warrant the creation and maintenance of huge departments, each employing a dozen or more Secretariat Officers and more than

1,000 clerks. There is one subject which has no business at all at the Centre—the Department of Community Projects. All its work is done in the districts and villages of the States. But it also has at the Centre besides the Minister—

- 1 Secretary.
- 2 Joint Secretaries.
- 4 Deputy Secretaries.
- 7 Under-Secretaries.

Besides, the number and cost of these Ministries and Departments, their number and the cost call for justifying activity. Hence the creation of unnecessary work, the constant and continuous stream of advice, directions, recommendation, warning, interferences which flow into the offices of the corresponding Ministries and Departments in the States.

And it is all so unnecessary. Other double-headed Governments which allow a large measure of autonomy to local units do not maintain large departments at the Centre. In the U.S.A. there is no Federal Minister and Ministry of Education. There is only a Department of Education, Health and Welfare for the purpose of improving the administration of these agencies of the Government, the major responsibilities of which are to promote the general welfare in the fields of health and education and social security. All the work done by our Central, Education, Health, Ministries and by a section or two of the Finance Ministry administering insurance and pension is done by a single department with only a Departmental Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, Under-Secretaries. It is true that each of these subjects has also an agency for collecting statistics and organizing research. But they do not concern themselves with the development of education, health and social security as do our Central Ministries of Education, Health, etc. The U.S.A. Department of Agriculture established in 1888 (100 years after the founding of the U.S.A. Government)

deals only with Federal—States relations in regard to Agriculture, Marketing and Foreign Agriculture, Agricultural Stabilization, Agricultural Credit. There are no Federal Ministries of Industry, or Housing, or Fuel or Mines. In Canada there is no Dominion Ministry or Department of Education, nor in the Federal Government of Australia.

I do not go to the extent of saying that the Central Government should not concern itself with Education, Health, Industry, Agriculture for each of these may have to be considered from the standpoint of national development. What I plead for is that one single Ministry and Department of National Welfare or Development would be enough for this purpose—not a costly Ministry and Department for each of these subjects which are the primary and principal concern of the States.

It has been argued that all this overriding and overlapping power used by the Central Government in India is justified by the history and fissiparous tendencies inherent in a country of several different languages, communities divided by caste when they are not divided by religion. But to strengthen a Central Government it is not necessary to overload it with functions and departments of government. Strength comes to Governments as to individuals from restrained ambition and controlled power. Attempts, to do much good, bad and indifferent may prevent Governments from doing the really good things. A widespread front, in administration as in war, is a weak front. In administration it leads to inefficiency, corruption, anaemia, as in war to defeat. With 29 departments the Government of India is not able to do well the things which a Central Government ought to do—National Security, National Unity, National Development. Not to speak of the stupendous cost of it all. The bill for wages and salaries of the Government of India amount to Rs. 190 crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 725 crores.

In addition to the centralizing tendencies of the present Government, the fact that the same party is in power in the State Governments (in all but one State) as in the Central Government makes the State Governments dilute the autonomy which the Constitution has given them. Educational policy (which especially must be subject to experimentation) public health, agricultural, industrial activity in the States is dictated and directed by the Centre. Indian Government under the influence of this fact is becoming a monolithic Government. The only remedy for this state of affairs is for the party in power to put the curb on itself. One of Lord Curzon's principles of government in India was for the Government itself to put a self-imposed restraint on the vast power it possessed. Must the Government of Free India subscribe to a lower ideal in administration?

And then there is the Planning Commission with its authority and activity to add to the sorrows of the States. Being a permanent, highly organized, constantly consulted body, the apple of the eye of the Prime Minister, it has become a regular department of Government with supervising functions. The States have not only to consult them but to defer to their decisions. Every major proposal of

State Governments which require financial help from the Central Government has to be sent to the Planning Commission for scrutiny and approval. The Planning Commission has not only become a fifth wheel to the coach of Government, as was feared by Dr. John Mathai when he was Finance Minister of the Government of India and which was one of the issues on which he resigned, but it is a fifth wheel which is being added to the four wheels of the coach—to the embarrassment and inconvenience of the coach and all inside it.

All of which goes to show that the relationship between the Central Government and the States is in a sorry condition. It is costly, unwanted and unwarranted by the Constitution, an obstacle to administrative efficiency and national development, and a detraction from political freedom. And there is a danger that the diseased condition may spread. Already the Madras Government is thinking of abolishing District Boards established about 73 years ago as a unit of self-government—as being an obstacle to their exercise of supreme power all over the territory of the State. The sooner the present bias of that relationship is corrected in the direction of decentralization and autonomy the more secure will be the freedom and progress of the country.

NO MORNING IN COURT

BY

K. A. NAYAR, M.A., B.A. (OXON.) BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

The following article gives the first day impressions of a young Barrister visiting the famous Bow Street Magistrate's Court at London.—Ed.)

A word of explanation about the title. Lord Atkin, said long ago in his most celebrated speech in *Donoghue V. Stevenson* that the stricture that thou shalt love thy neighbour becomes in law that thou shalt not injure your neighbour. The statement that I went to court in the afternoon should therefore in forensic language become, no morning in court. Hence the title and may I tender my profuse apologies for failing to make it 'a day in court.'

I arrived at the Bow Street Magistrate's Court exactly at twelve noon. Looking at the case list, I saw No. 1 court has a crowded programme, hence I decided to take my chance there.

It was Radwell's, the stipendiary Magistrate's Court. Now of course we know that in the Metropolitan Police District, salaried Magistrates limited to twenty-seven in number, are appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. His qualification as we have learnt, not long ago, is seven years previous practice as a Barrister or having already filled the office of a stipendiary magistrate in a Borough or urban district. Needless to say that before such a long experience and accumulated wisdom even my silly head gave reverential bow before I took my covetable seat among the learned counsels.

I was very much impressed by the solemn and dignified atmosphere that prevailed in court. Unwittingly I found myself melting into the ethos of it. Stealthily and surreptitiously I glanced at the briefs of the counsels, which act of bad manners nevertheless made me

richer with the useful informations that the case before the court is

Holborn Borough Council

against

Mark Leigh

I also learnt the two defence counsels get fifty guineas and fifteen guineas each for, their respective briefs were marked with these sums.

The prosecuting counsel a young man in his early thirties was on his feet examining a police witness. This witness whom, I am to learn as Sergeant Thomas was almost reading out his evidence from a notebook. It was all a dry rot.

The case was for allowing prostitution in the premises and living on immoral earnings.

The girls of the lucrative profession of love were referred as A, B, C, D, E and F. Of these A, B and D have their own cars even. Police Sergeant Thomas gave evidence to the effect that he saw these people driving into the premises and entering into the house on May 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th with different men from 5 p.m. to 12-30 p.m. Every half an hour, they used to change the man.

So the examination chief, the prosecuting counsel sounded a bit monotonous. On -May 6th Sergeant Thomas, what happened at 5-30 p.m. ! 6 p.m. ? 6-15 p.m.?, etc., etc. The questions went round the clock.

One thing is certain, that is the prosecuting counsel, though of course a Barrister, did not attend the Post Final Course. I saw him freely lounging in court, his hand in pocket which we were advised not to do in court.

But what I did not understand is why Holborn Borough Council is prosecuting instead of the usual R.

The Counsel did not honour or worship the Magistrate but only called him, Sir.

"Well, that is all I could do to-day," came the voice from the Bench. There was a brisk movement among the police. The counsels grouped together pulling out their diaries. The clerk of the court who was copiously taking down the notes of the evidence given, got up at this juncture and whispered something to the 'Old Boy'. The net result of all these, is that the case was postponed till 12th January.

The afternoon session began with offences under National Insurance Act in failure to pay national insurance contributions. There were no counsels in court—modesty bids me to say so. There were no fighting spirit either, for most of them pleaded guilty and a few who pleaded not guilty appeared in person. What else can they expect than the case is proved against them. Invariably a fine of £5 was their blame worth.

Next, in the list was a series of motoring offences, of which two cases merit a few lines.

R. V. More—a case in which the accused was charged on two counts *i.e.*, unlawful driving and driving without reasonable care for other person. The accused was represented by a Solicitor. Prosecution called two witnesses and for the accused, only himself gave evidence. After this, the Solicitor for the accused summed up his case to the Magistrate. The Solicitor asked the Magistrate to take judicial notice of the fact that the cars were parked in Lower Regent Street, during lunch time. Prosecution did not make a speech—The Magistrate found the accused guilty of unlawful driving but acquitted him of the second count. So the Magistrate fined the accused £5 with costs, £2 s. 15.

The other case was R. V. Singh.

There were four counts or is it four charges?

- (a) dangerous driving.
- (b) driving without care.
- (c) failing to report.
- (d) failing to give the name when asked.

Now dangerous driving is an offence under R.T. Act, 1930 and is triable summarily on indictment. Since on summary conviction the offence is punishable with more than three months imprisonment M.C.A. S.25 also applies; that means the accused can elect if he so desires a trial by jury unless of course the accused is a child which he was not. The Magistrate explained to the accused to make the election, explaining what it means. There was some confusion in the mind of the accused, an Indian who understood only a little of English and there he elected by these words "I chose this Court Sir." Very well, said the Magistrate. The charges were read out to him again by the clerk one by one and was asked to plead guilty or not guilty. But the accused on hearing each charge, proceeded to tell his story, pouring out his complaint in a foreign accent. The Magistrate interrupted him and asked him whether he pleads guilty or not guilty. "I do not know anything Sir" was his reply. The Magistrate entered this as a plea of not guilty and proceeded the trial. A taxi driver and a police constable gave evidence against the accused. The accused was unrepresented.

The Magistrate found him guilty of all summons except dangerous driving and fined a pound each for the three summons and a pound for the cost of the first summons.

It was about four in the afternoon on Friday. Magistrate might well be having an eye on his train time-table, for his country week-end. The court rose at 4-15 p.m. or there about. It was indeed an enjoyable afternoon and I am looking forward for many enjoyable and profitable days in Court.

THE WORLD ON THE HORIZON

BY

T. SURYANARAYANA RAO, M.A. B COM.

In a meeting at Madras recently, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon spoke about the future World Order. Replying to a question on the creation of an international police, he stated that such a force required a world law and capacity to exercise sanctions. We must have also a World State and a World Executive. "We do not have anything of that kind," he observed, "and so this question is unrelated to facts." (*The Hindu*, dated 15th February 1959). This remark, though casual is a sort of window through which we can have a glimpse of the New World that is far off. The world that is far off, or rather that is unrelated to facts at the moment is the One World. There is a World State comprising all the present nations as its integral parts. It has a world executive charged with the task of building new life and protecting new liberty. It is based upon universal law and has sanctions. It has international police to guard peace and property. We see that bright edifice on the far off horizon. But we do not see any path leading to it. We have sputniks and mechtas to shoot into heavens but do not possess even bullock carts to bring us nearer that new order. Hence it is rightly described as "unrelated to facts."

This question of a world state is unrelated to the present-day facts of life for very understandable reasons. We have been living for some centuries now as distinct sovereign nations. With the best of will, we do not wish to part with our sovereign power over our land. India or Burma, England or, Russia,—they are all alike in this possessive instinct.

Secondly, we are unequal partners. The mighty America and the tiny Cuba, the really

Great Britain and the troubled Burma have no chances of living happily together under the same roof.

Thirdly, there are ideological war camps—the Russians and the Americans. The NATO, the SEATO, the Warsaw and a host of other bilateral military pacts point to the utter sense of insecurity that grips the souls over there. Look at the defence expenditure as a barometer of this pervasive spectre of war-fear. America alone spends some 40 billion dollars on defence, an amount enough to carry out four five year plans in India of the Second Plan magnitude. On the global plane a sum of about 50,000 crores of rupees is being spent today per annum on military protection! Needless to say, ideological and political enmity is the major factor necessitating such expenditure.

Fourthly, some of our past relationships have thoroughly estranged our hearts—The Arabs and the Jews, the English and the French, the Germans and the Czechoslovaks, Indians and Pakistanis—are examples enough to prove the point with more or less intensity.

Fifthly, and lastly, there are vested interests. The imperialists, and the neo-imperialists, the crowns of all degrees of importance, the dictators, including those who are temporary but unlikely to be made permanent—all stand to lose by world uniformity. To fall along with them there are those whose hearts glow with the fire of racial superiority and those who value the dogma more than the dying man. Entrenched as they are in position and tradition, they will fight to the last drop of their blood any idea of global equality.

An uncomfortable amalgam of these forces renders the idea of a world state impracticable

in the near future. Short of this universal law, what have been the efforts on the part of nations towards greater combination and co-partnership than at present?

The UNO is too well-known to mention specifically. It is the biggest clearing house of information in all fields. Subject to its dissensions, its work in directions other than political has been tremendous. The UNESCO, The Bank, the Fund etc., are doing work that is silent and of far-reaching importance. Any future world order will have to lean very heavily on the U.N. records.

Apart from this Organisation, many ideas are springing up. The Panchsheel Community is the broadest of them all. Co-existence of different but mutually respecting ideologies is the main theme of their thought. The 40 nations that adhere to it are against colonialism. Co-existence consistent with free existence is their sole guide to action. The Asio-African Peoples' Solidarity Council held a three day meeting at Cairo in the middle of February. They issued a declaration calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan and South Korea, for admission of China and Mangolia into the UNO, for liquidation of military bases on the Afro-Asian Soil and for stoppage of nuclear tests. If Panchsheel is preached and practised by so many as 1,500 million people, it will go a long way to clear the path for the ultimate emergence of a world order. It is gratifying to remember in this connection that Nehru is one of the foremost leaders of this Panchsheel community.

Then there is Col. Nasser. He is pledged to unite the 100 million Arabs under one State. Whether he succeeds in fulfilling this pledge or not, the colonial and feudal character of the Middle East is fast becoming a thing of the past. Free, independent nations will surely come into being. Co-partnership in economic projects and a large measure of uniformity in political features will inevitably

result from the sweep of Nasserism for Oman to Tunisia.

A new star has begun to shine in the firmament of political revolution in the personality of Nkrumah. Ghana is now the pilgrim centre of revolutionary Africa. Freedom from European metropolitans, planning for economic and social uplift and democracy are his cardinal principles. Under his leadership colonial Africa can steadily advance towards equality with other nations of the world. Thus the Asio-African alliance has assumed the Nehru-Nasser-Nkrumah look.

On the other side, Europe has been making its own experiments in collective planning and multi-lateral trade. In recent decades the movement started with Coal and Steel Community. The Benelux unity was extended to found the Common Market. The more inclusive Free Trade Area is on the anvil. A new European Monetary Agreement has replaced the European Payments Union. The aim of these efforts is to facilitate the growth of free trade over this side of the Continent. It is also hoped that later on some sort of European parliament will come into being. The Organisation of European Economic Community deserves all help in its endeavours to break down economic barriers among its member nations. There are however two or three things that retard the progress of its activities. They are (a) the rivalry among the component members for leadership, (b) differences in social ideologies, though they are not of fundamental importance, and (c) their anti-Russian outlook.

In the Russian orbit, too, there are by and large some welcome tendencies. More and more cultural and commercial contacts are being cultivated with outside world. The Russians are unreservedly supporting the Panchsheel community in its progressive actions. Communists in many democratic countries have adopted constitutional means to come

have a broad-based philosophy to sustain it in life. It should further have leaders to personify the same. They have to serve it with the spirit of fathers who slave for their sons and who make room for them when they come of age. The philosophy and the people at the helm should both get their sustenance from a practical programme. The Indian and the Pakistani, the East German and his Westerner, the North Korean and his Southerner, the Arab and the Jew, the American and the Russian—must all march by the common path and reach the common goal. Year after year they must be progressively consolidating their united positions in the different walks of life. The Free Trade Area, the ECAFE and the like must merge into one universal area. The Bandung

spirit, western democracy, socialist practicalism should fuse into one universalism. It is only then that issues like freedom of Berlin, disarmament and apartheid can be seen in proper perspective. Consistent campaign has to be waged against all trends of domination and division. Such will be the general ground to be covered by the programme of a world movement.

In the final analysis, the universal movement should live by its daily bread of right action. It should refresh itself in the lap of right philosophy. It will fulfil its existence in the growth of the universal man. Yes, we want the universal man to assert himself and lead us to the goal of global government. Even as we seek truth and beauty, we seek the universal man.

FLASH-BACKS INTO COLLEGE LIFE

BY

YVONNE SALDANHA

My three years at Presidency College hold for me a mine of memories, both good and bad. Coming direct from a women's college, it was a bit disconcerting to find oneself given the once over at every turn. One would meet with appraising stares on all sides, and most especially at the Powell statue. I think the famous Powell statue at the head of the staircase will go down in the annals of Presidency College, as the congregating place for the entire masculine element of the college, could the reason for this be, that the women's common room lay via the statue?

The first day we were introduced to the staff of the English department. There was the head of the department, Mrs. G.P., and it was only later that we knew that the initials stood for G. Parthasarathy and not for gun powder. She breezed in and airily told us that we were very welcome and that we would surely like our studies if only we did not CUT classes—turning with a flourish to write these three jettors on the blackboard. Less breezily came Miss Sita Chari who immediately draped herself on the lecturer's table and made each of us stand and give our reasons for taking up the honours course in literature. We managed to mumble something about thinking literature very interesting and one of the boys, Moosa Raza won our eternal admiration when he brazenly upped and said: 'For mercenary reasons Ma'am' which almost sent poor 'ma'am' off balance.

Mr. S. Ramaswamy next came in and there was nothing at all breezy about him. He was extremely polite and civil—at least I think he was, because, neither then nor later could we catch much of what issued from his erudite mind. The lesser fry on the staff did not

have very much to say, and so we settled down to three years of study at Presidency College.

Before we could get used to this very new and very different atmosphere of the college, there came the summons for the Fresher's Debate. I used to think that debates were very much in my line—or may be I used to put myself in the line of all the debates that were held in my old college St. Agnes'. But after speaking at the Fresher's Debate I lost all confidence in myself as a speaker—for the simple reason that I just did not speak. I went on the platform with the notes clutched firmly in my hand in case of an emergency, and I was fat-headed enough to think that the emergency would never arise. But with the sea of faces before me, and the students yowling on every side I became a nervous wreck and forgot what I had, both in my head and in my hand. It still pains me to think of that mortifying experience of nearly four years back.

One of the events that remains clearest in my mind is the annual elections of the college. About a month before the date on which the election were to be held, we were greeted every morning with small printed cards with the names of each of the candidates for the various offices. It became rather a hobby—almost a popularity contest—to see which of us collected the most cards each day. The significance of the cards escaped us completely and it was only just a couple of days, before casting our votes that we gave the matter any serious thought. On that day itself, one could distinguish the candidates by the fact that they all appeared in full suits, possibly each one with the hope in his heart that he would finally get into office. On that morning

to power. They are sharing their technological and scientific skills with other nations in a greater measure than before. All this is to the health of the future baby of World State that is growing in the womb of the present.

We thus see that the people want greater uniformity. They realise the importance of peaceful co-existence. But each group makes its own improvised scheme to tackle an immediately realisable need. These schemes unfortunately are themselves subject to inhibitions and age old groupings. They are at many points mutually exclusive and clash against one another. They do not therefore lead to the goal good for all ultimately, namely, the world state. Now that we want a full-fledged world order, what are the requirements for it?

When we think of a world order, we should remember that we do not start on a clean slate. Hence any future state will necessarily partake of a confederal character. Developed and undeveloped economies, kings, dictators and parliaments; communism, socialist democracy and capitalism, and many others are more or less in contradictory positions today. The new universal state has to work out the greatest common denominator for them all. Or, it should evolve a new method to satisfy the basic urge of the majority of the nations. The new state will be the main mechanism through which the new order will grow. The pertinent question then is, how will that state come into existence?

State in modern times is identified with nation or nationality. If Indians did not feel they were one single indivisible nation, they would not have fought for a state of their own; and they would not be what they are today. The same is the case with Germans or Americans or Ghana Africans. The most recent vindication of this principle is Cyprus. The national Cypriot, combining the Greek and the Turk has emerged and is on to establish his own government. So, if we should have

a universal state, we should all feel that we belong to One Family. This is not asking for too much. Thanks to the Panchsheel, the Afro-Asians have begun to feel the common bonds of tradition and objective. In a few years the spirit may well extend to every major aspect of their activity.

The Europeans on their side have been making consistent efforts in the matter of evolving a common parliament. It is not the technical design that they lack, it is the fundamental unity of spirit and ideology. It will emerge, given the right lead. The Africans, the Latin Americans and the Arabs are still making big efforts to cut themselves off from external domination. Though that seems to be a good connecting link, it is not enough to consolidate them into single nations. Internal dissensions, traditional contacts with the European nations and lack of a common platform of ideas are some of the hard problems which demand an early solution. The UNO is another powerful unifying force. The 82 nations are steadily realising their common needs. They are putting forth their best to establish an effective collective security mechanism. Its ultimate success, however depends upon how far it will inculcate the spirit of universal brotherhood into the international body politic. The point of all this is that, to establish a world state you must have a strong sense of universal nationhood pervading the international community.

The next question that will naturally arise is how to bring about this feeling of universal nationhood. There are many ways of doing this. Support to the healthy trends mentioned above will of course be the starting point. Progressive Governments, political parties, the trade unions and intellectuals should welcome every opportunity of extending the mental range of nations. While this work goes on, there is another, more effective path. The UNO should establish universities, banks, transport and communications etc., directly

under its auspices. Of course, the Specialised Agencies will in practice run them. Simultaneously, research will have to be undertaken regarding the many issues that will confront the future set-up. Especially, planning, tariff walls, currency parities, the present allotments of money, men and machineries on military account have to be tackled in a very cautious manner. The great benefit that accrues by this method of having world universities, branches of the World Bank etc. and research work is that the citizens of both to-day and tomorrow can grow up in a truly international atmosphere. They will develop universal outlook instinctively. Other things co-operating, this instinct will lay the foundation for single indivisible nationhood for the whole earth. There is a third path, and that is organising a world political movement for the world state.

At present a good number of intellectuals and thinkers all over the world are thinking in terms of some sort of a world government. Some have even prepared blue prints of that state in a very elaborate manner. Some others have been persuading the big powers and leaders by their public utterances and waitings. Somehow or other they seem to miss the point. The big idea of a world state should have an agency to bring it to fruition. The idea requires a movement verily as a soul wants a body. Whether it is socialism or democracy, or national freedom we require a strong institution to fulfil the task. Given that, the aim is a world order and we should choose the right type of organisation to achieve it. This will be a free, open, political convention. It will be a platform for the like-minded men from all lands. The main task of emotional integration will have to be achieved in its course of pulling together under the guidance of a world convention. It has to fight against war tendencies, wherever they arise. A further responsibility is to train cadres to run the future world administration. To take but one instance, we cannot over-

emphasise the role played by the Indian National Congress and particularly the Gandhi-Nehru-Patel leadership in the making of modern India. The pan-movements in the Middle East, in Africa and in other places have to recognise that the people have to be prepared for the united governments. Mere top-level alliances or coups or new experiments in democracy like the 'guided' one alone will not lead to the desired goal. We should therefore have a universal movement to instil the spirit of universal nationhood into the peoples of the world. The stronger the spirit of universal brotherhood, the surer and earlier shall be the beginning of a world state.

It is easily said that we want a world movement to work for a world government. It is however difficult to work out a basis for it. This has two aspects: socio-economic philosophy on the one hand and a programme of action on the other. Philosophy is the perennial source of energy for man. The basic ideology must cover individual as well as community life. What sort of society does the universal movement aim at? Can the individual reach the top in his chosen field without inhabitations of caste, creed etc.? Can he cultivate his tongue, taste and talent with the utmost co-operation of the community? Will he have the incentive to work not only for his own future but for the society also? If he has freedom to rise to highest positions, will he have, too the power to prevent others from doing so in their own fields? In the future world order also will there be Cæsars, Hitlers and Francos either in their old garbs or new ones? Will the majority become brute and minority saboteurs? Will established dogma stifle the growth of innovation? All these and many more posers demand categorical answers from the contemplated movement. An organisation without a philosophy is like a tank without feeders. Such movements will come and go like the Alliances, Entetes and Leagues. The universal organisation therefore should

we were positively deluged with cards as we ran the gauntlet from the gate to the women's common room and the girls—faithful disciples—took up where the boys left off, and in the common room on that day you hear a babble of 'you must vote for or 'Promise you'll give your vote to—'; after winning the elections the poor candidate's troubles are not over: he has to show his appreciation of the good will of his supporters by standing them a mammoth treat at that famous rendezvous of the college, the Marina Canteen.

The graduates reception, in my opinion has been given too much glamour. Of course, it provides an occasion for the girls to look

beautiful and for the boys to look 'round; but for real good humour and fellow-feeling there is nothing to beat, a departmental social—the 'send-off' social for instance, with its almost tearful farewells to the seniors and its family spirit; where the staff and students join together in all the fun and games, and all differences in the classroom and outside, are forgotten.

This short time spent at Presidency College was a great gift from God, and yet, as I received it, I did not know how fair a jewel of memory it would be. A jewel rare and precious, which I will treasure carefully in the years to come.

ANTHROPOLOGY THROUGH THE AGES

BY

L. K. BALARATNAM, M.A., DIP. IN ANTH.

(This is the second and concluding instalment in this series wherein the writer discusses the practical value of the Science of Anthropology on an international basis—Ed.)

Practical value

Why has the prevalence of caste in India not only rigidly limited the sharing of individuals in the total culture, but added to mutual ignorance, contempt and prejudices, and also to lack of interest in what a close-by caste or religious group does? Why are sons demanding payment for working on their father's farms? Why does organisation of production depend on wage-labour, instead of family co-operation? What are the reasons for the popularity of the indigenous medicine in rural areas? Why is there a general preference for cross-cousin marriage in South India, and abhorrence for it in North India? Again, why do people commit suicide? In the case of old people past work, is it due to the fact that they are neglected because the solidarity of the extended family is breaking down?

The anthropologists can give the answer to these questions, and many more. In a country like India which achieved freedom from foreign rule in 1947, the electorates consist mainly of peasants steeped in ignorance and illiteracy to whom the implications of an electoral system are entirely new. In any case, studies of the type that anthropologists make on the attitudes of the general public towards political issues, could be very informative and valuable. The anthropologist is the only expert with the requisite knowledge to make an analysis of anxieties or dissatisfactions among the people. Some anthropologists have claimed that they could not only find the causes of the dissatisfaction, but remedy them.

Indigenous institutions cannot be dismissed as sheer barbarity or sheer stupidity, and simply destroyed. Certainly, there is only one person qualified to analyse and resolve the conflicts and difficulties of indigenous peoples, and he is the anthropologist. He regards many problems as the outcome of a conflict of values. He can see objective reasons why practices that we sometimes condemn provide answers for the problems of the societies where we find them. Ministers, Union and State, are never tired of calling upon peasants to increase food production. Certainly it would be fruitful for the Government to engage anthropologists to investigate the problem of incentives, to find out when and why does the peasant work hard as it is, what are his wants and ideals, and to which of them can you appeal if you consider it necessary, in his own or the general interest, that he should work harder. Hence anthropology should be brought in to help whenever it can in all the main problems that face us today. An added advantage is that, of all professional groups, anthropologists and sociologists suffer the least from ethno-centrism. Hence, wider and more intensive spread of anthropology and sociology will definitely contribute to the improvement of group relations, and serve as a solvent of ethno-centrism.

Anthropology is helpful, in fact indispensable in all walks of life today. Many Indians early in this century regarded it as a more or less pleasant diversion. Some very high administrative officials are known to have remarked, at a certain stage, that it is a luxury for which Governments with ever-increasing demands

on their resources can hardly be expected to find funds. Yet in few countries is the need for anthropological studies, particularly among primitive communities, so urgent as in India, with its aboriginal population of over 20 million on different levels of the lower culture, the more primitive amongst them being at different stages of disintegration, and in some cases even of decay and depopulation, and a few, like the Todas of the Nilgiris, and the Totos of West Bengal, almost on the verge of extinction. In fact, of all Indian States, it was only the Government of Assam which was keenly alive to its responsibility in the matter of the utilisation of anthropological knowledge in the interest of good Government. Even today, Assam stands ahead of other administrations in States in its attention to tribal welfare.

Anthropology is ancillary to all branches of knowledge which are concerned with human beings. For the anatomist, the comparative data of physical anthropology round out his study of man. For the historian of early civilisations, pre-history is necessary to extend his perspective. The economist must go to primitive society if he wishes an account of the economic life at its simplest. If he wishes to understand social life, ethics, religion, art, music, language, mythology, or literature in larger perspective, it is to anthropology that he must go for ample illustration.

Anthropological studies are valuable in stimulating and helping welfare work among the aboriginal population, and generally in the service of humanity. Though the scientific value of anthropological research was generally recognised in scientific circles, its practical value in the promotion of human welfare has only received recognition in recent years in India. To a very great measure, anthropology can help in tackling a variety of the social, economic, political and other problems in India, or for that matter in the U.S.A. or anywhere. Part of the business of anthropology is to provide data which can be utilised by the

practical politician and administrator. To the aspirant for administrative or diplomatic service, anthropology offers an admirable training. He learns the people's social and religious ideas and practices, the principles of ethnologic jurisprudence, as well as the characteristics of the people among whom his duty lies. Anthropology prepares the law-maker and the jurist for the task of coping with crime. These sentiments were emphasised by a number of British officers in the last generation who spent a major portion of their life in India.

Anthropologists value a knowledge of the life and activities of "savages," because "savages" are men, and without a knowledge of primitive culture we remain ignorant of a large portion of human life. Another reason for the study of primitive societies now is they are rapidly being transformed—and should be studied now or never. A study of the vanishing social systems aids us very considerably in understanding the nature of human society. They are also interesting study in themselves in that they provide descriptions of the way of life, the values, and the beliefs of people living without the minimum requirements of comfort and civilisation. Ruth Benedict suggests that the most illuminating material for an anthropologist exists "in societies historically as little related as possible to our own and to one another." Primitive cultures are a "laboratory" in which we can study "the diversity of human institutions. A careful study of primitive societies is important because it provides case material for the study of cultural forms and processes. Culture, with its processes and functions, is a subject upon which we need all the enlightenment we can achieve." It was left to Westermarck to point out:

".....Not long ago there was a generally current idea that the manners and customs of savage tribes could at most only be of interest as curiosities, and their study was scarcely looked upon as a

science. And yet what an extraordinarily useful influence this study has exercised in the last few decades on the history of law, the science of religion, moral psychology, and sociology in general. It has, among other things, taught us to what a large extent civilised man still preserves the customs and ideals of savages in his institutions in entire ignorance that he is so doing. For a nation's customs are like balls that seem to roll by their own impetus on through the centuries, and often it is only the study of the primitive races that can give us an idea of the push that set the ball in motion....."

The cardinal lessons of anthropology can be very usefully applied to the crying problems of our national life. It should be noted that the object of anthropology is not merely to depict the past or describe the present, to relate what kind of men live in Kerala or Kashmir, or what sort of dress the women in Tamil Nad or Rajasthan wear, or what the social customs among the Nagas or the Andamanese are. Anthropology holds the key to the understanding of many of our problems. Ralph Linton remarks that if anthropology has succeeded in proving anything, it is that "peoples and races are fundamentally very much the same. To know humanity is to become acquainted with ourselves. Anthropology can enable us to understand our culture and our lives a little more fully, to enrich our experience, to hold our fates more securely in our hands, and to round out the culture which each of us unwittingly helps to build, or ignorantly tears down." The sooner one learns that there is one species of man all the world over, the better for the progress of humanity. The welding of the races of Russia into a Union was greatly facilitated by the anthropological surveys conducted by the Academies of sciences of Leningrad and Moscow. They made an important contribution towards the unification of

Soviet Russia. Similarly, in India, if anthropological studies are fostered, and the assistance of social scientists is sought in evolving legislative measures, and social reforms, much of the communal animosity which is the bane of Indian national life at the present day can be banished, and mutual amity, and unity, promoted.

Anthropology can be very usefully applied in the service of the State, particularly in connection with primitive tribes to whom a lot of injustice is done by administrative and judicial officers. In spite of the best intentions, these officers, owing to ignorance of the mentality and customs of the aboriginal folk they have to deal with, cannot avoid occasionally coming to wrong decisions. If only they possessed adequate anthropological training, the fate of our tribes might be very much brighter. Most of the old-time administrators claimed to know the "native," but really they saw them through a "mist of hostile prejudice."

Since the beginning of this century, however, anthropologists have demanded a sympathetic hearing for the point of view of the peoples they study. However barbarous their institutions may seem to us, the tribes can defend them, and not merely by saying, "It is our custom." A special anthropological officer is now associated with the administration of the N.E.F.A. aboriginal areas. The researches carried out by such African officers as N. W. Thomas in Sierra-Leone and Seligman (and Mrs. Seligman) and Evans-Pritchard in the Sudan, and by a number of others in various other parts of the world, have been of immense value, not only to the administration of those areas, but also to anthropological science.

Unnecessary panic is sometimes caused by administrative authorities lacking knowledge of aboriginal areas. Sarat Chandra Roy, who lived almost in daily contact with the people whom he studied in Bihar, and knew how

they regarded their Government employers, cites a typical instance. Let Roy speak :

".....Among the aborigines of Chota Nagpur there is a social institution known as the *Parha* or *Pir* system, which is a federation of a number of villages, with a tribal leader styled the 'Raja' of the *Parha* and subordinate headmen known variously as 'Dewan,' 'Lal,' 'Pandey' and so forth. Once a year, and also when some urgent matter of special concern to the *Parha* or to the tribe requires consideration, a meeting of the *Parha* Council is convened, through notices issued not only to the villages of the *Parha* but also to villages of neighbouring *Parhas*, fixing the date and place of the proposed meeting.

"It so happened that an Inspector or Sub-Inspector of Police came across one of these notices during the days of the "Non-cooperation agitation" in 1921. He discovered that it purported to emanate from the Raja of some Munda *Parha*. In the name 'Raja' the Police Inspector scented a plot to subvert the British Government in Chota Nagpur, and to set up a Munda Raj in the country. He at once communicated to the Deputy Commissioner his apprehension of imminent trouble. The Deputy Commissioner who has to rely on the report of his police officers, felt anxious and, knowing my interest in the aborigines, requested me to attend the meetings notified to be held on the following day over 40 miles from Ranchi. He showed me the police report, from a perusal of which I at once saw that it could be nothing more than the usual notice issued to convene a *Parha*-Panchayat or Assembly and said so. But as he could not feel secure about the peace of the district, I agreed to go there, but requested him

not to send police officers to the meeting place as that might lead to difficulties. He did not, however, agree fully to this proposal, but promised to send only one or two constables and one or two other police officers in plain dress.

"When I arrived at the meeting place I found about seven or eight hundred Mundas assembled and a couple of constables in plain dress. As the Mundas knew me to be a friend, they were very glad to see me. But shortly afterwards three or four Police Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors arrived. As free ventilation of grievances, either real or supposed is a safety-valve which prevents discontent from seething within. I asked them to sit down and take notes but desist from making any remarks so long as the proceedings were peaceful. They agreed to this. When the assembled Mundas saw them they were reluctant to go on with their proceedings; their leaders at first said that they would postpone the meeting to the next day, and put forward the excuse that in the meanwhile they wanted to discuss matters amongst themselves so as to be able to formulate their grievances. But on my explaining to them that they need have no apprehensions as the police would not prevent a free expression of their opinion, they agreed to go on and freely gave out their views."

"The main themes of their deliberations were their agrarian grievances, educational needs, etc., and the means and remedies they considered suitable. At the end I explained to them which of their suggestions were impracticable and why and which were feasible, and how they could best help themselves and get relief from the authorities; and I promised to do what I could to represent

their troubles to the authorities and secure such redress as was feasible. They were all so fully satisfied that they exclaimed: 'If we had you and sympathetic officials to attend our meetings, we should hold such meetings every day and submit our views and grievances freely.' Thus ended what improper handling might have turned into a violent demonstration....."

The Government should prefer persons having anthropological training in judicial, executive, and other departments of Government, such as Forest and Excise, in aboriginal areas, for the improvement of the quality of administrative and judicial work. Officers lacking such knowledge should, at any rate, be required to undergo a course of training in anthropology.*

Even in respect of industrial undertakings where revolutionary changes have been introduced, as, for instance, in seeking arrangements for workers, in arranging tools and machines to suit individual members and arrangement of lighting, resulting in increased efficiency and production, much has been contributed by anthropologists. In Britain and the U.S.A. anthropologists have begun to get themselves interested in people's health, comfort and safety. While basic research is not neglected, quite a large number of them direct anthropological techniques in the solution of the very many problems facing people. Very few in India may perhaps know that, in America, O'Brien measured over 1,47,000 children to determine a proper size-system and the design

*In recent years there have been suggestions in India to integrate university courses in anthropology and sociology. But what should we call the new discipline—anthropology or sociology? Levi Strauss has suggested that anthropology would be the appropriate name to include both sociology and anthropology which would also include physical anthropology. The tendency not to make any hair-splitting differences between anthropology and sociology is apparent in several of the recent advertisements for anthropological jobs. Even in some of the older departments of sociology, men with anthropological training have become professors of sociology, and sociologists have been professing anthropology.

for children's garments. While Caudille worked on the determination of space needed for teaching and the designing of elementary schools for Texas, Whillans reported about a navigator's compartment designed for longer range aircraft in Canada which allows work in reasonable comfort and convenience. Reference should be made to Zuckerman who conducted an anthropological survey to solve the seating problem in British schools. In America, again, Hooton, designed seating in railway carriages. The services of anthropometricians were utilised by the U.S. Commodity Standards Division to take and work out body measurements for use of the apparel industry in evolving commercial standards for the sizing of ready-to-wear garments for adults and children. From all these instances it is apparent that a clear knowledge of the relation between physical and physiological state of men with the size and design of the various equipment needed would go a long way in ensuring faster work in industrial establishments. It is recognised not only in India, but throughout the world, that there is need to improve the efficiency of workers engaged in various professions. A study of industrial psychology reveals that efficiency is not only correlated with physical fitness, but depends on the hours, conditions, and environment of work, and the tools used in working. A report issued by an American team which studied the manufacture of cartons adduced that one of the reasons for speedier work by American women was that "they are picked to work a machine that 'fits' her height and reach."

Though in industrial establishments in India labour-cum-welfare officers are employed to look after the welfare of workers, we hear very frequently of lack of human relations, differences between workers and management, and increase in tension finally resulting in a strike or lock-out. Much of the present disquieting condition can be eliminated if only the services of anthropologists are availed of to suggest remedies. An anthropologist is in a better position to study the why behind a particular incident or situation, and analyse

the 10,000 whys behind that single 'why.' He can help in reducing the factor of fatigue, and improving the efficiency of workers, in the proper training of personnel, in solving the problem of housing, and in helping to reduce tension in all types of industry. It is thus clear that there is a very real place for the anthropologist in tackling the problems of the country.

One of the significant events in India since Independence has been the development of the Department of Anthropology under the Government of India's Education Ministry and the creation early in 1958 of the Central Advisory Board for Anthropology. The Director of the Department of Anthropology is also the Anthropological Adviser to the Government of India, and this arrangement is a continuance of the tradition of the administrative use of anthropology. The ancillary use of anthropology has been further emphasised by the Constitution recognising the tribal survivals as a minority requiring statutory protection, and by the Commissioner for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes under the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India encouraging the organisation of Tribal Research Institutes.

But why is it that anthropological information is regarded as valuable? Firstly, ethnography furnishes the most important and valuable data for the nation's social history. What history we have from other resources is mostly literary or political history. Secondly, from the materials which the ethnographer is able to collect, we get a remarkable insight into our social evolution and structures. It is not too much to claim that Indian history continues alive in Indian anthropology. Thirdly, another use of anthropology and sociology to us is as a solvent of group ethno-centrism. A special advantage that may accrue from a knowledge of anthropology is that "it may help us in devising and adopting suitable methods of acculturation, or rather 'inculturation,' of our jungle tribes—i.e., the adjustment of these

tribes to the dominant higher culture of their comparatively civilised neighbours by inoculating, so to say, the tribal cultures with such helpful elements of the higher culture, as may, with suitable adaptations, be profitably assimilated in their social and cultural system while at the same time helping to conserve indigenous customs and institutions of social value." Finally, to repeat a point stressed earlier, the crowning achievement that is expected to result from the spread of the scientific study of man is a realisation of the unity of mankind and the brotherhood of man, which may, at some distant future, lead to the establishment of a "genuine federation of the world, a real Parliament of man."

In sum and in short, anthropologists in general, and applied anthropologists in particular, have never tried to prevent "progress" and the spread of "civilisation" to primitive peoples, in order to have "primitive civilisations" available for their study. Anthropology, which I would call the Queen of all Sciences, does not seek to moralise, but seeks "to see life steadily and see it whole." Kluckhohn compares anthropology to a mirror which "man, without any labels of primitive or civilised, may look to understand and appreciate his own unbounded physical and cultural variety." Private help for anthropological research by way of endowments or otherwise is so far non-existent in India, although magnificent endowments and donations have been made to universities by business magnates and others for the promotion of research in various other subjects. Adequate expenditure for anthropological research appears to be not only legitimate, but imperative, at least from the administrative, moral, and humanitarian points of view. Let us hope that, with the realisation of the essential unity of *Homo sapiens*, the poet's version

"Earth at last a warless creed,
A single race, a single tongue,"
will not be difficult of realisation.

—(Concluded)

AZAD ERA

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

What by a quirk of the mind impressed me on a glance at Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's Memoirs is his view that it was Mahatma Gandhi who had retrieved Jinnah from eclipse and enhanced his importance :

Mr. Jinnah had lost much of his political importance after he left the Congress in the twenties. It was largely due to Gandhiji's acts of commission and omission that Mr. Jinnah regained his importance in Indian political life..... Large sections of Indian Muslims were doubtful about Mr. Jinnah and his policy, but when they found that Gandhiji was continually running after him and entreating him, many of them developed a new respect for Mr. Jinnah.....It was Gandhiji who first gave currency to the title 'Qaid-i-Azam' or Great Leader, as applied to Mr. Jinnah—Azad.

The passage oversimplifies a historic development but what arrested my attention was the suggestion of a boost supposed to be given to the Muslim League leader by the conferment of the title "Great Leader." To me, it merely illustrated Gandhiji's peculiar fondness for prefixing prominent names with flattering honorifics of his own invention.

"Mister" was not of Swadeshi origin and "Shri" has not been universalised. Still, he had a weakness for respectful endearments on which I would like to refresh public memory.

Jinnah himself did not profess any elation over the title conferred on him. In the days of violent exchanges between them, Jinnah once referred to the honour in a letter to the Mahatma, who had more than once tried to shake himself off from the appellation "Great Soul" and entreated the public to describe him as just "Gandhiji." But the people

wouldn't have it that way, and at the Nagpur Congress (1926) the last attended by Jinnah, when he had spoken of "Mister Gandhi," the audience nearly shouted him down, he dourly holding his own in the language of dire prophecy.

In a controversy of the furious 'forties, Jinnah wrote a letter to Gandhiji recalling how he had been variously addressed by Mahatmaji in the past—Mister and Janab and Saheb—and explaining that it didn't amount to much if he was for the final change addressed as Qaid-e-Azam. He waspishly wound up with a quotation from Shakespeare "What is in a name?" Would not the rose smell as sweet if called by any other name?

As for Abdul Kalam Azad himself, his pen-name (Kalam) stuck to him, not his original cognomen, Firoz. Jinnah carried the designation with him to Pakistan, whilst his co-adjutor Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan acquired a "Millat" derivative which also stuck to him.

"Lokamanya" applied to Tilak had been zealously popularized by Mrs. Annie Besant, she herself preferring the Doctorate given her by the Benares Hindu University; and "Missus" had still implied an auxiliary status beside the recollection of Rev. Frank Besant, the country parson she had left at home in her mission as high priestess of Theosophy.

His reputation as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel owed to Mahatmaji. Between Gandhiji and C. F. Andrews, the Bolpur halo of "Gurudev" shone throughout India. Bapu loved "Desh-bandhu;" and Maulana Shaukat Ali he dubbed as Big Brother. Mahomed Ali died young, but their mother "Bi Amman," revered by Gandhiji was a slim, shy figure on Khilafat

platforms. "I am in the Big Brother's pocket" cried Gandhiji to the huge delight of that Qaid-e-Azam of Falstaffian dimensions in the 'twenties.

J. M. Sen Gupta of Chittagong was Desha-priya, whilst a Satyagrahi from Orissa was ticketed as Deshabhimani and another patriot Deshbhakta. Nor should we forget Vir Vaman Rao, a Vidarba patriot of the mental complexion of Acharya Kripalani, always combat-ready. Nariman, after unsporting overthrow as legitimate heir of the Bombay *gadi* had been consoled with the sobriquet of Vir Nariman, a melancholy reward and also a blot on the record of Congress fairness.

Meanwhile, Bapat who resorted to a hit-and-run form of Satyagraha at a site of the Tata dam works, was proclaimed Senapati, and S. Srinivasa Aiyengar became Shriman in *Harijan*. C. F. Andrews remained *Deenabandhu* until the end, piously identified with Daridra Narayan. The lion-coinage in the past of Lajpatrai (the Lion of the Punjab) appealed to Gandhiji, like Poojya Punya for Malaviyaji.

Devoted to the Begum as well as the Sheikh, Mahatma Gandhi always quoted the Shere distinction. Suhrawardy, after the Calcutta chum-up, was affectionately described as Saheed Saheb, but nowhere of the order of Badshah Khan.

Qaid-e-Azam was no novelty, and the Maulana Saheb has exaggerated its effects on Jinnah's self-esteem. The fact is that by

instinct we are a people prone to rejoice in rank and title. The Constitution, after the American pattern, had outlawed the bestowal of honours and titles, but Jawaharlal Nehru circumvented the forbiddal by describing the vernacularised Honours List as "Awards."

Sometimes, errors in selection occur. I quote paragraph 34 of the Report of the Benares Hindu University :

It has been brought to our notice that one of the professors utilised the students' concession fare on railway to take a marriage party, and when this was brought to the notice of the authorities, the Professor was let off with a warning. Later, we understand this Professor was the recipient of a Presidential Award. Such an incident cannot but be demoralising to the University. This incident found a place in the report of the Railway Inquiry Committee."

Accidents happen in the best regulated families, but Jawaharlal, I suspect, has a sneaking regard for feudal decorations and glittering paraphernalia for the proletariat, no doubt to quicken the social revolution. A master in the art of granting exemptions, he let N. R. Pillai and a few others receive titles of the "Order of the Banner" from the hands of Marshal Tito, the Moscow heretic.

Maulana Saheb was clearly mistaken when he thought that the term Qaid-e-Azam emboldened Jinnah into derring-do. He moved on his own steam, the Founder of Pakistan.

MADRAS—FROM PENTLAND TO PRAKASA

—A Long Shot.

BY

P. C. CHERIAN, M.A.

(This is the fourth and the concluding contribution in this series of reminiscences by the writer in the city of Madras over a period of fifty years—Ed.)

The Congress was the chief opposition and under the brilliant leadership of C. R. Reddy and Satyamurthi they attempted to pass a no-confidence motion against the Justice Ministry but failed. The Rajah was later succeeded by Dr. Subharayan as Chief Minister. His ministry though essentially "Justice" was a sort of coalition, accommodating the different elements in the party. Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliar one of the ministers a bigotted Justicite, was mainly responsible for drafting the communal G.O. in regard to recruitment to the services. This had far-reaching repercussions in the services. Some rabid type of non-brahmin officers placed in authority misapplied the G.O. even at intermediate stages for promotions which resulted in clever officers belonging to the aggrieved community preferring their own men for such promotions by condemning officers and officials of the other community—or by circumventing the order by resorting to various other subterfuges. Confidential reports were grossly misused and thereby lost their sanctity and the innocent suffered at the hands of unscrupulous officers. Some of the provincial officers now holding high ranks owe their positions not by merit but due to the smooth sailing made possible as a result of this G.O. Thus to some it has been a blessing while for others it has been a curse and either way the general effect has been a lowering in the morale of the services and a fall in the standard of its efficiency. This G.O. has ceased to function as it is repugnant to the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian

constitution but it cannot be said that matters have improved.

Dr. Subharayan was succeeded by Mr. Munuswami Naidu who in turn was replaced by the Rajah of Bobbili. Meanwhile the Justice party was gradually losing ground and the Congress rapidly gaining in strength. As rats come out from a sinking ship, the Justice party members began to sever their connections with the party and knowing which side of the bread was buttered joined the Congress in large numbers, leaving Sri P. T. Rajan as the sole representative of the Justice party, a lone figure reminiscent of casablanca's stand at the post of duty while the ship was burning and sinking. These ex-justice members now happen to form the majority in the Tamilnad Congress fully clad in Khadi.

Thus for a period of more than fifteen years from the Montford Reforms to the Government of India Act of 1935, the Justice party administered the province within the limited sphere it was allowed to. During this period several ministries functioned one after the other and comparatively speaking they were a much better lot than the subsequent Congress ministries individually and collectively, barring the great Rajaji who stood head and shoulders above the whole crowd like a giant in the midst of Pigmies.

There was a regular landslide for the Justice party in the 1937 elections and the Congress, which swept the polls assumed office under the leadership of Rajaji. His administration was

considered to be the best in the whole of India. He was the first to introduce Prohibition. But with the commencement of the Second World War the Congress went out of office and resumed power only after the declaration of Independence. Rajaji had been included in the Central Cabinet and Sri Prakasam was thereupon summoned to form the ministry, but internal feuds and intrigues drove him out of office. He was succeeded by Omandur Ramaswamy Reddiar a rustic gentleman who though ill-equipped for the high office, was nevertheless earnest in his work and honest in his intentions. His equity and integrity would not be questioned even by his enemies but these qualities alone would not suffice for holding such a responsible position. Eventually he was tripped and Sir Kumaraswami Raja stepped into his place. The change did not improve matters except that Raja was a six-footer and had a commanding appearance. These two Chief Ministers hold the record for their silence in the Legislative Assembly. Raja was defeated in the next election and was thereupon nominated as Governor of the Orissa State.

The practice of the Congress party nominating candidates defeated in the elections for Governorships was not only bad in policy but was also wrong in principle. It exposes the party to the criticism that unwanted persons are being preferred for high appointments as a sort of solatium for them. The candidates themselves may feel conscious of their inferiority and the people may look down on them with disdain, a very embarrassing situation indeed. It also goes to confirm the belief that Governorships are mere white elephants kept on for show, as a relic of the past Government.

In the long history of the Justice party the tragic figure of Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar stands out in bold relief. A prop of the Justice party he was a bold fighter and had taken

part in many a battle. Rather short in stature he had a long black bushy moustache; dressed in a dark suit with a cane dangling from his left hand he would always be seen going round with a coterie of admirers. He spent all his youth in studying medicine and the rest of his life in practising it. A popular practitioner he was the poor man's friend and a persona grata with inferior servants now called class IV servants; he would never deny them a medical certificate nor would he charge anything for it. His hobby was wrestling and gymnastics and he had a Godha and Gymnasium in his premises where the youths of Triplicane, both Hindus and Muslims used to flock together for training. As long as he was alive no one dared to stand against him for a seat either in the Corporation or in the Legislative Council from the Triplicane division. And in the 1920 elections to the Legislative Council he created a record by polling the highest number of votes. Yet the party had not the graciousness to confer on him any benefits, either a befitting job or any such office but he never left the party, though disgruntled he was. At the same time it must be conceded that for a man of his volatile temperament it was difficult to find a suitable job nor could he be bound by party discipline. He was in the Selection Board for admission to the Medical Colleges and other Government Colleges and at the time of admissions his house would be swarmed by students and their parents or sponsors. He would have a kind word to each one and would note down the particulars. He would also put up a fight for every one. The seats in the Colleges were limited and it was obvious that all of them could not be admitted but he had the satisfaction that he did his best for all those who approached him. Either in these committees or in the Corporation or in the Legislative Council or in the University bodies his motto was service for others. A good man and a noble soul his memory is still enshrined in the hearts of those who had the benefits

of his selfless service and this sort of gratitude is more enduring than the putting up of a portrait or the erection of a statue.

His counterpart in the Congress had been the late Mr. T. Prakasam, though the latter, a much greater man and of a higher calibre. A Barrister with an extensive practice he earned a fortune but spent that and much more in the national struggle. An All India figure of the type of Lokamanya Tilak, Chandra Pal and C. R. Das, he used to go about as a Roman General, with his angavastram thrown round his shoulders like a toga, a majestic figure escorted by his followers, attracting the attention of the passers-by. He plunged deep into the non-co-operation movement and gave up his practice. He started the 'Swarajya' and with the aid of a set of brilliant youngmen got on famously well. But mismanagement and careless handling of money got him into hot waters and soon he found himself in difficulties. His life's fortune and something more he had invested in this venture and when financial ruin stared him in the face nobody went to his rescue.

Next to Bengal, Andhra played the most prominent part in the National struggle, for which the credit chiefly goes to Mr. Prakasam. For his bold leadership unmindful of consequences he was given the appellation of Andhra Kesari. In Rajaji's first Cabinet he was one of the ministers but he was not very happy about his subordinate position. After Independence he formed the first Cabinet but was soon thrown overboard by a conspiracy hatched within the party itself. Charges and counter-charges were hurled at each other. More in sorrow than in anger he left the party and much against his will took up the leadership of the opposition. It was really a painful task to fight his erstwhile comrades. The Congress High Command of which he was a member for long stood aghast at the somersault of their revered comrade but did little to pacify

him, which enraged him still further. Long before the question of Linguistic States was mooted he had started an agitation for a separate Andhra Province and when the separation of the Andhra State was under consideration he began to agitate for the establishment of Visalandhra with a ready made capital at Hyderabad. With the formation of a separate Andhra State, all parties irrespective of their differences, jointly requested him to form the Government in recognition of his past services and he did so. It was the fulfilment of a dream which he envisaged about fifty years back. In return for this noble gesture he rejoined the Congress party. But he was too old and his faculties were failing. Still he lived to see the glory of his further vision of Visalandhra fulfilled. His life's ambition thus satisfied, it looked as if he had no more ambitions to live for. With full of years and honours the Andhra Kesari laid down his mortal coils to eternal rest at the new capital and the whole state, nay the whole nation mourned the death of a great leader and a valiant fighter.

It is an irony that Madras, the most enlightened of the State and which takes credit for the best brains of the country, had been and is still ruled by Chief Ministers who by the usual standards cannot be included in the category of "well-educated." This vital defect was taken advantage of by the next in command. In the Omandur and Raja Ministries, the roll fell on Sri B. Gopala Reddy and his counterpart in the present Kamaraj Ministry happened to be Mr. C. Subramaniam. Both these gentlemen are still comparatively young and inexperienced. But Mr. Kamaraj though not well versed in English is endowed with plenty of robust commonsense. He has a firm grip over his colleagues and has shown each one his right place. He will not allow anyone to overstep this limit. Still certain things are beyond his control as he is not fully equipped to hold this high office. Like a tribal Chief

who makes a half-hearted search for a suitable match for his niece and finding no one good enough decides to keep her himself. Mr. Kamaraj as President of the Provincial Congress Committee was at pains to find a substitute for Chief Minister Rajaji and not being successful in the attempt took on himself this great responsibility. How far he had succeeded or how far he is going to succeed as an administrator it is for posterity to pass the verdict.

Lord Willingdon in spite of his glamorous and pompous ways was an extremely efficient administrator. His successor Lord Goschen was very quiet and unostentatious. Then came Sir George Stanley the younger brother of Lord Derby, a typical bull-dog Britisher. Greatly interested in boating and boxing he was also an enthusiast in hunting. It was a coincidence that the then Lord Bishop of Madras, Rt. Rev. Waller, was equally interested in the two hobbies, boating and boxing. He might also have been an enthusiast in hunting but as killing was not in keeping with his sacred profession he had necessarily to hide his interest in the game.

Sir George Stanley and Bishop Waller were quite chummy and would be seen together in boating clubs and boxing centres. The Stanley Medical College is named after this Governor and the Erskine Hospital in Madura after his successor. The Government of India Act of 1935 came into force in Lord Erskine's regime and the Congress came to power and accepted office in 1937 under the leadership of Rajaji shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. Lord Erskine's term expired and Sir Arthur Hope took his place. The Congress went out

of office and some of the ministers courted arrest, but Rajaji remained outside. Sir Arthur Hope's successor, Sir Archibald Nye was the first commoner to hold this august office but he did extremely well. He happened to be the last of the Barons. Sir Mahomed Osman and Sir K. V. Reddy had been appointed to the Governorship for short interim periods. After the declaration of Independence the Maharajah of Bhavnagar was nominated the first Governor under the new dispensation. Born in a Royal Family and brought up under its traditions, his noble personality added dignity to the office. The changeover was therefore not felt very much. Of a non-interfering nature he knew his limitations under the New Constitution and stuck to it rigidly but when he found it a bit embarrassing he took the earliest opportunity to relinquish his office in a most graceful manner. He has now taken up farming on a large scale in his own state. His successor Sri Prakasa, an Oxford graduate having imbibed the best traditions of the east and the west, was a highly cultured man but being a commoner had a different notion of his office. He cared not for pomp and show and he would have been happy if his movements had not been circumscribed. He was often seen visiting the residence of his Chief Minister or other important personal friends. He revelled in company. A humorous conversationalist he wanted scope for its display. If a graph were drawn to compare the administration of the days of Lord Pentland and of Sri Prakasa, it would indicate a sharp decline, such fall in the standard of efficiency is inevitable wherever bureaucracy is replaced by democracy.

—(Concluded)

ENGLISH AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

In an article entitled "Pancha Shila" to solve the language issue which was published in the Indian Press sometime ago, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the eminent Indian philologist, posed the following fundamental questions: "Why must we condemn our non-Hindi speaking children at school who waste six or seven years of their precious time in trying to acquire a language which has no informative or formative value for them except to satisfy the supposedly patriotic cry of some politicians for an Indian language, howsoever inadequate and howsoever difficult as the 'official language'?" In order to understand the full significance of the problem in its historical perspective, it would be profitable to record the observations of our great men from Raja Ram Mohan Roy down to Rajaji on the language issue.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy made a powerful plea for the modern system of education through the English medium in his famous letter written to Lord Amherst as early as 1823. This tradition was continued by our nationalists, whether labelled as "extremist" or "moderate", were all convinced of the benefits of the English language. The "Kesari" of Poona with which Tilak was associated wrote in 1885, "The birth of patriotism among us is due to British rule and English education. English education has imparted to us knowledge of ancient and modern history; it enabled us to know the fruits of patriotism among the ancient Greeks and Romans..... It is those who have come under the influence of English education and begun to realise the defects of British administration that have been inspired by the spirit of patriotism." Even as late as 1916, Lokamanya Tilak asked his countrymen not to forget that "it is the connection with

England and the education she gave that have given rise to ambitions that fill your hearts today." Sir Surendranath Bannerji, one of our greatest leaders remarked—"My professional work greatly helped me in my public speeches as I had to teach the classics of the English language. Among them were the speeches and writings of Burke, Froude, Lord Morley and others. I thus lived in constant association with the greatest masters of the English language and in close familiarity with their vocabulary and methods of thought and to none do I owe a greater debt than Edmund Burke, whose political philosophy has so largely moulded my own views of government and society."

Dr. Sachidananda Sinha has summed up the case for English very lucidly in his Convocation address to the students of the Nagpur University in 1937—"The English Language is now the natural or governmental language of nearly five hundred millions of people..... of the world's radio stations, no less than half broadcast in English..... It is the knowledge of English and of the magnificent literature enshrined in it that has been admittedly the great emancipating force of India..... The argument advanced by those who would like to dethrone English from the prominent position it occupies today in our universities, namely that Japan and Turkey have accomplished the feat of national education through the medium of their own languages, is by no means convincing, as it overlooks the fundamental difference between comparatively small countries, with small populations of a few millions and India a great sub-continent with its many languages, vast territories and an enormous population constituting about one-

fifth of the human race. Hence the movement to discard or to discourage English is a retrograde step from the nationalist point of view and it should not be encouraged by the well-wishers of the country."

Two main objections have been raised against the retention of English. It is contended that Hindi is being used by the majority of the people of India. But it is conveniently forgotten that the 42 per cent of the people speaking Hindi in all its dialects is confined to a particular part of India. As Shri C. Rajagopalachari states, that if "42 per cent in every state were able to understand and speak Hindi there would have been no objection at all to Hindi being the national language. The fact was, in all the states except the Hindi speaking area, only one per cent of the people could understand or speak Hindi. Their friends in the North really did not understand this mathematics." Dr. Ambedkar has recorded that Hindi was chosen "by one vote." And Dr. P. Subbarayan, a member of the Official Language Commission wrote in his minute of dissent that "Hindi was chosen with reservation, because of the reactions of the success of a long struggle for freedom which gave them an uneasy feeling that India lacked the natural linguistic unity which was thought to be so vital for a free people."

The other objection is that English is "foreign" to us. The objection is more relative than real and it loses its force, if the problem is viewed in the background of the development of Modern India. It is the language of educated India, the medium of instruction of our Universities and the language of official work in the State Secretariats and Courts and the Central Government in all its departments including the ones dealing with India's foreign trade and representation in international assemblies. It was a process of evolution. During the nineteenth century men like Dadhabhai Naoroji and Romesh Dutt laid the economic

foundations of our nationalism by writing books in the English language. And English has been the language of our cultural renaissance as reflected in the writings of our great men and women like Henry Derozio, Toru Dutt and Aru Dutt. Our political literature was built up by our leaders like Gokhale, Beasant, Sastri, Gandhi and Nehru only in English. Those of us who can understand the significance of Mr. Nehru's phrase that "Khadi is the livery of our freedom" cannot deny the fact that English has been the language of Indian nationalism. Dailies like "The Hindu," and Gandhiji's "Harijan" and "Young India" have all been conducted in English to create a climate of "Swadeshi" as well as to present the Indian viewpoint on problems, political and economic, social and cultural. The moving power of English oratory which contributed to the success of Indian nationalism must be obvious to those who were privileged to listen to the speeches of Rt. Hon'ble Sastri and Sarojini Naidu. No student of modern Indian history can fail to note that English has been and is still the vehicle of our creative scholarship and scientific research—the philosophical works of Dr. B. N. Seal and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the historical writings of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar the economic research work of Ranade, Matthai and Shenoy and the mathematical and scientific contributions of Ramanujam, Raman, Chandrasekhar, Saha and others. In every sphere of modern thought ranging from popular talks on science (given by men like C. V. Raman) to the highest flights of pure research, Modern India has made her contribution mostly in English. The impact of the English language on a less gifted people than the Indians might have resulted in a clash of cultures, but not so in the case of a people whose natural intellect had attained a high level of sensitivity and perception through centuries of intellectual evolution. This is not a phenomenon peculiar to India when viewed in the perspective of history.

The growth of a bilingual Graeco-Roman culture in the Mediterranean basin during the first three centuries of the Christian era is an instance in point. Again, Latin was used as a medium in medieval and post Renaissance Europe to facilitate the commerce of ideas in multi-lingual Europe. Bacon's 'Novum Organum' and 'More's Utopia' were written in Latin. Some of the greatest savants like Descartes, Huyghens, Newton and Leibnitz wrote their famous treatises in Latin. English has taken the place of Latin in the modern age. As Rajaji argued, "there cannot be

a single national language for India. The time is past for the achievement of such an object. We are too many centuries late for it." The proper functioning of our Universities, the efficient working of our administration and the national unity of our country are all interlinked with this problem. The future of modern democratic India depends on the choice between Hindi and English; Hindi sentiment would take us into a medieval backwater and all round progress of India in the modern world can be sustained only if we continue to use and spread English.

COWARDICE

One thing a man should be ashamed of ever—
His cowardice which shifts from form to form,
To hide himself, withdrawing from endeavour,
And tremble like a weakling in a storm.

To fold or rub the palms before another.....
A sycophant, for safety or for gain,
Twisting his tongue with lies, betray a brother
Exposing him to riddling bullet-rain.

To turn away from groans and moans of anguish
And woo false quiet in a stone-built tower
Oblivious of millions who languish,
Live corpses grinding mouths of greed devour.

To flee for sanctuary from the ugly
World that is now an open wound of life,
To watch from a safe distance, dwelling smugly,
The spectacle of struggle and of strife.

To kneel before the wealthy, fawn and pander
To his perfidious whims and lick his feet,
And with a brazen face to spit and slander
At Truth he fondly hopes he can defeat.

The music of the brave is in the air
And martyr-earth all suddenly hath flowered !
This heart to heroes offers up a prayer ;
May I be shot before I turn a coward !

—Harindranath Chattopadhyaya

LIFE AND LITERATURE

BY

C. AMMINI KUTTY, M.A.

The real interest of the past lies in the clue it gives to the future. Our present life has grown out of the past and any view of life that we take without relation to the past is sure to be deplorably left behind reality. This is true of literature also ; for the character of a literature is mainly borne by the relation which it sustains to life in the consciousness of man. As the outlook of humanity on life happened to be influenced through ages by different factors like society, religion and political thought, the nature of literary productions also happened to undergo a parallel transformation. Literary ideologies also sprouted up in like proportion with the result we in India see ourselves today face to face with a theory of literature which in all appearance stands in complete opposition to what has been expounded by the ancient Acharyas of our land. Acharyas like *Bharata Muni* specifically prescribed the qualities and the virtues that shared characterise the heroes and the heroines of the poems and the plays of the day. The idea was to illustrate didactically that the Law of Karma inexorably works towards the final triumph of virtue and discomfiture of vice. The writers in the other languages of India for a long time tried to conform to these prescriptions ; but now when the different literatures of the world have come to meet together, the old attitudes towards characterization have changed. The ordinary man who was tabooed from being made the hero in old literature is being made the hero of many a novel and play today. In addition, it is even being argued that creative art should mainly centre round the life of the common man. But it may be pointed out here that literary works of outstanding quality have

been produced in world literature by making the higher as well as the lower type of man in society the central figure around which the whole content of the artistic work revolves. It is also a fact that the true lovers of literature read and enjoy with parallel enthusiasm these famous works irrespective of the age and clime to which they belong. The hero of *Sankuntalam* is a king in whom all the virtues of a great man are embodied ; the hero of *Les Miserables* is a convict, the very news of whose presence drives a whole city into panic ; and the characters of *War and Peace* are drawn mainly from the aristocratic society of Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The literary enthusiast who goes to these books finds that he has received a certain sustenance for his soul from each one of these literary works. The reader realises some sort of binding affinity arising between him and the spirit underlying the literary work, which tie becomes stronger and stronger as he proceeds and overpowers him like the spell of a charm. This kind of affinity cannot be effected unless there is the exposition in the work of art of some kind of virtue, some kind of vital truth concerning life. It must be a truth common to man whatever be the age or society that he lives in.

Yet a mere exposition of virtue or reality will not give that timeless and universal significance to a work of art which we find associated with the immortal works mentioned before. There is something else besides it. There have been countless definitions of literature based upon the conception of beauty ; but it is some of the definitions made of literature as an art of expression that have gained ground in the modern world. According

to Mme. de Staël literature is the "expression of society," whereas according to Saint Baeuve it is the "expression of personality." Later, there was the enunciation of the idea that literature is an "expression of race, age and environment." The impressionists formulated literature as the "exquisite expression of delicate and fluctuating sensations or impressions of life." It may be noticed here that all these critics agree on the point that literature is an art of expression; the difference lies only in the expression of the nature of the idea conveyed through this art. A close analysis of anyone of the literary works mentioned before will reveal the fact that a true work of art is an expression of the personality of the author, an expression of the society in which he lived and also an expression of the race, age and environment to which he belonged and that all these find a place in his work as an exquisite expression of delicate and fluctuating sensations or impressions of life.

Victor Consin's expostulation of the theory of "Art for Art's Sake" has given rise to countless controversies in the literary world. It cannot be denied that all the activities of man through ages whether it be constructive or destructive, organisational or revolutionary, have had before it the one and only ultimate purpose—the advancement of human life. Creative art also has made its progress through time only in the service of mankind. The theory of "Art for Art's Sake" has been interpreted even to the extent that creative art stands in opposition to life. Man directs the various activities in his life into two different channels, one of which is concerned purely with his physical necessities in life, and the other which carries him away from his outer self to the spiritual inner life. This spiritual life does not stand in opposition to practical life; on the contrary, it is a necessary completion of it. The true artist blends together in his work the realities of physical life with

the glories of human personality and creates a new form and life out of it which eventually proves to be of immense value and significance to humanity in its progress.

It is by conforming to the practical as well as to the aesthetic aspects of human life that the true artist endeavours to work in the service of the society. It can be seen that all good works of art have laid emphasis on both these aspects of life. In idealistic art there is a greater emphasis on the spiritual existence of man and as such it aims at a heightening and intensification of human mind. The poet keeps his vision fixed upon a theory of conduct and takes care to make his characters conform to that particular code so that he could illustrate thereby the value and importance of right and holy living. But secrecy is the keynote of aestheticism in art. Hence the true artist achieves this not by a clear and conscious unfoldment of the message that he has for humanity, but by creating appropriate incidents and contexts and revealing thereby a human personality that has withstood and exalted itself above the onslaughts of fate and chafing circumstances. The more the incidents so described are drawn from the every-day life of man, the greater the work of art will be able to touch the human heart and convey the ideal concealed within. Hence it is essential that an artist should choose the subject-matter from contemporary life if he should reach everyman in the society to whom he means to convey an ideal through his work of art. For the best means of reaching the hearts of the people is through a medium that is familiar and intelligible to them; and nothing can be more intelligible and pleasing to human mind than the men and the atmosphere that one comes across in one's daily life. Through this medium the poet can best reach his fellow-men in society and they him. That is why it is said that literature must be deeply rooted in and intertwined with the aspects of the everyday life of man. The

reader who goes through such a work of art acquires a broadening of vision which extends beyond his limited experience and his mind gets soaked by the process of communion with the mind of the author. The careful author gradually prepares the mind of his reader to receive the message that he has to deliver to the society and at a time when the mind is touched and softened by a clear and correlated vision of the fluctuating and apparently disconnected sensations and impressions of human life the ideal is impressed unmistakably and unconsciously on the mind of the individual. The poet who can achieve this through his work of art serves the society; for it helps the individual to see himself clearly in relation to the total life process that surrounds his existence, which self-realization gives coherence to his personal life and fosters within him an inner harmony and a power to live and to endure life for the sake of his fellow-beings in society.

Tolstoy in his treatise "What is Art?" says: "Universal Art, by uniting the most different people in one common feeling by destroying separation, will educate people to union and will show them, not by reason but by life itself, the joy of universal union reaching beyond the bounds set by life." The same ideal is illustrated in his famous work "War and Peace" through the words of Prince Andrey when "he wept tears of love and tenderness over his fellow-men, over himself, over their errors and his own: "Sympathy, love for our brothers, for those who love us, for those who hate us, love for our enemies. Yes, the love that God preached upon earth, that Marie sought to teach me, and I did not understand; that is why I am sorry to part with life, that is what was left me if I had lived. But now it is too late, I know that."

Spirituality is conditioned by each age. Every epoch in human history has tried to reform and transform even the ideas of eternal values in man. Our task is not to salvage the values of personality from the debris of old ideas and beliefs. It is not possible for

creative art to cling on to the vanishing images of a by-gone spirituality. The artist must search in his contemporary life for a vigour that is appropriate to modern man. In that principle the same eternal values that guided human destiny forward in olden times will be found, but in such a metamorphosis that it may be mistaken by the ordinary man for something new and incompatible with the older faith. But absolute values do not, change intrinsically. All literary ideologies have their respective merits in that they bear an important relation to human life; but they are defective in that the relation envisaged is too partial compared with the relation that literature should maintain with life's totality.

There is a sense of solace which we desire from literature; and it is imaginative literature more than didactic books that affords this solace to human mind in its perplexities and frustrations. It is not for instruction alone that man goes to books; but he goes to know life, to know more of that life which his limited experience has been holding away from his eyes. The reader finds at times the contradictory and confusing experiences and feelings of his own life portrayed in literature in a clear and correlated form, which miniature experience of the larger universe reveals to his imagination the cosmic principle that underlies the apparent chaos of the Universe. Literature gives free play for sometime at least to the innumerable emotions and feelings that lie repressed in the sub-conscious realm of the individual's mind. Thus it softens the congealment and loosens the constriction that circumstances bring to bear upon human mind. Such a recreation is sure to make the mind healthier and more energetic. Literature exalts the mind by associating it with the Truthful and the Beautiful; and as such it has a great ennobling effect on the mind of man. As Hebbel said, literature is "the highest form of life," for it has its source in the life of man, it grows by gathering energy from the emotions and experiences in the daily life of man, and gives its fruit for the enjoyment of man to build up better conditions of human life and happiness.

DEFICIT FINANCING AND THE II FIVE-YEAR PLAN

BY

DR. V. KARUNAKARAN, M.A., PH.D.

Deficit financing is a technique of monetary management. It occupies an important place in the budgets of almost all the countries of the world. During times of stress and strain, it is used more freely. In India, consequent on the inauguration of a planned programme of economic development, the concept of deficit financing is gaining wide currency and is being discussed at all levels, right from the parliament down to the household. It constitutes a very important method of financing the plans. Therefore a correct appreciation of the plan is well-nigh impossible without a clear understanding of the concept in all its details. Hence an attempt is made to study the concept at some length, particularly with reference to the Second Five-Year Plan.

Deficit financing may be defined "as the supplementation of the community's savings with created money by the Central Bank, in aid of an agency which has decided to spend beyond its resources." To put it in other words "It means spending more than is actually taken in, as is done by printing money, against loans made by the Central Bank to the Government, or by a drawing down of cash balances." This implies that there will be an overall deficit over and above the resources in the form of tax revenues, contribution from commercial services, loans, small savings etc., which the government is able to raise.

Deficit financing is resorted to by governments both during times of peace and war, but the objectives of such financing are basically and fundamentally different. In normal times, it is used to stimulate private investment and reduce private consumption in the widest

possible measure. During the war, on the other hand, the overriding aim is to restrict private consumption and to encourage only such investments as would increase the production of materials necessary for war. The real difference lies in the fact that while in the former case, the purpose of restriction of private consumption is to accelerate the production of capital goods, in the latter, it is to divert production to the needs of war.

It is but natural that deficit financing should have a special appeal to underdeveloped countries like India, whose chances of developing through the traditional process of *laissez faire* capitalism are exceedingly remote. The problem the backward economies are confronted with today is not one of temporary stagnation which can be cured by the stimulating effect of small doses of deficit financing, but a chronic deficiency of capital for which deficit financing will have to be resorted to on a substantial scale. In this respect, deficit spendings closely approximate to the deficit financing during times of war.

The Government of India used deficit financing rather moderately during the first plan, mostly during the last two years of the plan. About 21 per cent of the First Plan, i.e., Rs. 420 crores was deficit financed. Prices remained fairly stable and even came down until the last months of the plan. Encouraged by this initial experience, the Second Plan provided for deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores for a period of five years from 1950-57 to 1960-61. This means that the Government will be incurring an overall deficit of Rs. 1,200 crores besides tax revenues,

small savings, foreign assistance, etc., which she will be able to raise. This deficit could be met by the Government either by running down its cash balances or by its selling Treasury Bills to the Reserve Bank of India. As the Government's cash balances are already at the minimum, there is no question of its meeting the deficit by running them down. The only course open to it, therefore, is to sell Treasury Bills to the Reserve Bank of India.

Ordinarily, this would result in the Reserve Bank printing more currency notes thereby increasing the total amount of money in circulation. There is general agreement that an expanding economy needs some more money in circulation. Consequently, deficit financing can be undertaken to a certain extent without generating a general rise in prices. But if the increase in the supply of money is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the supply of goods, there would be an inflationary rise in prices. Economists in India, as elsewhere, differ on the amount by which the money supply can be increased without affecting the price-level. They also differ on how much inflation it would be proper to tolerate in the interest of the economic development.

Coming to an assessment of the likely reactions of deficit financing of Rs. 1,200 during the second plan period, the Planning Commission observes that Rs. 200 crores can be set off by drawing down of sterling balances by an equal amount. The remaining deficit of Rs. 1,000 crores representing the net addition to total currency is expected to result in a secondary expansion of credit by banks. It is assumed that if the ratio between currency in circulation and deposit money remains unaltered, money supply would show something like a 66 per cent increase over the plan period and national income during this period by 25 per cent. Hence the Planning Commission is of the view that the resulting increase in price-level of about 40 per cent is not beyond the safety limit.

Professor Das Gupta calculates that the money at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan is of the order of Rs. 1,300 crores and if the plan is implemented in full, there will be an addition of Rs. 1,200 crores. Deducting from it Rs. 200 crores being roughly the amount which can be matched against the release of sterling balances, the net increase in note circulation is expected to be in the order of Rs. 1,000 crores which is about 77 per cent of the existing volume of money. Against this, the plan envisages an increase of aggregate output by about 25 per cent of which the state of consumers goods will be 20 per cent. If allowance is made for some transfer from the non-monetary to the monetary sector, then the consumers goods, in the exchange economy will come to about 25 per cent. Therefore, Dr. Das Gupta concludes on lines identical with those of the Planning Commission that if the income velocity of circulation of money remains more or less constant, during the plan period and further, there will be a rise in prices of about 40 per cent which will not be intolerable.

But highly pessimistic and alarming is the estimate of Professor B.R. Shenoy. He assumes that the total money supply at the inception of the second plan to be a round figure of Rs. 2,000 crores. Deficit financing by Rs. 1,200 crores would expand money supply at the end of the plan to Rs. 4,267 to 4,688 crores. As money supply would be vastly larger than the permissible amount of Rs. 2,500 crores, this might raise prices by at least 78 to 95 per cent in five years or 16 to 19 per cent every year. In actual fact, contends Shenoy, prices might rise faster. First a rise in price would raise the money cost of the projects before they are completed and necessitate larger deficit-financing. Secondly, people would hold a smaller percentage of their income in cash. In an effort to protect the value of their savings, they would try to invest as much of their savings as possible.

excessive. Such taxation increases the cost of production of industry in so far as it falls on raw materials, power resources etc., and thereby helps in pushing up rather than reducing the price-level. Moreover, it has a dampening effect on business psychology and reduces the expected rate of profit—which in technical parlance means the marginal efficiency of capital and thereby reduces investments in the private sector. In a mixed economy, this is a vital consideration and additional taxation defeats its purpose.

Besides this, the cushioning effect of our foreign exchange reserves is almost removed. So long as there were reserves to be run down, the inflationary impact of large-scale deficit-financing (Rs. 702 crores in the first two years) was considerably whittled down by the heavy imports. Though our large import surplus was unfortunate, it had one salutary effect—it acted as a great disinflationary factor. Now that this cushion is removed, no care can be too great in subduing the impact of deficit financing. Not only will the upsurge of prices due to deficit financing inflict great hardship on a public already bending under the weight of rising prices, but also will reduce the real worth of resources considerably.

If situation has come to such a pass, what is the way out? The solution lies in reducing the tempo of deficit-spending.

In the 'Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five-Year Plan' of May 1958, the total volume of deficit financing over the five year period was taken as Rs. 1,200 crores by the Planning Commission which was the same as the amount visualised in the plan. The Commission observed "The inflationary impact of the heavy deficit financing in the first two years of the plan was largely offset by the balance of payments of deficits, financed out of foreign exchange reserves. Now that the level of these reserves is near the minimum required for operational purposes, deficit-financing must be reduced drastically." In the memorandum on plan resources to the National Development Council of the 7th November 1958, the Planning Commission pointed out that with prices at the present level and with growing pressure for

increase in wages and salaries, it was necessary to avoid further deficit-financing. The Commission continued to add that "hitherto, the inflationary impact of deficit-financing had been countered by drawals on the sterling balances. This cushion was no longer available. Deficit-financing on a significant scale could be contemplated only if food production increased substantially and food prices registered a distinctly downward trend." Accordingly, in the estimate of resources, the amount of deficit-financing for the five year period assumed by the Planning Commission was Rs. 1,092 crores, as compared with the original figure of Rs. 1,200 crores. The deficit-financing during the last two years of the plan was to be limited to Rs. 210 crores which is roughly 30 per cent of the amount of deficit financing during the first two years of the plan.

But what does the 1959-60 budget show? Not only has the Finance Minister not adhered to the original figure of Rs. 1,200 crores but he has actually exceeded it. Deficit financing for the first two years amounted to Rs. 702 crores, and for the third year of the plan it amounted to Rs. 255 crores. For 1959-60, a sum of Rs. 245 crores has been proposed, the total for the four years amounting to Rs. 1,202 crores. It is realistic to assume that for 1960-61, it will not be less than Rs. 250 on the ground that schemes which have been started cannot be stopped or abandoned for want of funds.

This leads one to conclude that prices will be pushed up further and that inflationary pressure would persist throughout the plan period. It is not clear as to what is that weighed with the Finance Minister to exceed the limit of Rs. 1,200 crores. Analysing the estimates of the current budget, Mr. K. Santanam makes the following observation: "I consider the moral effect of this habit of ignoring past undertakings and commitments for the regulation of financial policy and alarming sign for the future. The Government of India cannot blame the public if the impression spreads that the only matter in which the undertakings of the responsible ministers can be believed is the pleasant task of monetary expenditure."

IRELAND, THE EMERALD ISLE AS I SAW IT

BY

MATHEW CHERIAN

It goes without saying that every tourist likes to have a pleasant time. Holidaying is worthless unless it meant a liberation from routine and a shedding of cares. Ireland, the Emerald Isle, washed by the Atlantic Ocean, the Irish Sea, the North and the St. George's Channels aptly so called from its greenness is an ideal holiday island for the tourist.

Ireland is referred to as the Emerald Isle because of its greenness. This is essentially a country of farms though one often comes across cities like Dublin, the Republican Capital, Belfast, the capital of the Six Counties or Ulster, Cork in the south and a few towns like Tipperary, Killarney and Galway.

The Southern Ireland has twenty-six counties in all while the north is formed of six counties. The former with its mainly, Roman Catholic Population with the Republican, 'Dail' and the President at its apex stands in contrast with the Westminster governed six counties under a Governor with its mainly protestant population. The whole of Ireland (200 by 150 miles) is divided into four provinces, Ulster in the north, Munster in the south, Leinster in the east and Connacht in the west. In spite of the several reported border incidents between the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.), and the northerners, the visitor rarely feels the impact of such enmity. I have had occasions to meet several Irish men leisurely in typically Irish settings in farms and Pubs (Public Houses); they feel strongly against the foreign domination of their northern country. In fact the great plains of Ireland were reached by the English as early as the Twelfth Century, marshalled under the feudal banner of strongbow.

The fresh greenness of Irish Vegetation is striking as one enters the Bay of Dublin. Let us start our trip straightway from Dublin where we shall halt later on. As you drive along the Coast down south you will come across some of the most beautiful scenery in County Wicklow. From Wicklow proceed along the Coast to Wexford. You will be passing several Irish farms on either side of your route. The apron clad farmer leading the huge farm horses is a familiar sight. There are many good scenic motor drives to be had in the inland parts of this beautiful island. All throughout your journey you will see several monasteries and convents. The entire countryside is dotted with little shrines of Virgin Mary and Christ. Irish Christianity was tribal in character. It was not parochial nor in the Roman sense episcopal though there was a plethora of insignificant Bishops mostly without sees. Its real life was monastic. The normal Irish Monastery was connected with a single tribe and acknowledged no ecclesiastical superior capable of controlling its Abbot. The monks had many sided activities for they were hermits, scholars, artists, warriors and missionaries. The Patron Saint of Ireland St. Patrick, is said to have explained to the pagans the three divine persons of God, Father, Son and the Holy Ghost with the help of the Shamrock. This Shamrock stock with its three leaves represented the three divine persons, explained the Irish Saint. Shamrock is the National Emblem of the Irish and is widely displayed on March 17th, the St. Patrick's Day.

On the highways you often come across other motorists. All along your route you will see several flocks of sheep and herds of

Leaving aside these theoretical considerations based on the "crude but operationally useful Quantity Theory of Money" let us face the facts of the situation. When investment is made through Deficit Financing, the income of the people rises. Out of this additional income, people spend money on buying goods and if the supply of consumer and other goods does not increase, there is bound to be an inflationary rise in prices. If, on the other hand, the Government has made this investment through resources raised either by additional loans or additional taxation, there would not be an inflationary rise in prices, because corresponding to the income which the Government taxes or which it takes away in the shape of loans, there are already goods in existence in the system. What would happen in such a case is that instead of the people spending the money, Government would do so. The position is quite different in the case of investment financed from an overall deficit, because in this case, the supply of goods has to be kept increasing by a corresponding amount to prevent an inflationary rise in the price level.

In theory, the investment of an additional amount would increase the supply of goods thereby preventing an inflationary rise in the price-level. But in the conditions now prevailing in India, it is not realistic to hope that the output of goods during the plan period would increase to such an extent as to counter the consumers' demand which a deficit-financing of the magnitude of Rs. 1,200 crores would create. This is due to a variety of causes, the main being the pronounced bias of the plan towards long-period projects of industrial development on account of which the output of consumers and other goods would increase only after the lapse of considerable time. In the course of the first plan the existing capacity in most of the industries has been more fully utilised and there is not much further scope for an increase in output due to unused capacity. Although there is plentiful supply of

some kinds of labour, there is an acute shortage of skilled labour, capital goods, certain chemicals and raw materials. This would delay an increase in the output of consumers' and other goods on which the people would like to spend the income which comes into their hands as a result of deficit-financing. This will set in motion highly inflationary forces. It should be emphasised here that this result would come about even if there is no increase in the amount of currency in circulation. Even with the existing amount of currency, people might consume a large amount of goods. In this case, the total quantity of money, which is matched against the total quantity of goods, would be increased by an increase in the velocity of circulation of money.

Another source of an inflationary rise in prices would be the higher costs of production that would result from the operation of the diminishing returns in most of the industries due to the old and worn out machinery, plant, equipment etc. Once an inflationary rise in prices sets in, it would tend to become cumulative on account of a rise in wages which would inevitably result from higher prices of consumer goods. All this points to the inevitable conclusion that a general rise in price is bound to persist throughout the plan period. This is reinforced by the fact that a certain degree of rise in prices is inevitable in an expanding economy. The growing pressure of demand on the economy has already led to significant rise in prices. The sharp decline in prices in 1954-55 was virtually reversed in 1955-56 and on March 31, 1956, the general index of wholesale price at 390.3 was only a little below the level reached before the Korean War (397) or before the 1954-55 decline in prices (404.4). By November 24, 1956, the index of wholesale prices has advanced to 434.2. Although agricultural prices have receded somewhat since then on arrival of the new crop in the market, the decline has not been sustained and has not been of the seasonal order. Over

1956, as a whole, the general index of wholesale prices increased by 13 per cent from 373.4 to 421.9. On February 16, 1957, the index stood at 424.4. Between January 1958 and October, 1958, the index number of food articles (Base 1952-53 = 100) rose from 102.5 to 121.2. The index number of cereals advanced in the first ten months of 1958 from 97 to 113.6 by the middle of November 1958.

To some extent, the increase in wholesale prices is attributed to external developments like the Suez Crisis etc. But there is little doubt that prices of goods produced and consumed domestically have also risen. This is evident from the fact that All India working class consumer price-index (1949-50 = 100) which is little affected by external factors has also increased from 100 in March 1956 to 110 in November 1956. It further rose to 113 in December 1957 and stood at 122 in November 1958. Consequently, industrial peace in the country has been considerably disturbed. This is enough to show that the country is passing through a period of sharp inflationary rise in prices due to the large dose of deficit financing.

In the above circumstances, the risk is not only small and incidental as the Finance Minister has tried to make us believe, but it is excessive. It is difficult to make a correct estimate as to the safe limit of deficit financing. Professor Shenoy has recommended an annual deficit spending of the order of Rs. 35-47 crores. Others have insisted that in any case, the maximum dose of deficit spending should not go beyond Rs. 100 crores every year. But the Government does not seem to be perturbed by these prescriptions. Spurred on by their enthusiasm and determination to implement the plan in full, deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 702 crores was undertaken during the first two years of the plan. In the third year there was deficit financing of the order of Rs. 255 crores, as against Rs. 215 crores envisaged during the budget statement

last year, thus making a total of Rs. 957 crores for the first three years of the plan.

The previous Finance Minister Mr. T. T. Krishnamachary told the Lok Sabha in reply to the Budget Debate that if the situation gets out of control, the Government knows the ways and means of meeting such a situation. This renders necessary an examination of some of the conventional measures which Government might adopt in case of an inflationary rise in price. First, there are physical controls on prices, production and distribution. So far, Government has been conspicuous by their inactivity in this direction. It is only quite recently that it was decided that Government should take up wholesale trade of food-grains on a national basis; but it is yet to be acted upon. The only thing that such control measures can at best achieve is a better distribution of the available supply. They cannot prevent a rise in price-level. All that happens is that we will have two markets, one in which the controlled prices prevail and a black market in which abnormally high prices will be ruling. The latter will be the much bigger of the two. Moreover, Government controls result in still further reducing the supply of goods in the markets due to hoarding. If all of us are honest and if the administrative machinery perfect, the governmental controls might be attended with a certain amount of success. Otherwise, they are too important to ward off an inflationary pressure.

Increased taxation and credit control are equally ineffective in checking inflationary forces. If rise in price is due to an increase in the quantity of currency and credit, credit control would have some effect. But a rise in price might occur out of a higher velocity of circulation of money. Credit control will not help in this case. Increased taxation might mop up the surplus purchasing power in the hands of the consumers and might thereby reduce the pressure on prices. But taxation in order to attain this end will have to be

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

"The God That Fleed" should be an appropriate title for a thriller depicting recent events in Tibet. A revolution, not a revolt has uprooted the temporal and spiritual head of the Tibetans, Dalai Lama who facing dangers at every step, has found his way into our country. His escape has all the ingredients of a novel.

Of late thrones have toppled all over the world but heads of spiritual institutions have been held in reverence and protected. As such the action of the Chinese in practically putting an end to an independent Tibet has evoked adverse reactions from all over the world. Dalai Lama has become the symbol of resistance and the central figure in a rebellion against foreign domination. With a gesture reminiscent of Britain giving sanctuary to Mazzini and Garibaldi, our Prime Minister, has welcomed the spiritual refugee who may soon make Delhi his home.

Whether the Chinese accept the logic of events and keep their hands off Dalai Lama or take steps for his rendition to them or recapture remains to be seen. The Dalai Lama, who was with us two years before struck everyone as a gentleman, incapable of any intrigues. Why the wrath of the Chinese should have descended on him of all peoples still remains a mystery.

Two year old and growing strong

Despite the prophesyings of Political Cassandras who were sure of the downfall of the Communist dominated Kerala Ministry, Mr. Nambudiripad and his team have completed two years on the saddle on April 5. In a State notorious for its political instability this is indeed an achievement of which anyone should be proud. It looks as though the Ministry will survive the rest of the five-year

term till the next general elections. Though the cold war between Delhi and Trivandrum has intensified, impartial observers of the political scene even go to the extent of saying that at the next elections too, the people of Kerala may lend their support to Communists. As a matter of fact, the Reds even forecast capture of power in two more States in 1962, namely, Andhra and West Bengal.

Bapu on the beach

The vast, sprawling expanse of Madras Marina, already criss-crossed with a few statues has today a new landmark. It is a giant statue of Mahatma Gandhi, at the end of Edward Elliot's Road. The statue is a fine piece of work, executed by India's ace sculptor and artist, Dr. Deviprasad Choudhury, a disciple of Abanindranath Tagore. Choudhury has several magnificent works of art to his credit. He was till recently Principal of Madras School of Art. He is responsible for another masterpiece at the other end of the Marina, "The Triumph of Labour."

The statue placed on a tall pedestal is worthy of the reputation of the hand that designed it. Already, there is a Gandhi Memorial in the Raj Bhavan Estate at Guindy. Thus, Gandhiji is twice honoured in this great city.

The statue was appropriately unveiled by Prime Minister Nehru whom the Mahatma characterised as his heir.

Toast of Madras

The toast of Madras currently is tall, greying Shanker Pillai, Editor of "Shanker's Weekly" and Asia's greatest cartoonist.

He has brought to us the most magnificent collection of dolls from fifty nations in the

world. They are on view at Rajaji Hall at the time these lines are being written. It has taken Shanker years of hard labour to assemble these tiny tots. They are a riot in colour worthy of being filmed by a Walt Disney.

Madras is the fourth city to which Shanker has carried the dolls. From here he will move up to Delhi where he intends giving over the collection to the Government, which will house them in a Children's Museum for which a sum of fifteen lakhs has been earmarked.

Editors' Conference Chief

Lala Durgadas's election as President of the forthcoming All-India Editors' Conference may be considered as a triumph of working journalists. Though harnessed to the chariot of the business tycoon Ganshyamdas Birla, Durga is at heart essentially a working journalist.

Born at the birth of this century, he had his education at the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He joined the late K. C. Roy when the latter started "The Associated Press of India" and along with Sen and A. S. Iyengar formed a formidable trio at the capital. For nearly two decades he functioned as Parliamentary Correspondent and was also the special correspondent of some leading Indian newspapers. He covered nearly every session of the Congress and travelled with the Lee and Simon Commissions. He functioned as special representative of "Statesman" and "Times of India" at Delhi.

He caught the eye of Birla who offered him a berth on the staff of "Hindustan Times" as Joint Editor. He has travelled extensively abroad and made a thorough study of the work of newspapers in the United Kingdom. As a war correspondent he visited many countries in the Middle East.

When Devadas Gandhi passed away, Durgadas was away in Russia but made an air dash to India where he took charge of "Hindustan Times" as Chief Editor.

Durgadas was and is one of the best reporters in this country. He has several scoops to his

credit. At Delhi he is more than Editor. He is an institution.

Exit Mandy

A 12-year-old link with Asia's leading illustrated journal has been snapped with the retirement of Mr. C. R. Mandy from the editorship of "Illustrated Weekly of India." He took charge after Mr. Jepson and introduced several features.

Mandy, now 52, has purchased a diminutive island near Ceylon which in future will be both his dug out and writing laboratory. He secured it from an American novelist, Paul Bowles. It is about 300 yards from the mainland.

Mandy who is an Irishman who felt the call of the East. His first job was teaching English to the late Mahidol of Thailand. He has a few books to his credit. His last piece is "Guli Guli."

Death of a Daily

Tucked away amidst headlines announcing world shaking events is a tiny paragraph in a recent newspaper issue, announcing the death of "Bombay Chronicle" and "Bombay Sentinel."

Shades of Horniman! These two Dailies were once the trumpet voice of Indian Nationalism. They were nursed with tender devotion by the fiery crusader B. G. Horniman. He was succeeded by Syed Abdulla Brelvi, a staunch Muslim Nationalist. He too held the fort with distinction. Of late "Chronicle" has been facing the competition of Marwari newspaperdom and has taken a back seat. Now, it fades away unsung. The closing of this Daily will naturally result in several working newspapermen facing unemployment.

Bharat Natyam in Europe

Vivacious Vyjayanthimala, the dancing sensation of India, is packing her kit for a tour of Europe. She is taking a troupe of dancers with her and will be away for six weeks.

cattle slowing down your speed. The green pastures with the sheep and cattle grazing on them are fascinating sights indeed. The potatoe farms are in hundreds and they are so cheap in Ireland.

From Wexford you continue your journey through County Waterford to the Commercial City of Cork in the south. Cork is the second largest city in the Republic. There are plenty of hotels catering for the tourists. In all the Irish cities and towns you will see dance halls where they give greater importance to their Caili music. Among them they often speak gaelic which is rather difficult for the outsider to follow. But you will not find it difficult at all to go around with your English, whereas on the continent you will come across many embarrassing junctures if you do not speak the national language, French, Spanish or German.

From Cork on your way to County Kerry and its famous Killarney lakes you will be passing near the Killarney Castle with its Blarney Stone. Take a deviation and see this well known castle. The Irish strongly believe that by kissing the Blarney Stone they will acquire versatility in speech and all round luck. It is indeed a feat reminiscent of the trapeze artist as one is held by the toes to stretch down to kiss the Blarney Stone, placed awkwardly over a cliff.

From the Killarney Castle as you continue your journey you will be passing hundreds of small farms before you reach the little township of Killarney. There every third man you come across is an American. I was told that in summer, American visitors to Ireland come in large numbers to Killarney and they adore riding round the lakes in jaunting cars which are available in hundreds. The blue lakes of Killarney are peaceful and can be compared with the Lochs of Scotland and the lakes of the English Lake Country.

After enjoying the sight of the blue lagoons you will be heading towards the centre of the

Island to see County Tipperary. Before we reach Tipperary you will pass through County Limerick. During this part of your journey you are reminded of some of the Limericks you have by-hearted. Tipperary has several eating places where they serve delicious Irish Stew, the national dish, juicy steaks and tasty pastries. The food you get in these Irish hamlets is much better than that served in sophisticated restaurants in some of the European Capitals. (The opinion is purely personal). When one walks along the streets of Tipperary the once famous song comes back to the mind,

It's a long way to Tipperary
It's a long way to go,
.....

There is a place on the west coast of this green island, Galway, that the visitor should see. It is an important sea side resort washed by the Atlantic Ocean, with an array of excellent hotels ready to welcome the holiday maker. The lighted promenade stretches round the Bay, fanned by the Atlantic breeze, is refreshing indeed. As you relax in the evening in one of the myriads of pubs along the beach sipping a glass of Guinness (the most popular drink), you are reminded how lucky you are to be there as the band plays.

If you ever go across the sea to Ireland
Then may be at the closing of your day
You will sit and watch the moon rise over
cladah

And see the sun go down on Galway Bay.

After having refreshed yourself at Galway you are on the road again heading to the capital. You will be now driving along long tracts of flat country. In counties Offaly and Kildare especially, you will see the Turf or Peat, dug out from the ground and stacked to dry to be used as fuel. Turf is used widely in country homes as an alternative to comparatively expensive coal. If you happen to have time to visit some of the farms you will be received warmly by the farmers with their strong Irish brogue.

Talking of farms, I am reminded of several Irish horse studs where they rear some of the world's finest race horses. Is it surprising that the Aga Khan family keeps in close touch with the Irish Studs.

After having driven along the flat country in Offaly and then in Kildare you are in the outskirts of the capital, Dublin.

Dublin is the most important City in the Republic not only as its Capital but also as the nerve centre of Irish business. The city has some fine churches. The famous Trinity College and St. Stephens green in the vicinity adds tradition and glamour to this ancient city built by the Vikings. The river Liffey flows through the centre of the city. It has on its banks the huge Guinness Brewery, with its barges going up and down the river. Dublin has a very 'talented' theatre, the Abbey theatre which has given to the world well known artists like Barry Fitzgerald and Orson Wells.

The main street in Dublin, the O'Connell Street with its imposing Nelson's column is the chief shopping centre for Dubliners. The city has some modern coffee houses on the continental fashion where you will see tens of Irish Colleens dressed in ultra-modern styles, listening to their favourite songs in the Omnipresent juke boxes. The O'Connell Statue with its several bullet 'wounds' takes its worthy place along with those of other national heroes like Parnell, reminiscent of the bitter struggle for freedom. The *Teaseach* or the Prime Minister, Mr. Eamon De Valera is the most revered of the present day Irish Statesmen. He has devoted his entire life to the cause of Irish Independence and it is not rarely that

you hear anecdotes from local people depicting his valour in the bitter days of struggle for Irish emancipation. No wonder he is affectionately referred to as 'Dev.' Another lovely spot in the city is the Phoenix Park, acres of it and beautiful too.

In my association with the Irish people both in and outside their country, I have found them hospitable and warm-hearted. The Irish temper as they put it has become proverbial. Although I have not had occasions to test this so-called national characteristic of these islanders, I can confidently say that they treat the visitor extremely well.

On the whole, it can be said that Ireland's economic development is rather haphazard and halting at times. This probably explains the rapid pace of Irish exodus to outside countries like Canada, Australia, England and the United States of America, continuing for decades now. The unemployment in the country is rampant. The Republican Government is doing their best to attract foreign capital to the country.

It is worth remembering when we think of Ireland that this small island has given to the world some great intellectuals like George Bernard Shaw, Edmund Burke and Carson. It is said that Ulster alone has given not less than eleven Presidents to the United States of America, the most important of them being Woodrow Wilson. The export of talent from this island is indeed a great drain on the Irish. The moving stories of Parnell and O'Connell as undaunted national fighters will go down in the annals of not only Irish history but also of World History and will serve as ever glowing lights for freedom fighters all over the world and at all times.

She will wear fifty colourful costumes in various shades of breath-taking beauty. She has engaged an army of tailors and costume designers in Madras to satisfy her sartorial requirements.

She has been booked for several television appearance in the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

This is the second time that Vijayanthi is visiting Europe. She had been there before in her seventh year along with her mother. She sang a song before the Pope and was awarded a medal.

Accompanying her will be father Raman and grandma Srimati Yadugiri Devi.

Wedding Bells for Tennis Champ

Very soon wedding bells will ring for India's Tennis Champion, Ramanathan Krishnan. He will take as his bride, Lakshmi Mahadevan, daughter of K. J. Mahadevan and a student in the Presidency College. She is also a tennis enthusiast and was often times seen playing at the private court of Krishnan at Mylapore.

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

BY

V. T. NEELAKANTAN

There are personalities and personalities that shoot across like meteors for the time and fade out quicker than at once. Their names hold the masses for a short while and then one forgets all about them. India is a land of glorious names with a historic and mythological past, but for a student of politics the names of Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Nethaji and Acharya Bhave will always ring, the last name being one who today holds the masses in a greater charm and spell than the others aforementioned.

An understudy

Acharya Bhave will certainly be proud to feel that he has been an understudy of Gandhi. But, if there be a case where a disciple got the better of his master, it is undoubtedly Vinoba, for if Gandhi sometimes made or committed 'Himalayan blunders' due to what he termed 'his inner voice' Bhave is one who can beat the Simla cold to a frazzle by his continuance of a certain objective till the dream not only becomes a vision but a reality. His Bhoodan movement and the part he played valorously at considerable risk to his own life in preference to many other avocations of Life, will go down to posterity as something momentous not only in the history of India, but that of the history of the whole world, wherever humanitarianism and the lot of the common man strike the central keynote.

Time there was when dictators held sway over the people, time there has been when the rulers led the country as misled by their less exalted advisors: and time there is when everyone feels that he or she is part and parcel of a regime that shapes the greater India.



A Conundrum

To many Bhave may be a phenomenon, an enigma and a conundrum; but his Bhoodan movement is economy-cum-prosperity-cum-honest labour. Doubtless Vinoba is a spiritualist of a high order, staking his last piece of cloth and the Gita and the Teachings of the Gita; but the Gita of Bhave is one, not of the

period of Sri Krishna but of the period when Kaliyuga is waxing strong. In Bhavé and his Land Movement, whether it is by way of Bhoodan or Shramdan or Dandadan, one notices the Yoga of action and the Yoga of Karma.

How a mystic and mysterious method of acquiring land, tilling the land, and producing from the land to meet the needs of the country, may seem baffling, but if one goes through the pros and cons of it all, Bhavé is dining into the ears of one and all, the glory of working and earning. He is planning for a land filled with divine love, cosmic power and honest labour, and not a land of milk and honey where wine will flow like water with glorious denominations and pet dog treatment.

The Crux

For instance, in the vision of Acharya Bhavé, there is not the question of the North predominating the South; there is not the invidious distinction of the North drinking as they feel and the South being guillotined for the same easy life tolerated elsewhere in the land. His conception of liberty, fraternity and equality is the conception of exactly what those words mean and not a varying canon for one and just the other for another. Bhavé is a politician in the role of a common man working for the peasants and the peasantry. But in this lies the crux of the problem of India's starving millions. It is not a question of one worshipping money, but the question of one daring poverty for the sake of the wealth of the country. In the tiller and the soil is the Greater India and in Acharya Bhavé are evidenced the signs of a Gandhi who made Independence for India a reality and a democracy where the Government is of the people, for the people and by the people.

Mere facts have no value or attraction for Acharya Bhavé. If there be a man today who can make a Nehru or a Sri Prakasa walk all

the way to meet Bhavé and discuss the situation, then that man is none other than Bhavé himself. For, in him are stored the abilities of a maker and not an opportunist. To him politics has no glamour, but work writ large in capitals, harmony and good understanding play greater part than mere amenities. He believes that once he solves the problem of the cruel necessities of life and understands the actual needs then the luxuries will vanish into thin air and the result would be a land of peace and content.

In 1896 Vinoba Bhavé was born of orthodox Brahmin parents and wore the Sacred Thread and how he toils night and day for the establishment of a casteless society! The story runs that when he was scarcely ten years old he took to a vow of chastity which he has kept to this day! Round about 1916, Bhavé, a mathematician came under the influence of Gandhiji and burnt his numerous certificates in the flame of an oil lamp. Acharya Vinoba Bhavé is a scholar and a linguist to boot; and verily to be in touch with the masses in India he has learnt (by his own efforts) as many as sixteen languages—including Arabic and Persian.

Nishkamya Karma

Even when Gandhiji was alive, Vinoba Bhavé had discovered the secret of the Gita—Renunciation. Dedicating his life to the down-trodden, he shunned the glamour of wealth and identified himself with the poorest. He loathed publicity and is reported to have refused to be heard on the radio. Living in seclusion he lived an austere life in a mud hut amidst scorching heat, dust and monkeys! All that he owned was a spinning wheel which supplied him one of the cruel necessities of human life, namely, cloth. He did not expect anything in return for his austere life of service and is a Living Embodiment of the Path of Nishkamya Karma (selfless service) enunciated in the Gita. Not long ago, when someone asked him whether his experience of Bhoodan Yagna will succeed he answered, cool as a cucumber, "Fire merely burns. It does not care whether anyone puts

a pot on it, fills it with rice and water to make a meal. To burn is its allotted duty."

Hence, it is not surprising that Gandhiji chose this thin, frail figure to inaugurate the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement which culminated in India attaining the much coveted state of Independence. Soon after, he retired into his characteristic and inimitable oblivion and for years was experimenting with the application of Gandhian principles in the economic sphere, particularly land reform at Punar, six miles off Wardha. It was at this juncture that Gandhiji was victimised and constructive workers assembled at Sevagram in April 1948 to form an organisation known as Sarvodaya Samaj. In 1951 when Acharya Vinoba Bhavé was invited to attend the Sarvodaya Conference at Hyderabad about 350 miles away, he walked all the way as he owned no money and coolly rejected even the cars of friends as it was against his burning ideal to live in tune with the poor Indian masses who could not afford automobiles and limousines.

A ray of Light

On April 18th 1951, a stray incident at Pochampalli village threw a ray of light on Vinoba Bhavé's cherished problem. After the usual talk at the prayer meeting some Harijans complained that though they were tillers yet they had no land of their own to till. "Can't there be somebody in this audience who can satisfy the hunger of these landless?" queried the Acharya, paused a while and then shot an eloquent appeal. Quicker than at once (and in less time than it takes to tell) Sri Ramachandra Rao immediately offered hundred acres of land. The needy tillers were satisfied. This miraculous event which was only of momentary importance to the audience, served as a Divine Guidance to the intelligent Bhavé. "If one can be moved by human compassion to offer his land to the needy, then all those who have many be persuaded to give to those who have not," concluded Acharya Vinoba Bhavé and decided to tap the perennial source of human goodness to solve the Problem of Problems. Thus was born the Bhoodan Yagna which is

electrifying India and the world at large by working for one of the largest, peaceful non-violent evolutions in history.

Within two months, Vinoba Bhavé collected in Hyderabad 12,000 acres of land for the landless. Next he was invited to Delhi to express his views on the Five-Year Plan. In two months he walked the distance of 600 miles, collected 18,000 acres from the rank and file. The rest of the story needs no re-telling but let us follow this Gandhian ascetic and his daily routine when he plods along from place to place in quest of land. At midnight his retinue will be fast asleep and at 4 a.m. (Brahma Muhurtha) all assemble for prayers, followed by the music of the Spinning Wheel (Charka). Thus they pay their Silent Homage to the Saint of Sabarmathi for an hour or thereabouts. The bearded bent Vinoba, the very picture of a pre-historic Hindu sage with his staff, barefoot and coarse meagre cloth moves on to the next village under a twilight sky with his associates followed by a cart containing not only beddings and spinning wheels but also typewriters, stationery and a filing cabinet full of precious records of his great mobile mission. Acharya Vinoba Bhavé is verily a Moving Temple preaching through example (rather than precept) the lofty ideals of Mahatmaji.

Spare Breakfast

At dawn the party of pilgrims halt for a roadside vegetarian spare breakfast. Vinobaji settles under a tree and shakes a gentle skinny forefinger and reminds them of the horror and violence that will sweep the country unless the peasants get their rights. A scene like this naturally arouses an atmosphere of almost Evangelical fervour. People start vying with one another to out-do in generosity. But Vinobaji is careful to canalise the flood of emotion. He sits by as level-headed as ever; garlanded like an emaciated and reluctant Caesar.

Thus day after day this party of ascetics toils under the guidance of a second Gandhi who shuns publicity. He does not parade

himself as the legal heir of Gandhiji, whose name he rarely mentions in public. His greatness and original contribution lies in applying the idealism of his Master Mahatma Gandhi, to the solution of economic and social problems. He preaches Gandhism through silent action maintaining his own dignity, emphasis and methods. Like a candle lit at a neighbouring flame he now burns with a steady and separate flame. From 13th June 1953 Vinoba Bhave has extended his Bhoodan Yagna to include Sramadan Yagna. The movement entered a new phase with the Zamindars taking a leading part.

Love and Non-violence

The Bhoodan Movement is of a non-partisan nature, says Bhave. "It is wrong to suppose that happiness could come out of conflict. It is not necessary to make some miserable for making some one else happy. The work of national-building must proceed with the active consent and co-operation of all sections of the people. Even the biggest problems of the world can be solved effectively by Love and Non-violence." Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya Movement has attained a remarkable success in applying Gandhian Non-violence to solve a social problem, the agrarian thirst for land. It has gained momentum and is spreading the practicability of lofty ideals solving the burning problems of the day. Under the aegis of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the Bhoodan, Sampat Dan and Buddhi Dan Yagnas have come into existence to be practised with religious fervour.

Vinoba Bhave's aim is to strive towards a social order based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, free from any exploitation and with

full scope for the development of both individuals as well as groups. His programme can be briefly summed as (1) communal harmony, (2) Removal of untouchability (2) Abolition of class distinctions, (4) Prohibition, (5) Promotion of Khadi and other industries, (6) Village sanitation, (7) Basic education, (8) Equality of status and rights for both men and women, (9) Health and Hygiene, (10) Development of Indian languages, (11) Removal of narrow provincialism, (12) Economic equality, (13) Development of Agriculture, (14) Organisation of Labour, (15) Welfare of Aborigines, (16) Service, (17) Relief work and last, but not least, Cow Protection.

Goodwill and Sympathy

Replying questions raised by some communists in a letter addressed to him, Vinobaji deprecated the tendency of communists to resort to indirect violence even if the objective was within reach of achievement without struggle. Vinobaji can stand a joke and by way of illustration it may be stated that at Jalagarah (near Purnea) a joke was cracked at the cost of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A stranger left a bundle as love-offering. It contained not fruits and flowers (as usual) but a small clod of earth. Referring to the same in a spirit of humour the Acharya commented "People give me fruits and flowers which are perishable but a clod of earth is something imperishable. I have, therefore, appreciated this gift very much. But I do not want a handful of earth. I want one-sixth of your land for the sake of 'Daridra Narayana.'" Incidentally, it may be mentioned the bundle was auctioned and a peasant made a bid for it by giving his forty bighas of land which was all that he owned.

WHAT IS LACKING IN INDIAN FOOTBALL?

BY

M. DUTTA RAY

(Vice-President, All India Football Federation and Secretary, Indian Football Association)

Sports is instinctive and intuitive with people. They are born so. In the cradle, they make spontaneous movements of hands and feet which, for their rhythm, should be considered as the first rudiments of sports. Thus sports is essentially an expression of life and is living.

The specialists, however, are always few in all spheres of life. It is not different in sports. But because love of sports is so inherent in all men and women, one finds such a universal appeal for sports. There are people who feel that sports has now an exaggerated importance in our social setup. I should beg to differ with them. Britain goes crazy over a Cup Final or an Anglo-Australian Test. The Americans follow a Base-Ball tie or a Louis-Woodcock fight over the network of radio and the Press. Other nations too are sports intoxicated and we share this love of sports with the rest of the world. All could not be wrong. The objectors could not be wise and many otherwise. It is rather the other way about.

Sports now is a religion. It has built up its own tradition and has made its own contribution to the building of national character. Take it or leave it, sports now is a weapon of great power.

This brings me from the general to the particular and from the international to the national scene. A full heart, they say, has no language. My heart is full of love for sports and specially for football. That is why, though I am proud to serve the game, I speak so seldom about it.

There appears to be a feeling of smug satisfaction, even in responsible circles, that enough

has been done for our football. You can never do enough for a thing you love. And this brings me to my first suggestion that people connected with the administrative side of football must have genuine love for it. They must think football, dream football and live for football. Looking after football, or any game for the matter of that, cannot be like the work of a Director of a company who just sits in a meeting to give his directives and decisions. Unfortunately genuine love for the game, is almost absent in our setup which is crowded with people who make it a business of being in the management of all sorts of games. No game can thrive under such circumstances and, if our football is stunted to-day, it is because the game has been pining for that loving touch.

But how should one assess this factor of love? Well, one of the easiest tests would be to realise that loving all is loving none. This is not intended as a personal reflection but it stands to reason that those who are here, there and everywhere and in all sorts of games are there not so much for the sake of the games as for their own sake. But we could also apply a better and more rigid and reasonable test to this matter. It should be made the minimum essential that none who has not been a player himself should be an administrator in that particular game. It is not necessary that the men concerned should be star players. But it is absolutely necessary that they should have been out in the middle. Nobody can be a player unless he has a genuine love for the game and, if such people alone come into the administration, they will bring to the game all

their love for it together with their knowledge of the technique and needs of the game.

In our country, however, things are absolutely different. Whether it be in the All-India sphere or in the State sphere, you will find very few people in the administration who could claim to be players themselves. Unless this vital change is introduced in the selection of the administrative personnel, I am afraid, our football will never attain its rightful stature. I have travelled throughout the world and had an opportunity to see the football setup in all those places. I have seen it in England, in France, in the Far East, in all places of Central Europe and in Russia. Nowhere have I seen anyone at the helm of affairs who has not been some sort of a footballer in his days. There football is guided by experts; here by all sorts of people, and the difference is there for all to see.

My experiences in Indian Football have made me humble and enabled one to realise how much still remains to be done for our football. The sad fact must be acknowledged that Indian football has but a back seat in the international scene. We are much below the world standard. We should therefore take a sacred vow that we must serve this national game in such a manner as may bring us international honour through it. Otherwise, it must be admitted that we are not playing the game.

My long and intimate association with the game in India and my experience of international football have convinced me that our football set up as well as the technique of our game should be drastically revised if we must make the grade. The shape of things to come must be viewed with a progressive mind and then action taken to implement them. I have given the matter a good deal of thought and shall offer certain concrete suggestions which I hope will be accepted in the proper spirit and given due consideration.

It may be said in this connection that one of the reasons why Indian football has not benefited to the extent expected from its various tours abroad is that the officials who govern football knew so little themselves about the game. Otherwise their impressions and experiences might have been introduced into Indian football a long time ago. It may not be out of place here to mention that though we had competed in the London Olympiad and in a World Cup series, we could not introduce booted football in India before the year 1955. It was actually after my return from Helsinki that I had made a statement at the All-India Football Federation meeting that bare-footed football was one of our greatest handicaps. Having been out in the middle, I realised that many of our players were afraid of injuries and had hesitation at each and every step during tackling by the opponents. I impressed on the A.I.F.F. that 'boot-ball' must be the order of the day and it was at my suggestion that bare-footed football was completely banned.

What has been said above might cause some surprise in the mind of the readers. They are used to seeing our players match their bare-feet skill against booted opponents. And it is quite likely that they might not have noticed any feeling of hesitation on the part of our players in locking their men. This is true in a large measure about football in India, but being a player myself, I realised immediately that things were different in England and in the Continent. In India, most of our matches are played on the maximum size ground which gives our players greater opportunities of dodging and dribbling and thus avoiding a contact with the opponent. But most of the grounds abroad are only 110×70 and as you know, this is the minimum measurement for a football ground under the rules of the International Football Federation. A smaller ground it should be realised, affords the players little room to avoid direct contacts and enforces the

players to make his passes much earlier than we see in India. That is the reason why European football is so direct and that is also why I have been pressing the A.I.F.F. that our own grounds too must not be more than 115×75 in size which is what we have now. It may be said that previously the measurement of our ground used to be 120×80 . But I am pressing for a further progressive reduction in the size of the ground until it is brought down to 110×70 .

These may be regarded as only the physical, as apart from the technical, sides of football. But here too we have not yet been able to make a beginning for the simple reason that, not being players themselves, few in our football administration realised the major benefits which might flow from such minor changes. It is unfortunate that there is not a proper realisation of the importance of such details. On the contrary, they are inclined to generate a lot of heat and controversy over not so important issues. It might be recalled that some years back there were some statements and counter-statements in the Calcutta papers about the duration of an exhibition match against a foreign visiting team. A prominent official said that it was unfair to the visitors, who were used to 90 minutes play, that the exhibition matches should be of a shorter duration. I had to point out at that time that exhibition matches were in a class by themselves and there were no hard and fast rules about their duration which generally was decided by common consent of the participating teams. It is really immaterial how long an exhibition match is made to last.

This should not, however, mean that I am in any way opposed to matches in India being of 90 minutes duration. On the contrary, I am an ardent advocate of it. I am aware that international football matches are all of that duration and I believe that, if India must compete in international football, her players must be trained and turned to last that distance.

But as a player and administrator myself, I know it is easier said than done. In India where football is played almost 6 days a week, playing matches of 90 minutes would be committing plain harakiri. There is a limit to human endurance and the players cannot be asked to burn their candles at both ends. It may be informative in this connection that in England and Europe, where the players play for 90 minutes, they play but once a week. That helps the players to conserve their energy. Thus it should be realised that if 90 minutes football is to be introduced and it must be introduced sooner or later—the football administrators must be prepared to make drastic changes in their schedule of football, remembering at the same time that there are quite a few clubs here who play not only football but also cricket and hockey. I for one am positive in my mind that 90 minutes game is essential if we must improve the standard of our football. But, if there were more people with experience of playing in the administration of the game, they would also realise that such a step must be preceded by other steps which are just as important. Firstly, the schedule of league games must be limited to one a week for the players. That by itself would require revolutionary changes in our football setup, confining our football to Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. This may also make it necessary that we should play football in the evening under floodlight. What is more, it may also necessitate that the football season should be changed from 'May till October' to 'July till February.' These are the difficulties and I must say that it is not enough to tackle them only from the administrative point of view. They must be looked at from the players point of view.

Then there is the question of coaching which is essential for the improvement of the standard of our game. But I wonder if our schools, colleges and the university could not take the initiative in the matter. They have the young

talents and for the purposes of coaching, you must catch them young. They also realise sports fees from their students and they ought to do something in the matter. State Associations, would be only pleased to give them any help and co-operation they might ask for. I am not suggesting anything which may be beyond the capacity of the educational institutions. During my Russian tour, I had an opportunity to visit the Moscow University. There I saw that they had a vast sporting arena to themselves where they are building a stadium and have facilities for coaching in football, athletics and swimming. This may sound too ambitious. But our schools, colleges and the university might make a beginning keeping in mind that Rome was not built in a day.

I have so far scrupulously kept technical details out of these discussions for obvious reasons. But, of late, there has been so much of arm-chair talk about introducing the three-back system in our football that I should take this opportunity of making a short reference to it. With the change in the off-side rule, the Manager of the famous Arsenal of U.K. devised the third back game and it proved so successful that the whole world minus India has adopted this system. Technically the

system is wonderful for the purposes of defence and there could be no two opinion that it should be adopted by us. But I am also thinking very seriously whether, under the existing circumstances and with the present fitness of our players, we can successfully take up this matter which require particularly the two inside forwards and the two wing halves to work like Trojans. There are many who will agree with me that mere cataloguing of the difficulties is not a solution. In my love for Indian football, I had taken the initiative of making the foregoing suggestions. I hope I had set the ball rolling. But everyone must combine and co-operate to provide the solution. I must however emphasise again that wrong people cannot take the right decision. There must be a concentration of actual playing experience in the administration of football and, if I can be of any use there, my services will be always available for our football a game which I love, which I have played and which I have worked for.

Before I conclude I would like to give my humble advice to the sportsmen of the country that they should realise that the club is bigger than the individual, the state is bigger than the club and the country is bigger than the state.

Book Reviews

KERALA THE 'COMMUNIST' STATE

S. C. JOSEPH, M.A., M.LITT., B.LITT. (Oxon)

HAVE YOU GOT YOUR COPY?

This is the first exhaustive treatment of the subject of Communism in Kerala in the light of International Communism. The author's (Mr. S. C. Joseph, M.A., M.Litt., B.Litt. (Oxon.) brilliant analysis of the Kerala situation in a socio-economic and political background is at once stimulating and thought provoking. The Book covering about 300 pages is the result of several intensive tours in the State of Kerala spread over 90 days, meeting people in all walks of life. This Book is not merely inte-

rested in a descriptive account of what is happening in Kerala today, but is much more interested in the analysis of and the answer to "the challenge" of our times, namely, the eclipse of freedom and democracy in general, with particular reference to our State and Society.

This is easily the book of the day and is indispensable to the citizen and administrator alike.

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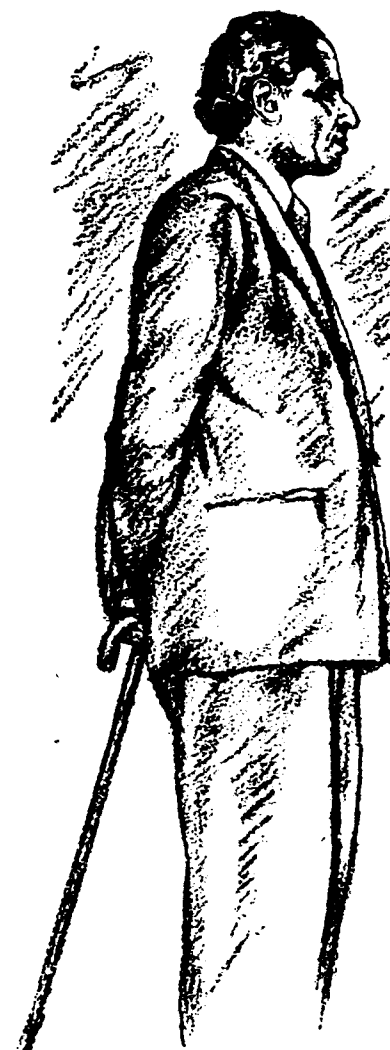
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BROADWAY TIMES

(MONTHLY)



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Edited and published by Mathew Cherian 33, Broadway, Madras 1 and printed by
M. G. Daniel, Thompson & Co Private Ltd (Minerva Press) Madras 1.

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BROADWAY TIMES

Edited & Published by MATHEW CHERIAN

33 Broadway Madras 1, S. India Telegram MAPRECO Telephone 3 8 4 1

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Full page	Rs. 100	Yearly 12 issues	Rs. 1,000
Half page	Rs. 50	"	" Rs. 550
Quarter page	Rs. 25	"	" Rs. 275

Contributions

We welcome contributions from Indian or foreign writers. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor, "Broadway Times" 33 Broadway, Madras-1 (India.)

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Subscriptions:

Post free in India at Rs. 12 per annum. Single copy of the current issue is available at Re. 1 per copy. Cheques/M.O./P.O. should be made payable to "Broadway Times."

Foreign £1. 16s. per annum, post free. Single copy is available at 3s.

Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

Of late the language issue has become an obsession. The pros and cons of Hindi as a national language are widely discussed throughout the length and breadth of the country on public platforms, in conventions and in the legislatures of India. The latest development is a petition signed by leading educationists and public men of the land to the Lok Sabha praying for the continuance of English as a major language. The report of the Official Language Committee of Parliament is pending on the anvil of the Lok Sabha.

It is unwise to force Hindi on an unwilling Section of the people of India. There is no logic in the argument that Hindi should be the national language since the majority of the people speak Hindi. But the rest of the Hindi knowing section are diametrically opposed in learning Hindi simply because it is a new language for them. In case they accept Hindi they will be at a disadvantage with the already Hindi knowing section for a considerably long period. The idea of one national language for the whole of India is not practicable since the non-Hindi speaking section of the people are not willing to learn Hindi afresh. It is not only tactless but unjust if the Parliament supports the whims of certain Hindi fanatics.

English is not a foreign language for us. Though English is undoubtedly foreign in origin, in fact and legally it is an Indian language and should be accepted as much as any other Indian language. We have accepted it for nearly two centuries as the language of administration and of the educated. English is the only common language for the whole of India. The advantages of keeping English as a major language are many. If we accept any other language in the present place of English, we will be automatically cut away from the scientific and cultural developments of the west, however much we try to translate the technical English words into Hindi. Frank Antony was ventilating popular opinion when he said that it was a misconception that nationality postulates uniformity in matters such as language, culture and social habits.

English has a rich literature. At the present time it is the most important vehicle of scientific and technical information. It is the most widely spread language in the world.

May 1959

BROADWAY TIMES

The idea of Indianisation has become a fashion and it is sometimes taken to absurd lengths. The Committee of Parliament are of the opinion that since Independence there has been a shift from English to Indian languages as the media of secondary education. This shift is also noticeable for the worse in the standard of the final products of secondary education.

Whether by 1965 as they profess it is possible to replace English is a matter of opinion, hence of considerable thought. However forcing a new language on a most unwilling people may have far reaching consequences.

English is the only binding force in India apart from national standards like flag, constitution etc. With the neglect of English, India will be automatically disintegrated into "language pockets" with the accompanying evils thus retarding progress on a national basis.

The idea of a national language for India is indeed admirable. Is it practicable? In the face of great opposition from several sectors the imposition of Hindi may be impracticable. We have accepted English already as an important language, in fact the only common language for Indians.

English is the only medium through which Indians from any Part of the country can discuss common problems. It is also the most important international language at the present time. To ignore these basic facts and then proceed with a new experiment will be pernicious in its consequences.

The argument that English should be relegated to the background giving greater importance to an Indian language since the former is foreign, carries no weight. It is worthwhile to recall in this connection that the very ideas of nationalism were born out of our English education and all our great leaders of the past used English as the medium to express their views. The plethora of books and other writings of our leaders in English are ample testimony to the invaluable part played by this language in the past.

Let us not forget these vital facts when we discuss our "language problem."

A TIME FOR RE-THINKING

BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Now that Mr. John Foster Dulles is out of the way it is time the nations rethink some fundamentals. Do they believe in co-existence? Indeed do they realise that there is no other way for nations to live? They do, but they do not give up hating. They believe they cannot. With hatred prodding one from behind as with a sharp spear, co-existence becomes a way of pain, not a way of life. They must realise the contradiction and give up the one or abandon all hope for the other.

The Nations do not want war; yet their governments believe in going as near the brink as possible and threatening to make war. This again is a contradiction that makes for waste, frustration and aimlessness of policy.

People with considerable military experience have confirmed that nuclear strategy has failed. Still nuclear strategy sets the pattern for politics instead of policy laying down the plan for military strategy, a rule still believed in as valid.

If the Nato powers decided that the third world war was essential to their existence and therefore planned systematically to start it at the next favourable moment, the behaviour of their politicians would be intelligible. This was the case with German policy under Hitler. Hitler wanted war and therefore without any contradiction, he subordinated policy to strategy. He wanted war as an end in itself. He substituted war-planning for *laissez faire* and psychological warfare for normal negotiation.

But Hitler's brinkmanship was different from Dulles's, because Hitler had decided to go over the brink at the right time, whereas Nato wants to avoid war at any cost. The West dreads actual hostilities but yet believes in walking on the brink. The West sacrifices democratic foreign policy because Nato defence policy calls for it. The Western powers regard the Middle East and North Africa not as the homeland of the Arab people but as the northern flank of Nato. "Undeveloped" countries are strategic vacuums and their independence a danger that should not be tolerated.

When it comes to the point, no member of the Nato would wage war but stands out and all of them want the uncommitted nations to get into their cold bloc as if that would benefit anybody. These contradictions must be bravely eliminated as a result of clear thinking.

If we do not want hot war and we are sure about it, there is no point in keeping up the cold war or feeding it as we feed a pig that is intended for pork. Mr. John Foster Dulles can get into history as a turning point for Western policy, the abandoning of a brinkmanship that was contradicted by a simultaneous firm decision that war should be avoided at any cost, which made it all just folly and waste of mankind's resources using them to poison the World's atmosphere and reversing the processes of natural evolution.

ON THE MARCH

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

In the suit of Mrs. Bardwell against Mr. Pickwick, Sam Weller was cross-examined. As eye-witness to the harrowing incident when the widow fell into the reluctant arms of Mr. Pickwick, Sam Weller was asked to give a more graphic account of the scene which had escaped his pair of eyes. Let me quote from the proceedings :

"Yes, I have a pair of eyes," replied Sam, "and that's just it. If they was a pair of patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power, p'rhaps I might be able to see through a little flight of stairs and a deal door ; but being only eyes, you see my vision is limited."

It is a rigmarole of serio-comic conceptions to indicate that whilst many have ears they are not transparent, but I fear in our shibboleths about Planning from the stage of carpenting out plan-frames to the envisagement of physical targets, our planocrats too indulge in a medley of confused metaphors.

It is unwise of course to attempt crossing a chasm in two jumps, and that is perhaps why athletic heroes occasionally negotiate the Niagara Falls in a barrel. China's Seven Year Plan has been described as a single leap, and so it is odd that India, with her yardstick of five years, should be taunted with being over-ambitious.

Just to enthuse !

Ambition should be made of sterner stuff. E. M. S. has reported from Moscow that the Soviet is taking the corner-turn from Socialism to Communism, but our mentors at home tell us that we are making for the half-way house between feudalism and socialism. The half-way

house is of the nature of a dak bungalow. In the stage-coach days of Sam Weller, it would be a country-tavern, but the Indian analogy should not be stretched to the point of suggesting any repeal of Prohibition in compliance with sober opinion.

Planning guidance is now being entrusted to Indian professors who form a fine medium of newspaper publicity, and some of them recommend a middle-of-the-way policy. If a pedestrian strolls, adhering to the middle of the road dictum, the police chase him on to the pavement, but then what is right in municipal law, need not be O.K. in Economics.

Improving on the Prime Minister's jest at Nagpur, the Daughter-President of the Congress could say that neither she nor her father, nor her grandfather, had ever been an agriculturist. Jawaharlal on the subject of Economics is more an embarrassed intellectual than an educated expert.

In the emergencies of the land-ceiling controversy, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, no less qualified, speaks of "Intermediate goals," no doubt to obtain a breather before food crops are doubled in seven years. Sportsmen, mostly given to dull apprehension of picturesque imagery, may be puzzled about the objective of intermediate goals, with goalies stationed half-way, but the general purport of the phrase is to enthuse the villager as he waits with garlands for Service Co-operatives under high-pressure training to control what is called new impacts.

Phantamaggoria

The Home Minister adds that when the Nagpur decisions are under way, the operation will be "self-feeding." That is a new lure,

indeed an original notion altogether, when foreign aid is essential for the viability of the whole thing. Dog-lovers treat it as a cruel joke when they hear about feeding a dog on his own tail. Sometimes, Plan-propagandists console the tax-payer that price-spiralling is temporary and add that there will be a new administrative apparatus in conjunction with the established machinery to make the whole system hurn according to schedule.

The peasantry must become dynamic instead of squatting in a static pose, which would mean that the whole paraphernalia turns monolithic, a ridiculous plight in an atomic age when mankind is conquering space. Superheat is the secret of energy and those who favour relaxation in the half-way house and contemplate the conversion of dry wells into air-raid shelters

for their reports to the High Command, might dub it as a thermo-dynamic policy different from the stonelike existence signified by monolithism.

A small extract from the newspaper report of the Home Minister's speech in the planning debate runs : "The Home Minister said that the Government welcomed aid from every quarter and every country and there can be no discrimination ; and if we have been able to get aid, it is because we are not committed to the political ideology of any of the countries." Borrow like a hero, an expression that implies jealousy in some unnameable quarters that also indulge in grimaces accompanied by whispers about sitting on the fence. No, we are on the march, despite all the confusion wrought by figures of speech.

SCOTLAND, THE LAND WITH A STORIED PAST

BY

MATHEW CHERIAN

Within the span of two hundred by one hundred and seventy five miles lies the famous land of the Scots, to the north of England. Scotland is mainly a land of hills and valleys, with a wide distribution of rich green pastures for the healthy Scottish livestock. In these natural settings are situated some of the well-known Scottish cities, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth and Aberdeen.

By whatever means visitors travel to Scotland, air or sea, rail or road, the great majority will almost certainly arrive first either in Edinburgh or Glasgow. These are the two most important of the Scottish cities, the former with a historic past while the latter is the citadel of Scottish business. Glasgow's glory is mainly due to its access to the river Clyde. "Glasgow made the Clyde and the Clyde made Glasgow", runs the saying. Either from Edinburgh or from Glasgow there are many attractive tours through the Lothians, the Borders and the Scot country.

Let us make a trip to see this land of the Scots, the home of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson. Imagine you have arrived with me first at the capital, Edinburgh. Before we start our trip let us look around this "Athens of the North" so called from the intellectual prestige of Scott and Edinburgh School of writers.

Edinburgh is the seat of the Scottish Royalty, the scene of the turbulent and tragic drama of Scottish history, the City of Margaret, the Saint Queen, of Mary Stuart, John Knox, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson and a host of others. This is the centre of Administration, carried through the Scottish peers

under the aegis of Westminster in London. Most of the treasures of this City are enclosed within two square miles.

The National dress of the Scot is the kilt, a skirt like garment made out of tartan cloth. You will even see the infiltration of this national cloak in some of the Scottish regiments. Very often you will see the kilt clad Scot proudly walking around during your stay there.

The proverbial Scotch bag pipe is enchanting. No Scot function is complete without the playing of the bag pipes. You can see the importance of this instrument at the Edinburgh festival.

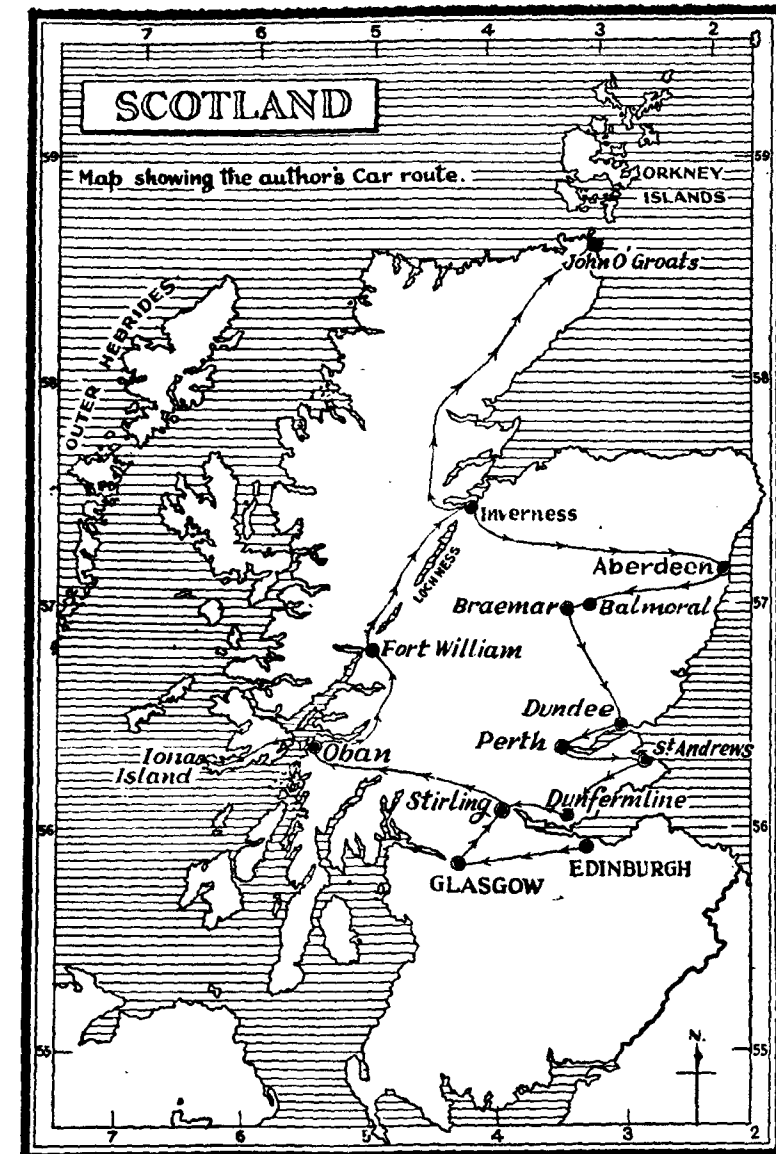
As you travel you can meet the typical Scot in his own natural surroundings. You will find him extremely courteous and full of lively humour. There is an air of contentment about the Scot.

We in India have known many Scottish missionaries, some of them great educationists. It is not rarely that you bump into a missionary down there probably with a thirty years' experience in your own country.

The Scottish accent is easily discernible. It is harsh, something like the Irish brogue.

We have heard several stories about the Scot's frugality. I have not come across any juncture to prove this trait in their character.

The most important street in Edinburgh is the Princes Street, an excellent shopping centre with an array of attractive shops. From Princess Street you will be thrilled at the vista of the Castle, the imposing mass of the Castle Rock. This Castle dominating the City was once the pride and power of the Scottish



THE SECOND SHIP-BUILDING YARD OF INDIA

BY

T. K. KOCHUTHOMMEN, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

Will Cochin get the Second Ship-Building Yard? Will the Government of India implement the recommendation of the British Expert Commission? These are questions which have yet to find answers.

A Commission of experts came to India from Britain on the invitation of the Government of India to examine and recommend a suitable site for the location of our Second Ship-Building Yard. This Commission went around the country examining various places for this purpose and recommended Cochin as the most suitable place to locate the Second Ship-Building Yard. Several places were suggested to the Commission by the Government of India as probable sites for the location and the Commission was asked to examine each of these places on its own merits. These experts who made a thorough study of these places, viewing the problem from different angles and taking into consideration different aspects of it, came to the unanimous conclusion that Cochin alone could be considered to be ideally suited for this purpose from every point of view—from the point of view of cost, efficiency, security, etc.

Cochin, which lies at the bottom of our sub-continent on the Arabian Coast and not far from the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, is ideally situated; Cochin, which lies almost equi-distant to Europe as well as to America, has a natural and a fast developing Harbour; Cochin, which is safely out of reach of either Pakistan or China, is the safest and the most convenient place to develop a Ship-Building Industry.

From a technical point of view, Cochin, in the opinion of the Commission, is far superior

to any of the other places suggested for this purpose. Cochin has a very convenient channel called the Ernakulam channel which has a depth of 40 ft., an advantage which Cochin alone possesses of all the other places. It was again found by the Commission that this channel has a hard laterite foundation of 76 ft. deep which makes it ideally suited for the construction of dry docks capable of building even high draught vessels; this again is an advantage which Cochin alone has. From the financial point of view as well, Cochin was found to be best suited; for according to the Commission the total cost in the case of Cochin will not exceed 19 crores, while in other cases the cost will be considerably higher.

It is now several months since the recommendation of the Commission was submitted to the Government of India and it is regrettable that no decision has been taken as yet by the Central Government in this matter. It is even more regrettable that, instead of readily accepting the views strongly expressed by a Commission of experts specifically appointed for this purpose, the Government have now appointed another Commission of Indian experts to re-examine this question in the light of considerations other than technical or financial. It may even be mentioned that it is still more regrettable and unfortunate that rumours are widespread that the Second Ship-Building Yard will ultimately go to a State other than Kerala. It is hoped that it may only be a rumour without foundation and the Government of India will soon see the wisdom and the urgency in implementing the recommendation of the British Expert Commission. It is of course gratifying to note that the Committee

of Indian Experts, presided over by Mr. N. R. Pillai, has also taken exactly the same view that the British Commission had taken. It is easy to have Commissions and Committees appointed from time to time, examining and re-examining the same question; but the people of Kerala are anxiously waiting for a final decision to be taken by the Central Government on this question.

Kerala is the most thickly populated and the least developed State in India. Mattancherry, a part of Cochin, is today reputed to be the most thickly populated place in the World.

Kerala is a problem State because our problems are many and solutions are never found. Our needs are urgent and our capacity to satisfy them is limited. Kerala has the highest literacy and the largest number of graduates; but most of our young men are disillusioned and many of them are potential dangers to Democracy. "Is there not a way to save them?", is a question that every thinking man in India ought to ask himself. The only answer can be to give Kerala a few major industries which will reduce the unemployment and increase the purchasing capacity of the individual. A Ship-Building Yard shall definitely be a right step in the right direction. The present political crisis in the State is only an external manifestation of an internal economic disorder. Unless there is economic prosperity in the State, political stability will be unattainable. The fact that over 30,000 persons have already registered their names with District Employment Exchanges in Ernakulam and outside merely on the expectation that the Ship-Yard will be in Cochin, shows what great hopes have been created by the recommendation of the Commission, and what colossal disillusionment will be caused in the event of the Ship-yard being denied to us.

Kerala appeals to the people of India in general and to their leaders in particular to exercise all the influence that they can command in favour of Kerala in this matter and to impress

on Delhi that the future of Democracy in this State will depend on this vital question. This is our great chance to strengthen the economy and improve the "Politics" of Kerala.

It is unfortunate that the present Kerala Government have not shown any genuine desire to champion our cause in this matter. It is perhaps only natural that the Communist Government here are not very anxious to take any step that might eradicate poverty and misery in this State; for they have wisely realised that these are the very evils on which Communism is fed. From their varied experience in various parts of the world, the Communists have learnt the lesson that prosperity and contentment in Society are not conducive to the growth of their philosophy; but their future lies in conditions of permanent chaos and eternal poverty. It is their experience all the world over. Their failures in England and Canada and their spectacular success in certain other countries only go to substantiate this contention. It is for the very same reason that the present Government of Kerala have decided to sleep over this question until it shall be too late. And then they will be in a position to put the whole blame on the Central Government.

If the Congress party can persuade Delhi to give Kerala the Ship-Building yard, it will have such great effect that the people of Kerala are sure to express their gratitude to the Kerala Congress in the next General Election. There is absolutely no reason to fear that the credit will go to the Communists who are now in power. The people of this poverty-stricken State are certain to realise the part played by Congress in this matter and it will surely strengthen their conviction that Congress alone can deliver the goods.

The Congress party in Kerala has a grave responsibility in this matter. Congress is the biggest and the most powerful party in India and is now in control of the Central Govern-

(Continued on page 12)

'overlords.' Now it is merely a relic of the past. The annual Edinburgh Festival of Music, Drama and Arts originated as a three week session just after the Second World War is staged in the premise of this historic Castle. The City has some fine monuments, the Scottish Monument, with Sir Walter's statue looking benignly on the City he loved so much. Close by is placed the Floral clock, the pride of the City gardeners.

Adjacent to this garden is the classical home of the Royal Scottish Academy and the famous Mound. If you happen to visit this place on a Sunday evening you can listen to spokesmen for all causes, religious and political, the Scottish counterparts of the famous Orators of Hyde-Park in London. Behind the Academy is the National Gallery. Not far away from here is the Memorial to David Livingstone, the renowned Scottish missionary who preached in the African "wilderness". Here too is the simple yet beautiful American Memorial to Scottish soldiers of the First World War. On your way to the Castle on either side you can see the statues of the heroes of Scotland's War of Independence way back in the fourteenth century. William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce are both there. From the Castle battlements there is the superb view over the City and the Forth river reaching across to the "Kingdom of Fife".

In the heart of the Castle is displayed the ancient Regalia of Scotland, treasures of beauty and wealth—the Crown, the Sceptre and the Sword of State. Here also is the National War Memorial. On the Castle battlements you will see the famous old gun, 'Mons Meg' and from the battlement there is fired each day the 'one o'clock gun' by which the citizens set their watches.

Not far away from the Castle is the Assembly Hall of the Scots Kirk, the Lawn Market and the St. Giles Cathedral. The Edinburgh University is also within easy walk from here.

Down the hill from the Castle battlements take a walk to the palace of Holyroodhouse with its memories of the lovely and tragic Mary, Queen of Scots. This palace is still the scene of Royal visits. In the vicinity is the house of John Knox, the well known religious leader of the Reformation. From here you can also have a glance at the Coffee houses visited by Sir Walter Scott, Burns, Dr. Johnson and R. L. Stevenson.

Just north of Princess Street you should visit the New Town, mainly George Street, where both Scott and Stevenson worked; here also are the Assembly Rooms, which have recovered much of their ancient glory as the Social Centre of the Edinburgh festival. Before leaving Edinburgh district you may make a trip to the Linlithgow palace where Mary Stuart was born.

From Edinburgh let us proceed to Glasgow about fifty miles to the West. Glasgow was founded by St. Mungo and its University owes its origin to a papal bull. Yet its importance at the present day is not due to ecclesiastical patronage but as an important business centre. Its ship-building industry is well-known. The City's importance came with the age of iron and steam, cotton and tobacco. Glasgow has a Cathedral, a fine example of Gothic architecture. In the valley below the University stand the Art Galleries on the river Kelvin, which house some of the finest paintings in Europe, canvases by Corot, Turner, Rembrandt and Rubens. Throughout the City you will admire the various classical churches designed by 'Greek' Thomson. The Municipal Chambers in the Centre of the City is of the Italian Renaissance Style. Do not miss the Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow's shopping and fashion centre.

The Glaswegians are proud of their City parks, and its Library Service. Sir John Barbirolli the celebrated orchestra leader left for America only from Glasgow.

As I mentioned before Glasgow's pride is the river Clyde. One of the most attractive excursions you can make is a sail down the estuary of the Clyde to where the Atlantic rolls in to "quietness." There is no place where Glaswegians show their friendliness and uninhibitedness as on a steamer "Sailin" doon the Clyde."

Up river by the road from Glasgow along the Clyde Valley you can see some of the loveliest and most storied country in the west. Hereabouts you may like to visit Blantyre, where David Livingstone was born. Further north Stands Stirling, where Wallace won his greatest victory, and Bannockburn where Bruce fought the greatest battle in Scottish history and secured Scottish independence for three centuries.

From Blantyre on your way to Oban, the lovely Scottish port, you will be passing through famous Golfing Centres. In the vicinity are the famous Golf courses of Troon, Prestwick, Gailes and Irvine.

Scotland has a small place within its boundaries, Gretna Green famous for the record number of marriages taking place there. It is a small village where the local priests are kept busy throughout the year. Since the English law does not apply in Gretna Green, young lovers majority of them below the marriageable age (according to accepted standards) flee to this "earthly paradise" to enter into holy matrimony as man and wife. I understand the only qualification an outsider need have is seven days residence in this peaceful Scottish hamlet.

Oban is quiet, peaceful and its bay looks grand in the morning with myriads of boats. From Oban cross over to the island of Mull where lies Tobermory. This has been for centuries the scene of treasure hunts for the Spanish galleon which was wrecked there after the defeat of the Armada in 1588. Adjacent to Mull is the fabled island of Iona, reputed to be the Cradle of Christianity in Western

Scotland. It is the island of St. Columba. Fifty-two of the ancient Kings of Scotland are buried there, not to mention Princes, Bishops and Chieftains. Near Iona you will see many small islands, Islay, Jura, etc., where holiday makers flock during the season.

Cross over to the mainland and let us proceed to the north, to the Glens of Fort William. Close by is Glen Coe, the scene of the most tragic massacres of Scottish history. Drive on to Inverness by the side of Loch Ness. Loch means lake and there are many of them in Scotland. As the story goes these Lochs of Scotland have huge monsters in them. You may or may not see the 'monsters' during your stay there!

From Inverness you may drive up to John O'Groats, the tip of the mainland, perhaps to tell them that you have seen the whole of Scotland. Not far away from the mainland are the Orkney Islands and the Hebrides. These islands have inspired some of the loveliest songs in the haunting minstrelsy of Scotland.

Let us drive back the Edinburgh this time taking a different route. Passing Inverness on our way we will be reaching Aberdeen, a brisk and lovely City, built mainly of granite. It stands on two rivers, the Don and the Dee. The only granite Cathedral in Britain, St. Machar's Cathedral belongs to Aberdeen. Visitors will surely admire the splendour of such monuments as the Wallace and the Burns Statues. Another spectacle worth an early rise is the fish market, where the 'Silver harvest' of the North Sea is despatched throughout Britain.

Leaving Aberdeen you will be driving through beautiful countryside till you arrive at Balmoral, the Highland residence of the Queen. The Balmoral Castle is not as big as that of the Windsor Castle in England, but is in a superb highland setting. You may visit Braemar which is nearby, the scene of one of the most famous highland gatherings. In Braemar you

can also see the house of Robert Louis Stevenson where he wrote the renowned "Treasure Island."

From Braemar drive on to Dundee, the centre of the World's Jute Industry; the Tay Bridge of Dundee is a lovely sight indeed. It is a clean city, well situated and industrious.

From Dundee to Perth is only a short drive. Perth is a thriving City with memories of the Sermons of John Knox. Bonnie Prince Charlie is said to have stayed in what is now the Salutation Hotel of Perth.

A few miles away is Scone where many of the Scottish Kings were crowned on the Stone of Destiny which was taken to England by Edward I and ever since has performed the same function in Westminster Abbey. Scone is the place where King Malcolm first brought his future Queen, Margaret. Nearly every village has some remnant of history.

From Perth on your way to the Capital is Dunfermline. Here are the ruins of the Church and Abbey built by David first to the memory of his mother, St. Margaret. It was a place of pilgrimage for centuries. Bruce lay buried there, as did St. Margaret herself. Dunferm-

line's modern prosperity was greatly advanced by the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, who was born there and returned to die, after having made his millions in Pittsburgh. His birth place, Memorial and the Carnegie Library are landmarks of the town.

It is worthwhile to visit St. Andrews on Sea to see the oldest Scottish University. Pilgrims came to visit the shrine at St. Andrews which traditionally housed relics of St. Andrew the Apostle.

From St. Andrews, let us get back to Stirling and then to Edinburgh from where we started the Scottish tour. I do not claim to have covered to entire landscape of this land of the Scots. My comments are by no means exhaustive. I have tried only to bring to the notice of the reader the historical and cultural associations of Scotland in an international context. Indeed Scotland is a land with a great past. It is the land of Wallace, Robert the Bruce, David Livingstone and Robert Louis Stevenson. The literary contributions of the Scots are admirable and let us treasure in our memories Scotland and its people, with a storied past.

(Continued from page 7)

ment. Although Kerala Congress is now unfortunately reduced to the position of a mere opposition party, we are a part of that Organisation which is today responsible for the destiny of this nation. Should the Ship-Building Yard, in spite of the clear recommendations of the Expert Commission, slip out of our hands, the responsibility will finally fall on the Congress party and their Government in Delhi and it shall reflect badly on the Congress party in Kerala as well with serious consequences in

the next election. If we do not now concentrate on this question with all the seriousness that it deserves, it is likely that the Ship-Building Yard will go to some other State and Kerala will lose a golden opportunity to alleviate the misery of our people in some measure at least.

A Ship-Building Yard in Cochin will mean 'Employment for our Unemployed'; it will mean economic prosperity and political stability in Kerala.

MADRAS CORPORATION ELECTIONS (1959)

BY

K. R. RAJAGOPALAN

An objective analysis of the hundred seats

This is the first time elections are taking place for the newly constituted 100 divisions of Madras City. 402 candidates contested the elections which were conducted during the first week of April. The counting of votes took almost four days and the final results were announced on the 12th. Out of an electorate of 936 thousand only about 422 thousand valid votes were cast (45%).

Four All-India Parties—Communist, Congress, Jan Sangh, and Praja Socialists and two State-Parties—Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) and Indian National Democratic Congress (I.N.D.C.) set up candidates. The following table gives the details—along with the percentage of seats won for each party.

Name of party	Number of seats		Percentage of win
	Contested	Won	
Communist.	17	2	11.7
Congress ...	100	37	37.0
D.M.K. ...	90	45	50.0
I.N.D.C. ...	8	...	...
Praja Socialist.	4	2	2
Independents.	165	14	8.6

This table shows clearly that apart from the fourteen Independents (who, by the way, became a very important group, as no single party has obtained an absolute majority) the 'fight' has been between the Congress and the D.M.K. The Communists and Praja Socialists do not have any appreciable following in the city. In the last Assembly Elections (1957) from the City, both these parties failed to secure even one seat.

A further analysis to bring out more features of the voting results would be carried out in the sequel. The number of votes polled and the number of seats won by these two parties are given below—along with the percentages :

	Seats	Percent	Votes	Percent
Congress	37	37.0	143,754	34.1
D.M.K. ...	45	45.0	148,759	35.3

In the Assembly elections, the Congress won 78% of seats, polling 46% of votes, while the D.M.K. won 22% of seats securing 28% of votes.

The number of votes secured—on the average—by the two parties will now be analysed. Three averages would be calculated—(1) the total number of votes secured by the Party divided by the number of contestants from the Party would be termed the 'General' average, e.g., the Congress contested 100 seats and has polled 143,754 votes and so the 'General' average for that Party is 1,438 votes per candidate. (2) The number of votes secured by all the successful candidates only will be divided by the number of 'wins' of that Party to give a 'Success' average. Thus the 45 winning candidates of the D.M.K. secured among themselves 93,492 votes and so this average for D.M.K. is 2,708 votes. (3) Similarly, the votes secured by the failed candidates only, divided by the number of unsuccessful candidates leads to the 'failure' average. The 63 unsuccessful Congressmen polled 80,663 votes and hence that average is 1,280. The 'General' average, while indicative of the number of votes each candidate has secured on the average, throws no light whatever on the popularity of his party as an organization.

For example, if a party is built round only two or three influential men and does not have the general backing of the populace, this fact will be shown by a higher 'success' average (secured by the influential and hence successful candidates) together with a much lower 'Failure' average—which would be the result of the other candidates securing very small number of votes per head and even losing their deposit in some cases. The following table gives full details along with the Assembly Election data for comparison :

Corporation Elections (1959)

	'General'	'Success'	Failure
Congress ...	1,438	1,706	1,280
D.M.K. ...	1,653	2,078	1,228

Assembly Elections (1957)

Congress ...	15,685	15,666	15,750
D.M.K. ...	14,453	18,962	12,448

As explained in the previous paragraph, the high figures for 'General' and 'Success' average for the D.M.K. would tend to give an impression that this is the stronger party ; but the low figures of 1,228 for 'failure' average shows that where D.M.K. candidates have lost, they have lost heavily. The conclusion, therefore, is that there is much scope for improving the organizational strength of this party ; alternatively, the Party might set up candidates only at constituencies where it is influential, instead of setting up candidates in almost all constituencies—as it has done. The Assembly election results also support this conclusion.

In the next stage, let us analyse the actual 'fights' that took place in the constituencies. In the case of 10 divisions, there were only two contestants and hence a straight fight ; in the case of 28, the contest was triangular and so on. The following table gives these details

fully—along with the number of seats won by the leading parties.

Number of contestants per seat	Number of Constituencies	Number of wins.		Others
		Congress	D.M.K.	
2	...	10	3	6
3	...	28	5	16
4	...	34	14	12
5 and more.	28	15	11	2
Total ...	100	37	45	18

From this table, the D.M.K. emerges as quite a strong party, winning a number of seats from all types of constituencies. The Congress has largely won where there were more than 3 contestants—indicating that this Party has benefited by the divisions of votes.

In the next table, is presented the number of seats that the two parties have won by an absolute majority, i.e., the winning candidate polling more votes than that polled by all the remaining candidates put together. The other type of win will be characterised as 'win by split of votes.'

	Total wins	'Absolute'	'Split of votes'
Congress ...	37	6	31
D.M.K. ...	45	20	25

Here again, it is seen that D.M.K. has scored more decisive victories than the Congress. The latter party appears to have benefited more when the contestants are numerous.

The final table gives details of the Community and the professions of the 100 councillors who would be in charge of the Administration of Madras City in the coming few years. The

community has been given as the Mayor has all along been chosen from the various commu-

nities by 'rotation' ; the profession only as a matter of interest.

Community			Profession		
Hindu—Scheduled Castes	...	11	Merchants, Businessmen	...	36
" Vellala, Mudaliar, etc.	...	24	Fitters, Carpenter, Tailor, Mill Worker, etc.	...	18
" Naicker, Vannikula Kshatriya, etc.	...	14	Social Worker, Public Worker	...	15
" Chettiars	...	8	Advocate, Medical Practitioner, Editor, etc.	...	10
" Other Castes	...	18	Journalist, Actor, Clerk, etc.	...	8
" Non-Brahmin	...	4	Landlords and Landowners	...	5
" Brahmin	...	5	Contractors	...	3
Only Hindu	...	9	Agriculturist	...	1
Muslim	...	5	Unspecified	...	4
Indian Christian	...	1			
Dravidian	...	1			
		Total ...	100	Total ...	100

It might be noticed that only one candidate has given his community as 'Dravidian' while all the other 99 have specified their communities. This is in spite of the fact that the Party which

has been most successful professes no community ; while the next best party, viz., the Congress stands for 'Secular' principles only.

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

The resignation of Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State to Eisenhower is the biggest event in international history. It is sky sign in the march of world events. He had been friend, philosopher and guide to his chief and practically moulded the foreign policy of the Western Powers.

Shortly after assuming office, when he journeyed to Europe to assess the NATO, a series of news stories began to appear, written by highly reliable American journalists stating that the Secretary of State was laying down the law to European Foreign Ministers and issuing stern ultimatums that NATO and EDC commitments must be met. Strangely however, the communiques from various European Governments to their respective Embassies at Washington depicted a conciliatory Dulles, speaking in friendly terms with little of the stern man about him.

Dulles enjoys the reputation of being the most travelled Cabinet Minister. In 1924 alone he covered a distance equivalent to four times round the globe.

Born in 1888 at his grandfather's home in Washington he was reared in the small northern village of Watertown in New York where his father was a pastor of the Church. He had a happy normal childhood on the shores of Lake Ontario. He could swim two and a half miles across the bay near his home and became an expert navigator of the family sail boat. When John graduated from his High School his grandpa sent him to Switzerland to study French. On his return, he enrolled in Princeton University and graduated with honours in 1908.

It is on record that he had a very quick mind and a retentive memory. He could read

a book at a stretch in the course of a night. He spent a year at Paris studying philosophy. At Washington he studied law for two years.

His career is meteoric. From the outset he showed an unusual keenness for international law. During the first world war he was deputised by President Wilson as special agent at Panama. When the United States entered the war he was commissioned as a captain in the Army Intelligence attached to the General Staff.

Highlights of his career are well-known to every student of history. Dulles visited India and conferred with Nehru and members of the Planning Commission.

A blazing indiscretion on his part made him propound his theory of "brinkmanship." He was responsible for U.S.-Pakistan arms agreement which has heightened tension between India and Pakistan. He also made an unfortunate reference to Goa as a Portuguese province.

Too often he gives the impression that what is good for his country is good for the world. Under the constant hammer of Russian propaganda Asia's susceptible masses have come to look upon him as the successor to Asia's latter day Colonial overlords.

During the Suez Conferences he often listed to the most prolix arguments, then gathered them all together in a simple summing up that seemed to satisfy everyone.

Most criticisms of Dulles seem to boil down to this. He is an amiable man but talks too much. Once Churchill had a dig at him. He is reported to have said: "I am told that on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, Mr. Dulles makes a good speech. And that on Tuesdays,

Thursdays and Saturdays, he holds a Press Conference. And that on Sundays he is a lay preacher. With such a regular regimen, there is bound to be a certain attenuation of thought."

In Germany the mere mention of his name is apt to provoke anything from quiet sarcasm to boisterous amusement. He is extremely unpopular in Arab countries.

Dalai Lama Nested

So the saga of Dalai Lama has for the moment ended with his being nested in Mussorie, a hill station in Uttar Pradesh. His escape dash from Tibet has been the biggest news story of the season. Front paged in "Time," televised by the B.B.C. and newsreeled by our cine cameraman, all the paraphernalia of high powered publicity was slung into action in piecing together the story.

His two-week march to the Indian frontier has been screened from Red planes by mist and low clouds conjured up, it is stated, by prayers of Buddhist holy men. He and his entourage fled by night and hid by day in lamaseries, villages and Khamba encampments. They reached safety in the village of Towang, just across the Indian border. At Tezpur, they received a rapturous reception.

We heard the voice of the Dalai Lama over the Indian newsreel. As the Lama made his way through the jungles of Assam to the airfield at Bomdila, he was welcomed by officials of the Indian Government.

At the time that these lines are being written, our Prime Minister is conferring with him at Mussorie.

Mao to step down

People on political pedestal generally do not step down because politics has all along been the art of power and not a nicely balanced calculus of self-abnegation. However, there are exceptions and one such is Mao Tse-Tung of China.

In the eight years between 1947 and 1955, Asia has changed its leaders, not with a clean sweep but nevertheless significantly. In our own country, Gandhiji was assassinated, in neighbouring Burma, U Aung San shared a similar fate. Chiang Kai-shek was driven to Formosa. But in the midst of all these changes, one man managed to remain at the top. He was none other than Mao Tse-Tung. Now however he feels like renouncing his Presidency.

Till he became the President of that sprawling sub-continent, little was known about him. He is the son of a farmer of middle class rank from the province of Hunan. He gained ascendancy in the Communist party because the tactics that he followed, the organization of peasant revolt succeeded where all other tactics failed.

In spite of spells of ill-health, he has been at the top all these years. He lived for a while in mysterious retirement in that forbidden city, Peking. He is the architect of the Communist party in China. Unlike Gandhiji, he is not a prophet. In the civil war that raged in China, he was opposed to Chiang who beaten, had to seek asylum in Formosa. Mao repudiated everything in China's past which stood in the way of the spread of his creed.

Who will succeed him is anybody's guess. Among the probables are Chou En-Lai, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi.

Half a century in Journalism

So death has written finis to the star-studded career of Sir Usha Nath Sen, one of the most notable figures in the journalistic landscape of New Delhi. He was seventy-nine and has been in the profession for over fifty years. He retired in 1951 when he was seventy.

Sen told me when I ran him to earth in Western Court in New Delhi, a few years back that his first job was that of a copyright at Simla which he found to be the dullest way of earning a livelihood. It was K. C. Roy

who rescued him from an otherwise humdrum life by offering him an apprenticeship in the newly started Associated Press of India, India's first news agency. Later, he became Roy's partner.

Prior to linking up his fortune with Roy, Sen had a spell in Calcutta where he worked in a daily as a proof-reader in return for a cup of tea! He rose to the position of a sub-editor there for a magnificent salary of Rs. 18 a month.

It was in 1905 that Roy whistled for him. The then Prince of Wales was on a tour of our country and Roy who was travelling with him needed an assistant. Sen, new to reporting, acquitted himself with credit. Aside from a key position in the Associated Press of India, Sen also functioned as a special correspondent of two leading English dailies, *The Tribune* of Lahore and *The Hindu* of Madras.

Lying on his bed, smoking occasionally, bald-headed Sen narrated to me with gusto that his greatest scoops in the capital in those far-off days were appointments and transfers of officials. A racial steel curtain sheltered the Government. An Indian correspondent had the greatest difficulty in establishing contacts. Sen broke through the curtain. With his charming personality, he won the confidence of the higher ups in the official hierarchy. Every Viceroy was his friend. "I never betrayed a confidence," he told me.

"I am wedded to bachelordom. What is more I have such a vast amount of invitations to parties that I am the only boarder in this hotel who had hardly five days lunch here."

Sen covered the Duke of Windsor's visit of India and was Reuter's Indian correspondent at the Round Table Conference in London. He functioned as the chief Press Adviser to the Government of India from 1944 to 1945. He was Knighted in 1943 and a C.B.E. was conferred on him in 1931.

In him India loses a veteran journalist.

Charlie Chaplin, 70

To many, birthdays are mere blotches in the calendar. Saturnine Swift cursed the moment of his birth while gay and glittering Pothan Joseph once wrote that he would like to celebrate his birthday, riding an elephant and throwing coins about.

The world famous comedian, Charlie Chaplin was 70 the other day. I wonder how he celebrated the event.

Charlie is more than a mere individual; he is an institution. He has brought more laughs to theatre goers than any other individual. In Paris, they call him affectionately "Charlot," in Italy he is styled as "Carlino." From China to Peru he is known to every man, woman and child.

The Japanese once staged a parade in honour of his birthday.

Charlie has the singular distinction of turning the motion picture medium into an art. He introduced to the screen the quality of thoughtful, well-rounded mimicry in the best traditions of *comedia dell'arte*. Right from the moment of his immortal picturisation of the little tramp, the sad-eyed clown has maintained this high artistic level.

It was way back in 1913 that he made his debut as the little tramp, with his tooth brush moustache, battered derby, rugged suit, bamboo cane and a huge feet that paid no attention to each other's existence.

The son of two English vaudevillians, Charles Spencer Chaplin was born in a London slum on April 16, 1889. His early days were miserable. His parents separated, and he and his brother Sydney, lived with their mother in abject poverty. The theatre was Chaplin's one dream. At 16 he got a small part with one William Gillette in "Sherlock Holmes" and that launched him on a career that was destined to take him to the dizzy heights of fame and fortune. Afterwards, he joined Fred Carno's Company, a

music hall troupe, and quickly built up his part so much that he soon was the act's mainstay.

Charlie's first film was "Tillie's Punctured Romance." In the course of the next five years, there followed some fifty others, among them such outstanding pieces as *Easy Street*, *The Cure* and *the Bank*.

In 1916, Charlie won the movies' first million-dollar-a-year contract from Mutual Film Corporation. He used the fortune to build his own studio in Hollywood and produced his own movies with himself as director, writer, composer and costume designer. The roaring twenties saw Charlie's masterpieces as "The Kid," "The Pilgrim" and "The Gold Rush". In 1931, he made "City Lights" which I consider as his greatest creation. His "Dictator" where he mimicked Hitler is hundred per cent propaganda but a fascinating plan.

His latest film "Limelight" is drawing big crowds at a local picture house.

In private life, Charlie has not been very happy. A handsome silver-haired little man, he has quitted America for good and lives in Europe. He has been married four times, his last bride being Cona O'Neill, daughter of the writer Eugene O'Neill, 36 years his junior. Through her he has six children. They are a happy family.

Dancing round Europe

Back in India after a triumphal tour of Europe is the illustrious danseuse Indirani, daughter of an American mother and an Indian father, Bajpai, who is currently dwelling in New York. Indirani herself married a Muslim sculptor and has a daughter aged twelve and a son four years old.

She has literally put a girdle round the world, has been in America, China, Russia and other European countries. At Moscow about four years ago, she gave a performance of *Bharat Natyam* before a select gathering in the famed Bolshoi Theatre and made an unforgettable impression.

Lean and light skinned, Indirani was voted Miss India about five years ago and went to the United States for an international competition.

She first learnt dancing in Orissa and then came to Madras where she sat at the feet of the maestro Chockalingam Pillai. Her temple dances of Orissa are her *piece de resistance*. With their indolent swaying of the hip and curvilinear body positions, they have an appeal which is irresistible. During the current tour she popularised our highly stylised *Bharat Natyam* in the Hague, Amsterdam, Zurich, Paris, Geneva, Rome, Warsaw and Moscow.

With eyes of breath-taking beauty and a body made for the luring and love of Gods, she is a talented conversationalist as well. Accompanying her during this tour were Murthi, Pillai, Lokiah and Devaprasad Das.

Cambridge

Cambridge University was again in the news recently. For the second year in succession, a Professor attached to this University was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry. Frederick Sanger, the 1958 Nobel laureate, Professor of Bio-chemistry at Cambridge has rendered signal service to humanity by his classic researches into the structure of insulin, the complex physiologically important protein.

In the course of a series of papers published by the Bio-chemical Journal, he has described his experiments which has led to our knowledge of amino acid links present in insulin.

MARKETING RESEARCH AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES

BY

PROF. S. C. JOSEPH, M.A., M.LITT., B.LITT (OXON.)

Marketing Research is the systematic and objective search for and study of the facts relevant to any problem in the field of Marketing. Generally speaking, business activity may be divided on a functional basis into three major phases—Production, Finance and Marketing. Marketing process is concerned with the transfer of goods and services into the hands of final consumers. And marketing research is interested in securing continuously and accurately a sound measurement of the flow of goods from producer to consumer and analysing and interpreting such data so as to provide the management with a reliable basis upon which to make policy decisions regarding all phases of Marketing.

Sometimes a careful distinction is made between the terms "Market Research" and "Marketing Research". In America, the term "Market Research" is used with reference to the analysis of consumer demand and the term 'Marketing Research' as an all inclusive term covering both the demand and supply sides of marketing. We have used the term "Marketing Research" in the broad sense which embraces all research activities carried on in connection with the management of marketing work. Among many other things it includes market analysis, sales research and consumer research.

Marketing Research is essentially a tool of business management. Its chief task is to provide industrial and commercial managers with concrete data on which they can depend, in order to direct production and distribution of goods so as to ensure maximum sales and profits. In this way it is a continuous aid in the service of management so as to reduce the

area of uncertainty surrounding business decisions by improving the supply of Market information available to the business man. Consequently Marketing Research performs a useful social function in avoiding the waste arising from inadequate Market Data.

Marketing Research is the by-product of large-scale organisation, a characteristic feature of modern industrial society. The manager of a large firm selling consumer goods to millions of households cannot hope to get more than a general impression of the traits or characteristic features of the market by personal observation alone. It becomes, therefore, necessary for him to supplement his experience by specially collected and analysed supply of Market information.

In the Marketing process, the journey of the consumer goods is obscure at a vital stage, located between the factory and the final consumer. This obscurity is caused by the need for stocks to be held both in wholesalers' warehouses and in retail shops. A manufacturer knows the size of the flow of goods from his factory both to the wholesalers and direct to retailers. But he is not in a position to say whether his output has been absorbed into stock or whether it has been passed on to the final consumer with little or no delay. This understanding of the situation enables him to follow a correct production and distribution policy. Hence he approaches institutions engaged in marketing research. Institutions in their turn supply the necessary information to the firms concerned, at a price.

Forecasting or prediction about the market behaviour is thus the chief function of market-

ing organisations. Specialised research organisation is considered practical, for sampling surveys require an extensive organisation for the preparation of surveys, for interviewing and for the processing of results. To illustrate, the International Marketing Research Organisation such as A. C. Nielsen & Co. (founded in 1923 at Chicago), sells today, indexes derived from sampling data and "shop audit" technique. These indexes measure and predict market trends and consumer preferences. The fact that the company employs 2,000 people and operates some of the world's largest installations of punched card equipment, including electronic calculating machines, is a standing testimony to the usefulness of specialised marketing agencies to the business world. In India, we do not find exclusive market research organisations. But big firms such as the Lever Bros. maintain their own departments to carry on continuous consumer research in order to predict future sales or to decide on production and sales policy. Perhaps competition being not very severe, having established semi-monopolistic control over the respective markets, many of the big firms may not require the aid of marketing research as a matter of exclusive concern. Further under a planned economy, production policy is directed from above and allocation of resources is conditioned by the facts and needs of attaining the production targets fixed by the Planning Commission in advance. But in the field of services, especially Public Services (every kind of service wherein the public is concerned whether governmental or private) the technique of Marketing Research may be best utilized in order to purify and reorganise the public services of our country in the context of ever-increasing public functions of the State and the efficient utilisation of the public administration in the service of planned economic development.

The concept of service has a very low connotation in our country. The idea is often associated with menial labour similar to the

assistance of a servant at home or a peon in the office. The "public servant" with his fat salary and high demeanour is sufficiently arrogant, and diligent in extracting personal service from the public so as to be recognized as the "public master" or the Boss. It is very difficult to transform the Gazetted officer with a bureaucratic tradition, overnight into a public servant of usefulness dedicated to a democratic society. One often wonders how a Government agency like the government bookshop denying the existence of a published book, could render any useful service to the Government or to the people. One does not know how the small savings scheme can be popular when a customer has to spend more than half an hour at the post-office savings bank in order to credit five rupees to his savings account. One need not be surprised to go to a commercial bank to cash a cheque for Rs. 10, and he finds he has lost two hours in that transaction. I need not narrate the indifference and discourtesy of the high officials in meeting the commonman. Even cultural institutions such as colleges and universities do not show a concern and anxiety in the discharge of their daily functions in relation to the public to which they are dedicated to serve. For the present we can overlook the special service that these public persons render to their favourites or wives' relatives. With the expansion of the public sector, large number of public corporations have come into existence since Independence. But very little attention has been paid to the quality of the service rendered by these public corporations. Here is a new field to apply the technique of marketing research with profit and advantage so as to justify the continuance of such public utility institutions.

All the citizens easily come under the category of consumers of services "expected" to be rendered by the state and its agencies. A sample survey or opinion research of the consumers would reveal the inefficiency and "impurity" ratio of the services rendered by

the so-called service institutions. The students will be able to testify the efficiency of the teacher; the traders, the service motive and of the sales-tax inspector and the tax-payers, the honesty of the income-tax officer. The customers of a hotel can speak about the "service" of the sanitary inspector. It is not fair even to exclude the M. L. A. or even the minister of the government or the church. Opinion surveys by the interview method on a sampling basis of the population, will throw much light on the darkest corners of public services in our country. Even if the Government is willing to show exemptions to those who are shown to be inefficient and dishonest on the basis of caste or personal relationship, organised and effective public opinion through the press and platform can reduce the severity of public abuses by responsible persons in authority in the future, if not to correct the mistakes of the past.

It is not to deny the usefulness of Marketing Research for commercial institutions in our country. But it is the earnest desire to use the technique of Marketing Research so as to indicate consumer preference for the service

rendered by the public persons such as the minister or M. L. A., the Government official, the hotel manager and even the bank clerk or the bus conductor engaged in public utility services.

If marketing research is helpful in the Western countries in order to guide production and sales policies of giant industrial organisation in our country the technique may be employed in order to promote "purity" and efficiency in our services, governmental or private. To a hotel proprietor, a public opinion survey will help to modify or change the character of his management and to reverse and to revive a steady decline in business. To the Government official and other public servants, it will provide an opportunity to search their hearts and to stop harming people any more. Of course there are many good in the flock. In a truly democratic society, however, public opinion has to assert itself and the "public servants" have to respond to build up a "clean" service and healthy India. For the success of planning largely depends on a healthy and efficient public service.

DEMOCRACY AND PLANNING

BY

PROF. N. BALAKRISHNAN, M.A.

Generally there is agreement from all sides that Governmental Planning of some sort is absolutely essential for giving an impetus to economic growth in the country. A two per cent increase will hardly match the population growth, and only a five or six per cent increase annually over the coming decade or two will assure a modest improvement in our standard of living. A recent E.C.A.F.E. survey shows a slowing down of industrial and agricultural production in 1958 as compared with the year 1957. The only two countries on the Asian continent where there is a deliberate and determined drive to improve economic conditions are China and India. But from a political and human point of view India's efforts seem to be more commendable because she is going through the process under strictly democratic auspices while China has chosen the totalitarian way. We have valuable assets in the still unexplored natural resources of the country as well as in the quality of the leadership that directs and utilizes these resources. Both India and China have put their faith in expanded steel output to serve as a base for further industrial development. There is a particular advantage in this because steel is a highly saleable commodity in this steel-hungry modern world, even if India herself finds it difficult in the initial stages to make use of the steel that she manufactures for her own machine-making industries. Another favourable factor is that India is now placed in a situation where she could easily command the material and technological resources of other countries for her own development. She could learn useful lessons from the successes as well as from the failures of her neighbours in Russia, China and elsewhere. Moreover every unit of new

investment in an underdeveloped country like India will bring a richer return than in the over-industrialised countries of the Western World. Though India has been frittering away some of her energies in playing up her role in international affairs, her leaders have not been altogether neglecting the domestic economic front. Only in India have we the spectacle of a set of leaders who right from the beginning seem to have had a proper sense of the importance of economic factors in the life of the nation.

In this drama of industrial and economic progress many factors play their part; imported capital and skills, foreign aid, diversion of resources, higher taxation and even deficit financing. However, no notable success can be expected from the manipulation of these resources alone without a strong clear-seeing and fearless body of men at the top. In this country the private capitalist, with one or two notable exceptions, has hitherto been content to be in the role of exporter or importer, agent or middleman, but he has lacked the experience and the stamina required for great and adventurous efforts in industrial reconstruction. Under Nehru's brilliant leadership the entire resources of the nation have been gathered together to force the pace of the country's economic development. It is literally a break through that is being attempted. There is nothing much to wonder at in a band of patriotic men who had fought their way to freedom wanting to break into the business life of the nation in order to achieve a major victory in the economic sphere as well. As we have already seen these goals can be reached equally satisfactorily by the Government bringing encouragement to the private sector and bring-

ing them all the help they need. But the examples of Russia and China that have won such signal results within so short a span of time seem to point up the importance and effectiveness of direct state action. Our leaders have been repeatedly telling us that it is a mixed economy that they are after, an economy in which the private and the public sectors will co-operate to accelerate the rate of progress. Nevertheless the time factor which is so important to an underdeveloped nation will not let the state wait until private enterprise shakes itself up and gets into its stride. The private sector may not be so interested in feeding back the new production into further investment as the state that has set for itself a socialistic goal would be ready to do. It may be that this programme may not result in more production of consumer goods commensurate with the increased income, but it will broaden the base on which the future industrial structure of the country can be built. Of course as the work proceeds the peasantry that are starved of consumer goods may not be willing to part with their agricultural produce; and this might make it necessary for the Government to assume additional responsibilities for procuring food and for arranging for its equitable distribution.

So far as India is concerned, all authorities are of the opinion that no policy will succeed which does not aim to an immediate increase of the productive capacity of agriculture and the increased employment of idle labour in some form of activity or other. Unemployment is always a source of mischief to new governments that are trying to find their feet. People are also alarmed at the relentless and continuing trek of the rural population to urban areas. Cities with a heavy influx of refugees and swollen with unemployed labour create insoluble problems for statesmen who are concentrating their energies upon constructive work. The political consequences of a large sector of unemployment in the rural economy

are so serious that Government has to bestow attention upon the promotion of labour-intensive industries in rural parts. A great deal of Government initiative and assistance may be necessary for a long time to come in the promotion of these new industries. Here we are actually subsidising the handloom industry in order to prop it up and make it compete profitably with the highly developed textile industry in the cities. These considerations point to the necessity of making a balanced approach to heavy industries on the one side and small-scale industries on the other. Any development programme on the present scale means an immense outlay far in excess of what the country has been used to hitherto. It may not be quite possible for the upper strata of society from whose ranks are drawn the leaders who are charged with these duties of reconstruction to bear the entire burden of finding the requisite financial resources. The country has to be carefully educated to realize its responsibilities and to be ready to share out the enormous burdens incidental to an expanding economy. A great deal of indirect taxation and even a tax on agricultural incomes may become necessary before long. A great propaganda campaign must be carried out to make the nation plan-minded and to strengthen the will of the people to make increasing sacrifices for the good of all.

For real progress in both sectors, that of heavy industry and that of agriculture, a reorganization in the political field becomes inevitable. Local autonomy at one end and highly centralized direction at the other are both essential, and to define their respective spheres and mutual relations is a delicate task demanding circumspection as well as careful judgment. While the accent is placed on the struggle for a better standard of living, all steps showing a tendency to disrupt and disunite the nation must be avoided, as well as policies tending to the creation of international complications. There is a universal consensus

of opinion that without a determined and all embracing utilization of domestic resources, human and material, bid for foreign assistance will be merely a fruitless and desperate gamble. A young nation that grapples with its own difficulties in a resolute spirit, while still preserving democratic forms, may be assured of the goodwill and active assistance of her more favourably placed neighbours. Any let-up in their efforts to improve their position or any disposition on their part to pursue dubious adventures will forfeit for them this international sympathy. Nobody will be particularly anxious to channel aid on a generous scale if they are not assured that good results will follow both for themselves and for the nations concerned.

We all realize that our foreign policy has been taking us in the right direction in recent years. Military commitments of any sort appear to be thoroughly incompatible with attempts to bring about genuine and full scale economic revolution. Among Asian countries only China and India seem to be making rapid headway in economic development, the former with the backing of U.S.S.R., and India with the backing of the Western nations as well as of U.S.S.R. If this is not a real triumph for Indian diplomacy, we wonder what else is.

Let us now turn for a moment to the subject of co-operative farming that is so much, talked about at the present time. The opinion is freely expressed in some quarters that co-operative farming is at best only a camouflage for state farming. In the first place it is going to throw out of employment a large number of workers, men and women, who are crowded on land, and are content with ridiculously low wages for their day-to-day labour. The employment situation in the countryside with the so-called co-operative farming will become rather grim, though new methods of cultivation and the new drive put into it may result in increased production of food. As between the two evils of low production with more

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employment and more production with less employment an intelligent choice should fall upon the latter. Co-operative farming as it is envisaged at present may appear to be an impossible proposition. An everybody's affair is nobody's affair. Each man will think that it is the other fellow's job, and each will neglect his own share of it. Wherever it has been tried out on this basis it has completely failed. So we have to consider the possibility of state-farming with all its difficulties and complexities to replace the present system. People raise their hands in horror at the thought of the whole countryside being turned into a bee-hive of activity as in China. But there even after the state has taken over the responsibility for food production, we find that labour is crowded on land, hundred people doing the work of twenty or thirty. The surplus labour in the rural areas has to be absorbed in urban industries, and for this a rapid industrialization of the country is a necessary precondition. Would it not be wise for the state to buy up the lands from some of the larger landowners or even from the smaller ones for whom more remunerative alternative jobs can be found in the new industries that are being started all over the country, and to turn the lands so acquired into model farms run on the most up-to-date lines? Or at least the lands that are to be brought under cultivation as a result of the new irrigation projects should be taken over by the State and worked with the sole aim of increasing production and setting an example to other cultivators to copy. It has been said that a ceiling placed upon landholdings should be logically followed up by a ceiling on urban property like houses and factories. In industry also a ceiling should be placed on the number of shares that could be held by a single individual so that the principle of co-operation will be introduced in that sector also. Some writers advocate not only decentralization of industrial and agricultural effort but also a

measure of self-government in these fields. What we mean is that public bodies like municipalities and district boards as well as large temples and universities should be encouraged to become landowners and to conduct agricultural operations on the most efficient lines. Co-operative agricultural estates can also be started in which all sections of people can invest some of their savings and these estates can be run by a mixed body of shareholders, executives and labour. The agricultural co-operative must have their own marketing and technical organizations likewise under the direction of a mixed body of shareholders, officers and labour. This is a better approach to the whole problem than the state ownership or syndicalism as once favoured so much in France. Really when there is a general rise in the standard of living a new class will come into existence who are both workers and owners. The notion of property is so ingrained in human nature that it is very difficult to eradicate it completely, nor is it desirable, as its elimination would mean the killing of initiative and the disappearance of any truly operative incentive.

There is universal agreement on one point, and that is that vast accumulations of wealth should not be allowed to be concentrated in the hands of a few people. Even in the U.S.A., when the economy becomes more mature and there is no more scope for expansion of industry and agriculture a similar tendency to restrict private incomes will assert itself. In backward and poor countries like India this tendency will manifest itself much sooner, and it will be rather difficult to control the tide of popular opinion favouring it. The working of democratic institutions themselves would inevitably hasten the process. For example if the Congress Party in the country did not itself come out with the blueprint for a socialist pattern, they would have lost ground to the Communists, and this result would have come about by a strictly

democratic process by the suffrage of the people themselves.

Now it will be profitable to revert for a moment to the general complaint that any such enormous increase of the power of the state would lead to the loss of the people's liberties. This evil can be warded off quite satisfactorily by a greater respect for the rule of law generally. A second way of dealing with the menace of a concentration of economic power in the hands of the state or of private individuals is to promote the formation of companies in which a fixed number of the shares will be held by the state and by individual shareholders. Already the Government have set up several corporations of this type. Even the wealthier sections of the community can be allowed without much danger to take up shares in many concerns though they may not have more than a fixed number of shares in each concern. A more sensible or practical programme for evening out and distributing economic power than the one that has been considered above is not easy to formulate.

Perhaps the reason why the attachment of the peasant to the land in backward areas of the world is made so much of is that he has not been taught to think in any other terms than of land to find the wherewithal for his existence. Industrialization itself would gradually wean those who are working on the land from their land fixation. The spreading out of industrial units would largely do away with the problems of industrial slums and all the other attendant evils that go with the system.

The moral of all this is that no attempt to effect equitable distribution of incomes would succeed without a determined effort to increase production. *The policy of the state should be directed to these two ends; to increase production by the most efficient methods possible, and by the strictest rationalization, even at the expense of causing a certain amount of unemployment, and to bring about increased*

employment by starting new industries with the co-operation of the private sector. If necessary, we must work out a scheme of unemployment insurance and old age pension by revising the tax structure drastically. Without offering adequate incentives to managerial and technical personnel, it would be practically impossible to industrialize rapidly or effectively. All that could be done in the direction of more equitable distribution of incomes is to put additional burdens upon the sector of unearned incomes and inheritance. This last remedy would serve to make a good contribution to the socialist pattern so much talked about without taking away the incentives from those who are willing and able to put their best into the tasks of production. As we have seen already there is a good case for state intervention in the agricultural economy of underdeveloped and overpopulated nations. If the state really believes that with its better organization and better know-how it could really boost up agricultural production, it should take up the work in hand immediately. The country simply cannot wait to educate the masses by slow and gradual means, when it is expected that the population will double itself within the next quarter of a century. At the same time people have a right to be convinced that state undertakings in other matters have proved both efficient and advantageous from the point of view of the public. The question is whether well-paid and contented workers and governmental staff operating on a profit-sharing basis will evince the same amount of enthusiasm, initiative and skill as entrepreneurs anticipating huge profits for themselves. There will be no danger to democratic traditions in these arrangements if the principle of decentralization and a measure of self-government as set forth previously are introduced in every sector of industry. In management we would rather recommend that a slightly preponderant share should vest with the workers and shareholders than with the state; for in that case

the state with, say, forty per cent interest in the undertaking will be able to exercise a large measure of control and supervision over the whole area of the operations of the particular concern, while affording a chance to the majority of shareholders to check any tendency on the part of the state to adopt totalitarian policies or methods. Recruitment of personnel will always be in the hands of a statutory public body entirely independent of the state executive. Both the civil service and the newly created technical service should enjoy certain justiciable rights and privileges guaranteed by statute and safeguarded by the higher judiciary. These measures will prevent any abuse of authority, protect the rights of individuals and permit an extension of the powers of the state with a check upon any irresponsible exercise of those powers. Democratic planning must take account of all these factors and all these safeguards.

One proposal that has been recently made by an eminent authority is worth serious consideration. He has advocated the setting up of a supreme economic council composed of a large proportion of experts and public men with a sprinkling of the higher state officials to work out plans and implement them in association with the higher executive of the state. Even at present everything is being done in fine democratic style, due publicity being given to the audit reports and reports of parliamentary commissions pointing out the errors and shortcomings of the various departments of the state. This practice should not only continue, but an independent body should also be created to see to it that the recommendations of the Commissions are carried out and the defects pointed out properly rectified. In a democracy like ours which is working more or less as a one party system for reasons that are obvious the above precautions become most important. The habit of denouncing criticism from the press or

from private bodies as obstructionist or unpatriotic or interested should cease, and less insistence should be placed on the dubious claim that the government in power carries the opinion of the masses. It is futile to expect that the masses in their present state of illiteracy can either properly give or withhold consent from the policies of the state, and this attitude of paternity on the part of the party in power should be given up in the interests of healthy democratic functioning. Otherwise there is a clear danger of the country heading for some kind of totalitarianism in the not too distant future.

OUR JUNE ISSUE

- *RAJAJI* writes a stimulating article "WHAT IS WANTED"
- *KASHYAPA'S* Sketch of PRIME MINISTER NEHRU
- *POTHAN JOSEPH*
- and
- *M. RUTHNASWAMY* write again

WHY WOMEN SMOKE

(Contributed)

"There is no use condemning", said my hostess, answering my diatribe, "You must try to understand why women smoke." If the question were suddenly asked most men would, I believe, reply that women smoked for the same reason as themselves. And until the psychology of the matter was explained to me a few days ago in the cosy corner of a Ladies Club by a feminine votary of the weed, I never suspected that the appeal of the alluring cigarette differed according to the sex of the smoker!

A sedative

"Of course," I protested, "we all know that women have worked as hard as any man and that they're as fagged and nervy as we are. They need a sedative—as we do—but for goodness' sake let it be change of air or anything you like—but tobacco."

Her clear grey eyes hardened. "In a moment," she retorted, "You'll be talking about your illusions."

"Well," I admitted, "I can't for the life of me see why, having surpassed all our virtues, women should try to imitate our vices."

The Truth

"That," continued my hostess, "is one of those phrases which sound well, but the truth is not in it. Virtue and vice are not the prerogatives of either sex. They are human qualities. Nor is it true, as you said just now, that the tired woman needs a sedative. Tobacco may

be a sedative to a man, but to nine women out of ten it is a stimulant. They light a cigarette in the same spirit as a man orders a whisky and soda—to induce optimism, that rosy faith in the future which makes life worth living."

"All the same," I added, "I could never fall in love with a woman who smelt of smoke. Fancy pressing a tiny hand that was stained with tobacco! Can you imagine anything more disenchanting?"

"Why should you?", she asked. "There are lots of women who don't smoke. There are still, I believe, some women who leave the dinner table before the meal is over and sail off into a smokeless drawing room to spend a bored half-hour whilst the male guests finish their cigars. But the type is nearly extinct: so, if you want a wife of *that sort*, you'd better make haste."

More companionable

"Oh, you needn't tell me there are lots of men who like to see women smoke. They think it makes them more companionable—less ideal."

Her eyes smiled again as she blew a fairy ring of smoke into the frosty air. How exquisitely she did it, with a delicate feminine grace! "If all women smoked like that I might—I don't say I should—but I might—"

"Not less ideal," she corrected in a silvery voice as she took another cigarette from the case I voluntarily offered, "but more real!"

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS— A RETROSPECT

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

In a famous letter to the French Ambassador in 1831, Raja Ram Mohan Roy stated the case for the establishment of a permanent body which could deal with the boundaries and limits of countries in an attempt to establish "profound peace and friendly feelings." It is remarkable, that he should have visualized the possibility of a world organization which could exercise an ameliorating influence on nations faced with disputes. The political reflections of this great Indian anticipated the ideas of the League of Nations and the United Nations by many decades. And Tilak had foreseen the value of the League of Nations in maintaining World Peace. In a celebrated pamphlet entitled "Self-Determination for India," which was sent to President Wilson in 1918, Lokamanya Tilak stated that the "League of Nations could accomplish the greatest and most desirable of its work." He however warned that the ideals of the League of Nations would not be fulfilled until the principle of Self-Determination was applied to countries which were not free then. This was the approach which conditioned the Government of India, when it began to formulate its foreign policy after India achieved Independence.

The philosophy of the Indian attitude towards the United Nations was summed up by Dr. Radhakrishnan in the following words—The democratic method appeals to the Indian mind with its long traditions of religion, non-violence and individual freedom. We believe that it is possible for us to work amicably with those from whom we may differ fundamentally in outlook and method.

The United Nations is intended to help us to live in harmony with nations whose religion, politics and ways of thought are quite different from our own. This is possible because we have a common humanity and interests. The need for understanding and tolerance is fundamental. We rejoice that there is an institution like the United Nations, for it is the symbol and hope of the new world, of the light dawning beyond the clouds, clouds piled up by our past patterns of behaviour, past ways of speaking, judging and acting, which do not answer to the deep desire of the peoples of the world for peace and progress. We owe it to ourselves to find out, why the light does not spread and disperse the darkness, why the sky is clouded by fear and suspicion, hate and bitterness.' Prime Minister Nehru enunciated India's policy when he remarked that the Indian attitude would be that of "wholehearted co-operation and unreserved allegiance, in both spirit and letter, to the charter governing it. To that end India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play the role in its councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitled her."

In order to get a clear picture of India's participation in the United Nations, it is necessary to understand her approach to several problems—India's association with past agencies of the United Nations, the problems of lessening tension in several danger spots of the World under the auspices of the United Nations, disarmament and the international control of atomic energy, the question of the "Treatment of the people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa" and the Kashmir

issue, and the Indian response to the nature of technical and financial aid channelled through the United Nations.

India's membership of such specialized agencies like the International Labour Organization was of great significance even during the British regime as a member of the erstwhile League of Nations since she had often taken an independent stand on most problems connected with the labour economics of underdeveloped countries. Indeed it is with pride, we recall that Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, along with Gilbert Murray, Albert Einstein and Madame Curie were members of the international committee for cultural co-operation set up by the League of Nations even when India was a British possession. It is the tradition of experience which enabled Free India to actively associate herself with agencies such as the F.A.O. the UNESCO, WHO and other specialized agencies from their inception.

The problem of maintaining peace has always engaged the attention of India. Perhaps, the most effective step in this direction has been India's contribution to the solution of the problem of the Korean War. And India's election as Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission was at once a tribute to her high sense of mission and a convincing proof of the high esteem in which she was held by the different blocs which comprise the United Nations. India is also making persistent efforts to solve the difficult problems of disarmament and the international control of atomic energy. And regarding the question of Red China's admission as a member of the United Nations, it is the contention of the Indian Government that the Government of the People's Republic of China alone can represent China since she controls the country.

India's stand on the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa is primarily a moral issue. In the final analysis, it is an appeal to the United Nations as "the highest

tribunal of human conscience." In this connection, it is well to remember that a United Nations Commission report contained a ringing declaration "that the peoples of the World were inspired by a profound conviction that whatever machinery was desired to ensure collective security or international co-operation, its fundamental and ultimate goal had to be the dignity of man, if it was to maintain peace, function effectively and answer the hopes of mankind." Another issue which concerns India vitally is the Kashmir dispute. India's faith in an international organization like the United Nations as an arbitrator in international disputes is reflected in the fact that she referred this dispute to the United Nations Security Council immediately after the State of Jammu and Kashmir was attacked by tribesmen.

Today, India's main internal problem is to raise the standard of living of her people. In her epic battle against poverty India is mainly concerned with the rapid industrialization of the country. Any aid, financial and technical that she receives, acts as a catalyst in accelerating the pace of India's economic growth. United Nations aid is received by India through several agencies like the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) as well as through well co-ordinated programmes of technical assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies like the FAO and WHO. The United Nations General Assembly helped in the formation of the EPTA or the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. While the considerable aid so far given has shown its "proven effectiveness," it is reasonable to expect more help from the SUNFED or the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, an organization in the making to "provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated, technical, economic and social development."

Any retrospective assessment of India's association with the United Nations during the

last few years is possible, only if we bear in mind the ideals of the United Nations as well as the objectives of India in the common goal of achieving Peace. The preamble of the United Nations charter reads : We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice during our lifetime has, brought untold sorrow to mankind and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and the worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." Therefore, the four purposes of the United Nations are to maintain world peace, to promote friendly ties between nations, to co-operate in solving, economic, social and cultural problems and finally to be a channel for the fulfilment of these ideals. It is India's view, however, that all the aspirations raised by the United Nations have not been fully satisfied. The contradictions of the United Nations are only too apparent. While the United Nations General Assembly can be likened to the state of the "Parliament of Man" one is led to the regrettable conclusion that delegates of different countries sacrifice the ideals of humanity on the altars of their respective National Governments. Again the decision taken by the United Nations are not of mandatory significance since the United Nations lacks a permanent military force to back its decisions. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to state that it is a kind of international advisory council to member States. The greatest self-contradiction facing the United Nations is that in spite of its democratic character, the majority vote can be nullified by the Veto Principle, which empowers a great power to annul the decisions of the majority. Another

difficulty arises out of the fact that Latin American and Arab States have one-half of all the votes of the United Nations, even though they constitute a fraction of the total world population. There can be no doubt that problems such as the abolition of the Veto power in the United Nations as well as the equalization of the great and small powers of the United Nations require our most urgent attention. As Prime Minister Nehru observed : "The high hopes with which the United Nations Organization was started may not have been fulfilled. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the mere fact of its existence has saved us from many dangers and conflicts. Also there is no doubt that in the world of today it is the only hope of finding a way for peaceful co-operation among nations. If the United Nations ceases to be or if it radically changes its position and nature, then there is nothing left which would inspire hope for the future. The whole conception of a one World, however distant that be, involves an organization like the United Nations." Indeed, the United Nations and its specialized agencies are far from perfect or being as effective as they might well be. But really there is no alternative to them, unless it be total annihilation.

The future of the United Nations is entwined with the forces of the mid-twentieth century. It is an age of the Common Man, of a new social dynamism. The World is on the march. India's role in the United Nations to align herself with those positive forces such as human dignity, economic welfare in a democratic setting and the peaceful approach to disputes between nations in order to make an effective contribution to peace. Professor Hans Kohn, the celebrated historian hopes for a fruitful application of the United Nations to an international community in which "the West no longer, plays, the exclusive dominant role but still can act as the guide on the road to the gradual fulfilment of what Cicero called

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QUEST

BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Irony sits by the glow of our wounds and scars
The old voluminous book of life, pages on
pages
Twining in silence uncanny, deep into man's
Existence and being bringing the rest of the
ages.

And, the secret of Irony's search lies precisely
in letting

Man's mind not know or guess it is being
examined

Alas ! that his richest remembrance should
be a forgetting,

That his being, god-harvested, should seem
so enfamined.

Man fondly imagines that he is the seeker, the
soul

Looking for something, aching through silence
and speech

Intermittently, for what inexplicable goal

Which, seeming to reach, recedes and with-
draws from his reach.

Nay ! man is no seeker. Nobody can seek
while thought

Conjures a vision of reaching somewhere, some
day.

Only the Abstract seeks ; all else is the sought,
Only the Abstract journeys : all else is the way.

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humanitas." In the eloquent words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, "the new world of which the United Nations is a symbol may seem to be a dream but it is better than the nightmare world in which we live. To make this dream a reality, we should do our utmost, without being deterred by disappointments. We do

not always undertake things in the hope of succeeding. It is better to 'fail in a right cause that will ultimately triumph than succeed in a wrong cause that will ultimately fail.' Truth alone triumphs, not untruth. *Satyam eva Jayate, nanratam.*

leaves, twigs, and undergrowth will, if they do not altogether prevent floods at least mitigate their violence.

Not only against such extraordinary happenings as floods but against the drought produced by dried up tanks, springs, small streams, the judicious planting of trees would be a safeguard. It is the experience of forest officers and district officials dealing with forests for 100 years in this State that springs are better supplied and that streams and rivers are less subject to sudden floods and have a more even and continued flow of water if their catchment area is stocked with forest than if it is bare. Tanks which are fed from springs and streams also benefit from this tree-plantation at the source. But on tanks with a small catchment area which are fed only by the surface drainage coming direct from that area the effect is different, the tanks of the latter description would store the largest proportion of the waters coming from the catchment area if that area were smothered and planted over and made impermeable to the rain which flows from it; in such cases a hard-baked surface of the catchment area without any vegetation is more effective. But trees on the fringe of tanks or on the banks of streams and rivers and on the tops and sides of hills surrounding them are a well-known insurance against drought.

That is the teaching of forests in India as well as all over the world. One of the surprisingly pleasant impressions of my tours of Spain and Italy in 1957 was the large scale planting on the hill sides and waste places that has been going on for some time in these countries whose economic problems and difficulties are similar to our own. It is for Governments in India to go and do likewise. First of all they must give afforestation and tree planting top priority—among the four or five things to be done first of all, together with the building of village roads, rural housing, abrogation or amendment of laws and customs

that are obstacles to economic progress, primary and technical education. No doubt we have plans in regard to forests and forest development. But these plans must be broken up into programmes for it is programmes that make plans real. We must have annual programmes of so much done on such and such an item of forest development with so much money allotted for each item.

At the rate at which forest development has gone on so far which works up to about 23,700 acres per year it will take about 100 years to achieve the National Forest Policy so far as the Madras State is concerned. We should not expect the Government to achieve the impossible. But the National Policy should be realized within at least a generation. To that end not 25,000 acres a year but 250,000 acres a year afforested and planted with trees ought to be the programme of Government. And first things must come first. Afforestation must first be put through on the Ghats and the Nilgiris and the Palnis especially at the sources of our rivers—this at the rate of 25,000 acres a year, increasing the density of our forests which would build tree clouds that would precipitate more rain than all these new fangled rain-making experiments. An expert writing on forests and water says that 7/9 of rain is supplied by land evaporation. Hills, mountains covered with forests are the great water-gatherers. Tree planting along the banks of rivers, streams and near the springs of wells at the rate of 50,000 acres a year is called for. Low-lying hills now being eroded must be covered with tree-planting at the rate of 50,000 acres a year. If grass were grown in between the trees they would also provide grass fodder for cattle as in the forests of Rajasthan. Hedges round fields to protect them against wind and sand should be encouraged. Casuarina plantations must be made all along the coast at the rate of 50,000 acres per year to cover in about 6 years 320,000 acres of the 500 miles of sea-coast still left to us. This is urgently necessary

to save the people the manure that is now being used as fuel. To earn useful foreign exchange not 42,500 acres of cashew cultivation for the whole plan period of 5 years as is the Government programme but 50,000 acres per year would be desirable. Swamps and marshy land should also be surveyed and planted with trees as well as the 25,000 miles of roads in the State.

Such a generous programme of afforestation and tree-planting is what the State needs. The starting of such a programme would be a

fitting celebration of the centenary of the formation of a Forest Department in Madras. Similar programmes are required for the whole of India. In view of the high stakes involved—the prevention of drought, the control of floods, the stoppage of erosion, such extensive forest programmes costing not 25 crores as the Planning Commission contemplates with 25 crores more for soil conservation for the Five Year Plan period, but 25 crores per year is what the forest and soil conservation needs of India require.

FORESTS FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY

BY

M. RUTHNASWAMY M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

Speaking at the recent Madras Forest Department Centenary celebrations spokesmen of the Madras Government from the Governor down to Ministers and officials of the Department spoke of the importance of Forests in the economy of India. The Minister for Forests (that is not the only subject in his portfolio) spoke of the work down since Independence for and on behalf of forests in the Madras State. He spoke of the Vanamahotsa movement, of the rehabilitation of the whilom Panchayat Forests and Zemindari Forests, of the main afforestation works in hand, of the development of fodder and pasture resources, of the improvement of forest extractive industries. But one wishes he had given figures in regard to each of these developments and improvements in forest administration and exploitation. For, as Lord Kelvin, the famous physicist said, nobody can be sure of anything in the world of matter till it is expressed in figures.

We find that in Madras State these figures are available in Government publications. There we are told that 6,564 sq. miles of Reserved Forests have to be increased to 10,000 sq. miles to make forests at least 33-1/3 % of the total land area as laid down by the National Forest Policy, and therefore there are 3,500 sq. miles to convert into Reserved Forests. That makes 2,240,000 acres to be covered with reserved forests and tree plantations. So far, i.e., in the past 3 years of the Second Five-Year Plan period according to a report issued by the Government (through its Director of Publicity).

26,333 acres in plains } were afforested.
2,901 acres of low area }
1,708 acres were planted with casuarinas.

2,322 acres were planted with soft wood species.

9,060 acres with cashew plantations.

750 acres with teak.

100 acres with bamboos.

869 acres with matchwood plantations.

2,759 acres of plantations in eroded areas. making a total of 46,802 acres. That is $\frac{1}{50}$ of the road to be travelled.

Let us see if the rest of India has fared better. According to the Report of the Second Five Year Plan issued by the Planning Commission during the first plan period 1951-1956, vegetation cover was restored on 75,000 acres, soil conservation practices such as contour-bunding, contour trenching, gully plugging, terracing, check damming, training of streams and ravines cover a total area of about 700,000 acres. According to the Pocket Compendium of Indian Statistics issued by the Publication Division of the Government of India (June 1958) out of a total Forest area of 280.388 sq. miles 1,665 sq. miles have been artificially regenerated and afforestation done only to the extent of 88 sq. miles. Even assuming that the whole of the Plan for forest development of the Second Five-Year Plan period will be realized—that is a big assumption for Forests have not been given top-priority and only Rs. 25 crores have been provided for it—only 600,000 acres will have been afforested, only 300,000 acres will have new plantations, of which 100,000 acres will be devoted to industrial plantations like matchwood, blue gum and wattle, only 50,000 acres of pasture land will have been improved. In addition another Rs. 25 crores have been

provided to finance soil conservation measures over a total area of 3 million acres which includes different types of land such as agricultural areas, catchment areas, ravine areas, waste areas and hilly regions.

If something has been done much more remains to be done if our forests and forest policy are to promote the economic progress of the country. The conviction has to become general and profound that forests are primary contributory causes of agricultural prosperity. A great German Economist Roscher says that rural economy and forest economy are twin sisters. In any progressive system of land utilization the proper utilization of forests takes a prominent part. They protect the soil on slopes and hills and they regulate the distribution of the rain water which falls upon the ground and the surface and underground drainage. The foliage breaks the force of the rain which therefore falls upon the ground more gradually and gently, the loss by evaporation is less, decayed leaves, moss, twigs and other matter on the ground in the forest act as a sponge and prevent the rapid down-flow of the water, the soil which is permeated by the roots and is mixed with vegetable mould is loose and facilitates the percolation of water which comes out at a lower elevation in the form of springs, less soil is washed away from the hill-sides and less sand and silt carried down by the rivers.

Why are so many rivers and streams in our State, in fact in the whole of India, beds of sand during most part of the year. It is because they are not protected by rows of trees on either bank all down their course from spring to mouth. In our State the fortunes of two rivers in two neighbouring districts of Madras show how trees can protect rivers. The Tambaraparani river in Tinnevely which, according to a great forest administrator in British days, the German Dr. D. Brandis, from whose Report on Forest Administration in 1885 most of these facts are taken, probably irrigates

a larger area in proportion to the extent of its drainage than any other river in the peninsula has its head-waters protected by a large extent of dense evergreen forests, while the Vaigai in Madura district is most uncertain in its water-supply, although it has a larger catchment area in the hills than the Tambaraparani, a considerable portion of it being bare and without forests. Like the Tambaraparani the large and steady water-supply of the Bhavani river is to some extent due to the large forests which clothe its catchment area. On the other hand the Palar river, beside the fact that the whole water-supply derived from the catchment area in the Kolar district of Mysore is stored in the tanks of the Ramsagar series and only during exceptional flood finds its way into our North Arcot district, its present unsatisfactory water-supply which makes of it a river of sand is due to a great extent to the wholesale destruction of forest and jungle for railway fuel in the Kangundi Zemindari. And we do not see any large plantings of trees on either banks of this unfortunate river.

What forests can do for regulating and controlling floods is a well-known fact of forest history—little known and less applied in India. It is forests which are safe from fire and the ground under which is covered with the remains of grass, twigs and leaves that can perform this function. Dense evergreen forests at the heads of these rivers liable to floods, well protected against fire, can protect the country against the ravages of rivers in floods. There are rivers of sorrow in India, the Kosi and the Brahmaputra which do damage on the large and terrific scale almost every year, but other rivers in floods do appreciable damage all over the country. Among the measures for flood control conceived by the Planning Commission, afforestation (with contour bundings) is only one out of eight such measures. A large programme of afforestation at the heads of these rivers and all along their banks providing especially for that seepage contributed by fallen

THE PROGRESS OF ART IN THE SERVICE OF MAN: MUSIC

BY

C. AMMINI KUTTI M.A.

In the hierarchy of aesthetic developments in the cultural progress of man music seems to have preceded all other arts, dance must have followed in its wake or perhaps the two might have been twin-born, literature and painting could have been only innovations of a later period. This conclusion is warranted by the theories relating to aesthetic productions. The artist's mind in a moment of ecstatic embrace with some aspect of the truth of the universe is filled with an irrepressible joy, and the philanthropic urge in the artist induces him to pour forth the raptures of his heart through some medium so that it may vitalise and regenerate other human hearts. The aesthetic product becomes a piece of music, dance, literature or painting in respective relation to the medium chosen by the artist such as sound, movement of limbs, language or colours. The ancient man in a moment of communion with the enchanting beauty of the world around him or of the ennobling effect of a sentiment of love or devotion must have expressed in his naive simplicity the joy of his heart by singing and dancing like a child. In course of time it could have occurred to him the possibility and need to translate these joys into more systematised and transferable forms so that those feelings cared be at least partially experienced and enjoyed even in the absence of the sources that generate such feelings. The great poet of Kerala popularly known as "G" says that the art of music which is based on the medium of sound and the sense of hearing must have had its origin in some such manner.

The Hindu mythology is full of high philosophical and poetical conceptions regarding the origin and process of music. Gods and

Goddesses are supposed to be its authors and patrons. Goddess Saraswathi who is the patron of art and learning is pictured with a *Vina* in one hand and playing it with another. The very conception of this universe as "*Nada-Brahma*" and its symbolic representation as "Narada with *Vina*" are suggestive of the insight our ancients had into the high potentialities of this art and the regard and reverence that were associated with it. It is said that the Sage Narada with his *Vina* was always wandering over the three worlds setting right the least mistake in the cosmic process. This idea of the Universe working to a set tune of an eternal music is found reflected in the idea of the "Music of the Spheres" which is as old as Plato's time. Shakespeare extends the same idea to human souls and says :

"Such harmony is in immortal souls,

But whilst this muddy vesture of decay

Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

In the Gopi-Krishna ideal of the Hindus, Krishna is the infinite soul that pervades the Universe and the Gopis are the innumerable finite souls that inhabit it ; and the music of the flute which is the symbol of Divine Love assembles into the Infinite the whole finite universe after purging it of all its material limitations and imperfections. The overpowering influence of music even on inanimate objects is illustrated in the Greek legend of Orpheus and his Lyre. Thus we see that while in the material progress of man time and distance have brought about difference and division, in spiritual ideas there always have been such convergence and conciliation which reveal the unity and oneness of all human souls.

Music is one of the branches of human knowledge that has greatly illustrated this underlying unity in the thought of man all over the world and as such it occupies an exalted position in the cultural progress of man.

In India wherever we go we find music interwoven with life and playing its part in the culture and everyday life of man. The cartman in his lonely journey, the boatman on the backwater, the women at the harvest in the fields, the coolies pulling along a heavy load, the mother putting the baby to sleep and the children at their prayers or at play have songs to suit the purpose of their action and to quicken the face of their work. Any festivity in India is usually accompanied by some musical performance and for religious ceremonies its application is universal. Music has also made encroachments into the dramatic art and the film art of India is being almost deluged by it. The reason for this can be found in the overwhelming influence that music has been wielding over both the spiritual as well as the physical activities of Indian life.

It is said of music that it is the most spiritual of all arts. Of Indian music it may be said that it is closely associated with the religious principles and philosophic ideas of the country. The temple and the stage used to be the main seats of music till the time of Akbar when chamber music was introduced. The songs are mainly devotional hymns and where the sentiment of love is described it is deprived of its depraving effect and is exalted to the status of Divine Love. As such it has the quality of lifting man to a world of pure sentiment, to a world of spirit. Though there are differences between the music of the south and that of the north of India regarding detail and form, both systems of music have drawn for their ideas mainly and literally from the treasure-house of Indian mythology and have been vitalised by the atmosphere of mystical devotion and of submission to the Divine Will which is found

in all religious hearts. From the time of the Sama Veda which probably goes back to the *Indo-Iranian age* down to the present day if we follow the history of the music of India we shall find that in the North as well as in the South the progress of this art has been almost invariably connected with the revival of the Bhakti cult. Religious leaders tried to popularise their movements by means of songs composed for the purpose. This resulted in the development of a great deal of musical activity and in the spread of musical education. Jayadeva, the lyrical songster and composer of *Gita Govinda* which is named by Sir Edwin Arnold as *The Indian Song of Songs*, Sangadiva, who is said to be the greatest of ancient musical authorities, the heroic Mira Bai, Tulasi Das, the author of Hindi Ramayana, Sri Tyagaraja, the great poet and singer, Swathi Tirunal who composed songs in six languages, Subramania Bharati, the patriot and the humanist and Rabindranath Tagore, the illustrious author of the Indian National Anthem are only some of the many luminaries who have lit the artistic firmament of India along the passage of history. The predominant characteristic of all their songs is devotion in the form of ardent adoration. Considered from this point India has a rich heritage of music which is unrivalled in its capacity to transport the human soul into the mystic regions beyond.

But times have changed. The Radio has helped to bring to the knowledge of the common man the different systems of music that are current in India and also the western music. Very often it is mediocre music that attracts and produces intoxication in him. Classical music has been the target of criticism of many music loving people and in their despair in not being able to understand it they have even gone to the extent of condemning it as inferior art and as no art at all. Today man is forcing art on whose wings he once took delight to make flights into the

unknown regions beyond, to come down and mingle with the reality of everyday life. Of all the arts in India it is music that has shown the greatest reluctance to cater to this call. It is true that the spirit of nationalism has permeated the songs of some of the poets of this country like Bharati and Tagore. But on the whole Indian music has so far steadfastly clung on to tradition unable to accommodate itself to the new ideals and feelings of the age. It is Karnatic music that shows more the signs of rigidity than Hindustani music which may be owing to the careful systematisation to which it has been subjected. Spontaneity is an essential quality of the musical art. The music that lacks this quality is unable to penetrate deep into the human heart. This is a truth that is universally recognised. Tan Sen, the famous court musician of Akbar's time when asked by Akbar why he could not sing like his master Haridas Swami, is said to have replied, "I have to sing whenever my superior commands; but he only sings in obedience to his inner voice." In Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe" which is based on the life of Beethoven, the illustrious musician of Europe, Gottfried the uncle tells young Jean Christophe, "One sings when one wants to sing, where one has to sing, one must not sing for the fun of it." Perhaps the absence of spontaneity may account for the Jarring effect that one comes across in many of the musical concerts of today which are held as a matter of business. In the world of today Indian music has to advance and become the vehicle for the expression of the high ideals and feelings of modern India which is striving for world peace and world brotherhood. It has to play its part in the education of the people of India and if it is to take its proper place as an elevating influence on the community or the nation it has to be thrown open to far greater numbers than at present.

This problem has attracted the attention of many authorities on the art. Measures are being taken to spread musical education, for

some sort of musical education is absolutely necessary for people to appreciate the classical music of India and also of the West. The music of the West is markedly different from the music of India. Technical differences apart like that of Indian music being melodical and Western music being harmonical, the former being analytical in method and the latter being synthetic, and the one being listened for the tune and the other for the tone, the deeper difference between the two systems of music may be summed up in the following words of Tagore: "It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion, than with experience in an everyday sense. For us music has above all a transcendental significance. It disengages the spiritual from the happenings of life, it sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond. The work by day is like European music; a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music; one pure, deep and tender *raga*. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite. We men of India live in the realm of night; we are overpowered with the sense of the One and the Infinite. Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the Universe, while European music leads us a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy."

Nevertheless the musical artists of our day have been able to surmount the difficulties and are able to appreciate the best in the music of the East as well as of the West. In the history of Europe also music was developed sometime for religious purposes. But it has moved forward and organized itself under able hands

like Bach and Beethoven as the medium for the expression of the aims and aspirations of a progressive age. Indian music also has to strive forward to fulfil its mission of establishing co-operation and comradeship between man and man by being the true vehicle for the expression of the mind of modern India. The music conferences and the music academies are some of the methods employed for the integration of Indian music and for the development of a living musical culture which would help to enrich the lives of all classes in the Society. In the wisdom of India these institutions may also extend their unifying influence on to the musical culture of the West also. For music is a great unifying factor in the cultural life of man. Tolstoy says while speaking of the effect

of art as the loving union of man with man "Oftenest of all, music unites them all as by an electric flash, and in place of their former isolation or even enmity, they are conscious of union and mutual love. Each is glad that another feels what he feels; glad of the communion established not only between him and all present, but also with all now living who will yet share the impression; and more than that he feels the mysterious gladness of a Communion which, reaching beyond the grave, unites us with all men of the past who have been moved by the same feelings and with all men of the future who will yet be touched by them." Yes; it is in music and in music alone of all arts that man realises that joy of the self-vanishing into sovereign peace of God.

Nehru, and it is difficult not to recognise and reward loyalty in politics.

As a public speaker, Krishna Menon will long be remembered. His marathon address at the United Nations by itself is sufficient to stamp him an orator of world class. His speeches are noted more for the fluent succession of words conveying a not-very-extraordinary idea, rather than for the careful employment of the *mot-juste*. Menon has made speeches, rather than coined phrases. The task of explaining India's foreign policy (let alone helping to make it) is neither an easy nor an enviable one. And Menon has been able to do it better than anyone else. Menon was at one time "the most hated man in the United Nations", for saying and doing just what his leader wanted him to do. Small wonder that Nehru values so capable and willing a helper, or, is it scape-goat?

I cannot conclude without sharing an analogy that has always suggested itself to my mind, when thinking of Nehru, Menon and India's foreign policy. The picture of the Old Man, his son and the Ass comes to mind. The way in which India's foreign policy keeps moving, ('to please everybody') is very much like the diverse attitudes imposed upon the ass by the

old man and his son. Displeasing nobody is the same as trying to please everyone. India has never gone out of the way to offend any foreign power, and has therefore never really pleased any other. In the story, the result was tragic. But today the Indian formula of "panchshila" despite its offering an easy target for witticisms, seems to be working gloriously. Aesop should re-write the fable. Menon would have contributed fifty per cent for the change.

Like all socialists who are keen on socialism, Menon has often been accused of being a communist. This is certainly untrue. But the difficulty arises because most Socialists—particularly the Indian variety—do not really know the difference between Communism and Socialism. Their experiments in Socialism are on the dangerous border. They might still come through. Here again Menon will share with Nehru much of the credit for the achievement. For is not Krishna Menon the sole sincere Socialist in the Cabinet, with absolutely no vested interests to pander to?

Will Menon be India's next Prime Minister? I do not think so. He is so different from the rest of the Congress crowd, that they won't stand him for a moment. But he is even today India's most *Prime Minister*!

SUPPRESSED TALENTS IN SOUTH INDIAN BRIDGE

BY

A. V. MATHEW

[Mr. Mathew is the Captain of the 'Vepery Club' who were the finalists in all the recent Duplicate knock-out Bridge Tournaments in the Madras City—Ed.].

"Is the standard of the game of contract bridge in Madras inferior to the other States in India?" was a query posed to me by a bridge fan after going through the last annual report of the South Indian Bridge Association wherein it was creditably (of course, discredibly) stated that in the All-India Inter-State league championship held at Calcutta in January 1958 "Madras was leading in several sessions" although they were not competent enough to win any of the matches. The other States that participated in this novel championship were Bombay, West Bengal and Andhra. I could not resist retorting "definitely not" but did not then like to go deeper into the "whys" of the question in the face of the league results published.

Of all the very many variations in card games, bridge is perhaps the most deared by the intelligentsia of every card club and equally dreaded by the dull-headed drowsy gambler who lacks the skill to perform coups that often give the expert more thrill than winning a five-figure prize in a crossword competition or even witnessing a gaudy guy tumbling topsy-turvy treading on the slippery surface of a plantain peel. With the advancement in scientific bidding and the thrill and excitement brought about by their psychic counterparts through chaos and confusion, bidding has come to occupy an important place in the game and auction bridge, in which no importance is attached to bidding has literally abdicated in favour of contract bridge. Auction bridge is now practically extinct and we hardly find

any bridge player preferring auction to contract unless it is to cover up his ignorance of scientific bidding.

Rummy has lately invaded almost all the card clubs; and engaged bridge tables are now a rare sight. Perhaps, one particular attraction towards rummy is that you have no barking partner to pounce upon you as in bridge for any mistakes and at times coups that are beyond his intelligence to understand. You may only have to account to your partner at home for the shortage in your purse and even a violent patting with the broomstick is often more tolerable so long as it takes place within the house unnoticed by neighbours! When I hear heated arguments on a bridge table, I often recollect the theory of a successful card player of a decade ago that in bridge as in any other card game, he who shouts loudest is considered the authority however foolish his arguments might be. Admitting one's own mistakes is considered an attribute of the coward and bridge players often resort to the only other method of hurling at each other scathing remarks and criticisms of the superlative degree. One often forgets that ridiculing criticisms and out-of-temper arguments will only remind his partner of the "Bennett Murder Case" in Kansas City (U.S.A.) where in the year 1931 a charming young lady chased her husband to the bathroom and shot him dead for being found guilty of gross over-bidding. Alarmed at this unhappy experience, your partner may flee beyond the bathroom to the far-off corner to seek asylum with his

V. K. KRISHNA MENON

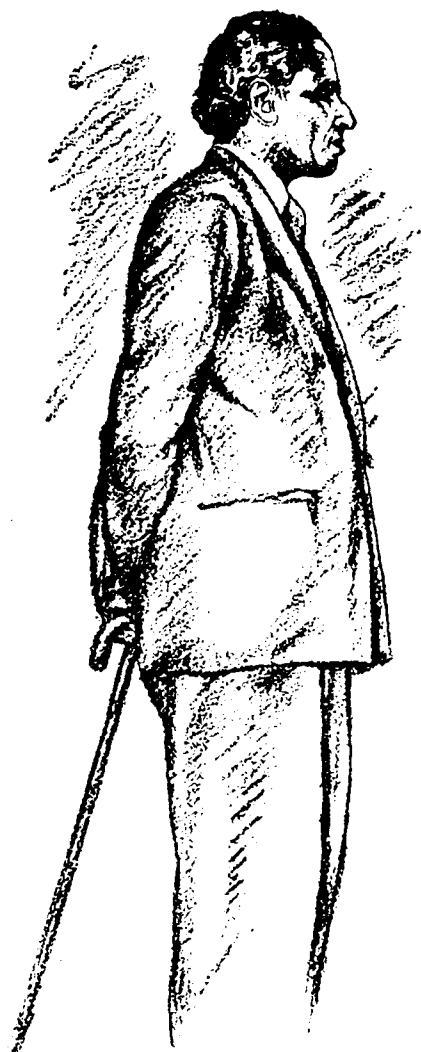
BY

KASHYAPA

"He often gave the Prime Minister wrong advice"—was the verdict of the late Maulana Azad on his colleague Krishna Menon. Though apparently intended in no complimentary vein, this remark to the *cognoscenti* in Indian politics is the highest tribute possible to bestow on any Indian. Despite his daily professions of democracy as a pattern of government, it is common knowledge that the Prime Minister is no great committee man prone to listen with feigned interest to suggestions and ideas from colleagues; on the contrary one has heard of his patience in Cabinet meetings even. I cannot blame the Pandit either, for surrounded as he is by mental mediocres on the one side and silly sycophants on the other, he cannot honestly turn to anyone for a really profitable idea. In this context, Krishna Menon emerges as a solitary figure who is credited by one of the Prime Minister's oldest companions, with the position of an adviser to the Chief. That Menon is supposed to have given wrong advice is quite a secondary matter. In a sub-continent of so many millions, he at least can go up to the Prime Minister's ear and say a few words—which are listened to and possibly acted upon. The rightness or wrongness of the advice is a matter of opinion—but that Krishna Menon *can* and usually does advise the Premier is a hard question of fact and the finding is in his favour.

The measure of Menon's hold on the Premier is the measure of opposition to him in Parliament and outside. Scandals about deals piloted by him, criticisms about important speeches made by him, accusations of favouritism in

the department in his care, whispered calumny about his chequered career in the past, have all grazed past him with no visible scar. He might as well have been the Statue of liberty weathering many a storm and coming out of it all the brighter and even cleaner. To some of us with a good memory for public affairs, the Jeep Scandal



is still green. Menon's explanation for the affair would not have convinced the most sympathetic of juries. But it had no repercussions on his political ascendancy. Quite the opposite, in fact. I believe the real reason (apart from Nehru's protecting hand) for Menon's survival is his personal cleanliness. He might have committed the grossest errors of judgment, he might have even waived a crucial point for a friend, he might have taken a decision resulting in a loss of several lakhs of rupees, but Menon's worst enemy cannot say that a copper pie slipped into Menon's hands. This factor always decided a point in his favour. It is one thing to be *obliging*; it is a very different thing to be *obliging for a consideration*. The first, particularly if openly discussed, becomes a mere unpleasant memory; the second is a grave and culpable wrong. Krishna Menon has never done anything falling beyond the first and into the second to these categories of errors, which is why he has been able to withstand so much. Even the Prime Minister could not have saved him if Menon was personally impure.

Krishna Menon's needs are simple and his life has been described as almost ascetic. Many Londoners still remember him in shabby flannel bags and a grubby overcoat spending his time in a "not too salubrious part of Camden town." While Nehru and C. R. and Azad and Patel were fighting the battle for Freedom in India, Menon was fighting the battle in London, together with his battle of life. St. Pancras absorbed much of his time and attention and he was neck-deep in municipal affairs. He stood for election to the Borough Council as a Labour Party candidate in 1934 and was elected. He remained a member till 1947. He took a very keen interest in his work as a Municipal Councillor and he is known as the best Chairman of the Libraries Committee that the Borough ever had. His special interests were education and libraries. Then all

on a sudden—as it seemed to his fellow councillors—the Chairman of the Libraries Committee (of whom so much was expected in municipal life) became one of the most influential men in the world. Yet, it was not all smooth sailing for Menon in the British Labour Party. During the war years he sat in the Council mostly as an Independent, having lost the party Whip for his support of the People's Convention. His speeches on Indian affairs were also not always calculated to please the party. Nevertheless, it was as a Labour Party man that Menon was known in London—apart from his reputation (notoriety of course, then) as a believer in the cause of Indian Independence.

The backgrounds of Nehru and Krishna Menon are so very different that their closeness has baffled many conventional spectators in public life. Nehru has never known the pinch of penury; for many decades Menon knew nothing else. Nehru inherited a precious legacy in politics from his illustrious father Motilal; Krishna Menon's biographers have dismissed his ancestry in a paragraph as unworthy of more attention. Nehru is highly westernised in habits and mode of life; Krishna Menon, in spite of so many years in England, preserves his highly South Indian tastes. His office room in London (even in summer) is served by radiators to increase the temperature to that of Malabar in May! He is a teetotaler, non-smoker, vegetarian and enjoys no food save the hot spicy dishes of the South of India. (Menon likes Tea, and his fondness for the beverage has become almost proverbial). The common ground and meeting point of Nehru and Menon lies in the region of thought, not in the more concrete facts of background or habits. They are both Socialists—seriously and by conviction. And long long before the Avadi verbiage: "socialistic pattern." Krishna Menon has also been thoroughly loyal to

Book Reviews:

A GRAMMAR OF INDIAN PLANNING

BY

S. AMBIRAJAN

Price Rs. 5

As confessed by the author in the preface, the book is a 'derivative' of several contributions in various periodicals and books. The book lacks coherence although certain chapters are well written. Chapter I, Perspectives of Democratic Planning is a good introduction to this book on planning. The author seems to have a flair for quotations. Some of them are quite out of place. The notes on planning in China and Pakistan are useful.

This book can be profitably read by those who have no grounding in economic principles. Mr. Ambirajan has explained well, concepts like deficit financing, public and private sectors.



Edited and published by Mathew Cherian, 33, Broadway, Madras 1 and printed by
M. G. Daniel, Thompson & Co Private Ltd (Minerva Press) Madras 1.

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MADRAS 1

BY

S. C. JOSEPH

M.A., M.LITT., B.LITT. (OXON)

predecessors on the rummy table. He may not ever reconsider returning to the deserted table for unlike in bridge, the more mistakes you make in rummy and the more money you lose thereby, the more popular you become!

Bridge is a game played by many, but not all are serious with their games. The comparatively few enthusiasts are often handicapped with lack of support and proper encouragement. Even the donkey on the turf turns favourite after successful wins, but in bridge talented players are often treated as flukers in spite of repeated class performances so long as a few hold monopoly over everything under their lock and key. The top-ranking bridge player of South India is undoubtedly Sri P. S. Reddy. Though modest and unassuming in nature, he is aggressive in play and outstanding in strategy. He often draws a large crowd of admirers behind his tournament chair.

The term "Bridge" would not have been probably properly pronounced in South India had it not been for the untiring efforts of our worthy tournament director, Sri T. S. Duraiswamy Iyer. To bridge players in the South he is no stranger, and if you ask me where to meet him, I would suggest that to avoid disappointment and the necessity to pay a second visit to his residence in T'Nagar (Madras), you jot down his address in your diary as "C/o Bridge Tournament, South India". Practically no tournament is conducted in South India without his popular presence and parental guidance. But for the enthusiasm evinced by him in promoting its cause, bridge would have been probably neglected in the south unless, of course, the Ariyalur train crash or the Calcutta league clash served as an eye-opener!

The main annual event in the South is the Zonal Championship tournaments held in the Madras City usually during Christmas holidays. Only selected teams from Madras and Andhra States are allowed to participate

in the final rounds, the selection being made on the results of qualifying rounds held in the City and at various centres in the mofussil. Apart from this, the South Indian Bridge Association conducts a league tournament in the City every year. Other regular tournaments in the City are those conducted annually by the Madras United Club, T'Nagar Social Club and the Mylapore Club. To mark the Silver Jubilee celebrations of their club, the Mylapore Ladies Club sponsored an open tournament in the year 1957. The latest results of these various tournaments for the main event (Duplicate team of four) are given below:

Zonal Championship.		Winners: P. Tilak's team.
		Runners-up: Vepery Club.
League Championship.		Winners: N. Ramaratnam's team.
		Runners-up: P. S. Reddy's team.
Madras Club.	United	Winners: P. S. Reddy's team.
		Runners-up: Vepery Club.
T'Nagar Club.	Social	Winners: P. S. Reddy's team.
		Runners-up: Vepery Club.
Mylapore Club		Winners: Vepery Club.
		Runners-up: K. R. Sundaram Iyer's team.
Mylapore Club.	Ladies	Winners: Vepery Club.
		Runners-up: Burma-Shell Club.

In the mofussil, tournaments are conducted annually by Union Club, Tanjore and Cosmopolitan Club, Coimbatore and biennially by Town Club, Karaikudi, Sirkangam Club, Sirkangam and City Club, Trichy and occasionally by Gobichettipalayam Club at Gobichettipalayam.

"Recognise better talents; respect your opponents; admit defeat where you are defeated;" These are perhaps considered by many as a sign of weakness. When a team of fame which had in its bag all the trophies of the past gets defeated, the usual self-consoling remark among its players is "bad luck! we were off-colour!" They feel that congratulating the opponents would amount to loss of self-respect and admission of defeat which they maintain was a fluke. This becomes a perpetual consolation and every time they are put to rout, they repeat their off-colour theory. To utter that a player is weak or to admit that their team is weaker is perhaps considered to be cowardice and they treat their defeats in an unusual manner to call it "bad luck." In a duplicate event where the same cards are dealt with on both the tables, one cannot understand how any consideration other than the combined merit of the entire four (at times, five) could claim credit for the victory.

As though the poisonous virus of the cricket and hockey selection huddle has infected the healthy body of the South Indian Bridge Association, the old-timers whose standard has been excelled by others are still given undue importance over the latter. It would be perhaps worthwhile mentioning as an example that in the qualifying rounds in the city for the Duplicate knock-out event of the Zonal Championship held at Madras in December last, all the four seeded teams lost in the quarter-final. One wonders if the off-colour theory could adequately defend the unanimity shown by our seeds! It gave a rude shock to the many self-styled pandits in bridge to know that two of the neglected Burma-Shell teams were to clash in the finals of the qualifying rounds in the city, but to the comparatively few who

witnessed their matches, they left no room for surprise. When a selection is made to form a State team to compete with teams of other States, consistent winners are obviously sidetracked as "flukers" and as though consistency in being off-colour is taken as a criterion, the old-timers successfully take up their claim for the honour, only to bring discredit to the State.

As a gesture of democratic approach, the authorities have recently chalked out a plan to hold a selection tournament and to allow the winning team to represent the state for the inter-State league matches. Selection of State team on this basis is unheard of in the history of sports anywhere. Even the losing team may have on it talented players in the same way as the winning team could contain a block-head. Individual merit and not the combined merit of the entire four or five of a team should be the criterion. The ideal way is to invite finalists of the year to participate in a selection tournament and to have the best eight among them chosen on the basis of their display by a high-level committee of observers drawn from bridge enthusiasts above the level of State team craze. A possible snag in this method is the 'selection' of the selection committee members who are above bias and all "isms" to match our tournament director Sri T. S. Duraiswamy Iyer and the only reasonable alternative is to select pairs on the basis of a marathon pair event of at least 200 boards restricted to finalists of the year only.

The authorities deserve hearty congratulations in the formation of an All-India Bridge Federation, but in the height of such progress, it is deplorable if the tendency to shelve real talents and merits to satisfy a few old-time experts continues in the South.

GLIMPSES OF YESTERDAY

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BY
POTHAN JOSEPH

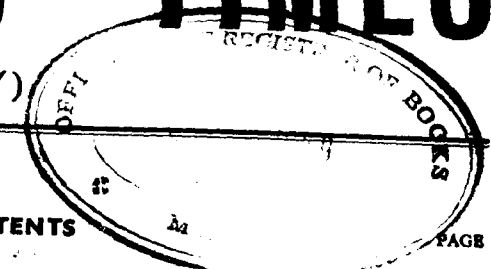
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(MONTHLY)



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VOL. I

JUNE 1959

No. 6

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BROADWAY TIMES

Edited & Published by MATHEW CHERIAN

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Half page	Rs. 50	„ „	Rs. 550
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We welcome contributions from Indian or foreign writers. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the Editor, “Broadway Times” 33 Broadway, Madras-1 (India.)

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Post free in India at Rs. 12 per annum. Single copy of the current issue is available at Re. 1 per copy. Cheques/M.O./P.O. should be made payable to “Broadway Times.”

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BY
POTHAN JOSEPH

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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

In the field of economics the broad objective that most people desire is freedom from want, which naturally leads us to the question of employment. What, if I should lose my job?, is the constant fear of the great majority of the employed. If the bread-winner is out of work for any length of time, the standard of living of his family is lowered and it saps his morale apart from hurting his pride as he becomes an 'unwanted' member of the community he lives in. Apart from those who are born lucky inheriting large fortunes from their parents or other benefactors, the main problem at the present day here in India is to find work for those who have no work. All our Five Year plans are devised to solve this unemployment problem. It is no wonder then that 'full employment' has stepped out of economics text books to become one of the most powerful political slogans of our time.

Full employment does not mean job for everyone in the country. A certain amount of unemployment however is inevitable. There are people who refuse to accept work in whatever line they are useful for, at the existing level of wages or salaries. This is known as voluntary unemployment. Also unemployment is inevitable due to structural changes in the industries of the country. The economist terms it Structural unemployment. Then there is Frictional unemployment. This is due to the changing of jobs of those already employed. But the Politician's or the Statesman's target is to find jobs for the involuntary unemployed. That is those who are willing to work at the existing rate of wages or pay, but unable to find employers to accept them.

In Western countries the employed considerably outnumber the unemployed, whereas in India it is the other way round, unemployed outnumbering those employed. The burdens imposed on industry and trade by labour legislation and taxation, whatever the intentions of the Government may be, have had the effect of inhibiting employers from expanding their labour force as they normally would have done. Labour conditions are far from satisfactory in many industries but at the present stage of the country's development our aim should be to secure maximum increase in productive employment even if such employment involved comparatively low rates of wages.

June 1959

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THE HUMAN DYNAMO

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

Mr. Nanda's address to the Central Committee on Employment shows some grim facts about our unemployment situation. At the beginning of the Third Plan it is estimated that there will be 7 million unemployed in comparison with 5.5 million at the beginning of the Second Plan. Between 1961-66 some expect to the tune of 14 million new entrants into the unemployment lists. These figures do not take into account the large numbers of unemployed and underemployed in the villages. It has been found that 13% among agricultural labourers are without wage employment throughout the year including peak periods.

According to the labour ministry we shall need fifteen years and an investment of Rs. 43,500 crores to stamp out unemployment altogether. The basis on which these estimates have been prepared is questionable but there is no doubt that our unemployment position is a formidable one.

Unemployment in the Indian sense represents a wide variety of situations. Finding employment for retrenched mill workers of Ahmedabad is not quite the same thing as that of finding jobs for graduates in Kerala.

Solutions have to be found mainly through local initiative and local planning. With regard to rural areas the question of mobilising idle manpower for productive purposes to meet local needs calls primarily for local initiative, organisation and enterprise. This is not to underrate the roles played by State or Union Governments. The main drawback of Indian planning so far has been its pre-occupation with problems on an All India Scale. Our planning would be more realistic and effective if there was also some planning from the bottom built up around the needs and resources of fairly compact units of three to four millions. Our suggestion is to make our fairly big sized districts, units for planning purposes. This will make our statistics more accurate than they are at present. We shall have detailed pictures of the resources and potentialities and the needs of each district, thus enabling us to tackle our problems more effectively. The greatest incentives must be provided for the use of local materials and talents.

Rural industrialisation and labour intensive schemes which the Central Committee on Employment has recommended as a basic policy for the Third Plan can be worked out successfully if we give greater importance to local talent and initiative at the district level.

By nature Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is supercharged with intellect and emotion, and therefore as a patriot he cannot be expected to settle down as an arm-chair administrator, tied to routine for the realisation of higher standards in the services which a Government can render to an emancipated people. He is like the Alpine climber who cries "Excelsior" regardless of the alluring advice on the way to rest a while. He wears the banner with the strange device "Excelsior," and a climber so bent on scaling summits cannot be expected to sweep and tidy-up intermediate places of halt. Compare on the other hand the advice of a placid professor-statesman like Dr. John Matthai who, on transfer of power, declared that the business of Indian Nationalists who had fought for freedom was to settle down to ten years of clean, honest and efficient administration, so that stable programmes of advancement could be organised and executed without the evils of perfidious squabbling for preference and indulgence in chronic waste due to inexperience.

Recently there have been criticisms that Prime Minister Nehru has been turning a blind eye on gross administrative misbehaviour in the highest quarters, but by way of extenuation let it be said (apart from inborn obsessions about Foreign Policy) that he is all the time on his toes to move faster at the risk of running before learning to walk, all because of his governing passion that within his lifetime he should accomplish the maximum good he could concert for a unique place in Indian history. I don't think if anybody has derived as much of a thrill as in pronouncing the word "India" as Jawaharlal Nehru, and he is so identified with her destiny that it has become natural to him to regard the following two expressions

as inter-changeable: (1) "I think"; (2) "India holds the view." Patriotism is three-fourths emotion. And as we struggle towards a World Government, bloodshed in terms of frontiers turns out to be the outgrowth of tribalism. Nevertheless we could still recapture the full content of emotionalism behind current patriotism as an inherited virtue, although there are thousands of young men in the Free World who swear that they in future would refuse to be conscripted for the sake of vain human bloodshed which settles nothing but only postpones further outbursts of carnage.

With his eyes gazing on the horizon, Jawaharlal Nehru in his present tempo cannot be figured as bending his head to examine the bacteriological phenomena of inner corruption through the microscope, holding germicidal spray in his hand to disinfect diseased spots.

The first instance quotable among the very recent illustrations is the Mundhra affair, a patent case of *golmal*, but all that comes within the category of "petty things" that should not distract India's attention from major world developments. A complex series of enquiries as if to humour the rabble was set with the result that the initial fit of indignation has spent itself. Next came some hubbub about another scandal which had better be left unnamed but which also in an efficiently governed country would have ended with summary and exemplary disposal in the course of a fortnight without an iota of special pleading. Again as the third case, take the Mathai episode in which a private trust looked after by a Government Minister and a State Governor creates a shock in the country, but it turns out to be one of those "petty things" which jar

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the spirit of harmonious movement towards such spectacular propositions as the Nagpur Resolution and the Third Five Year Plan just when all the revenues of the Government are absorbed by non-governmental expenditure, and foreign subsidies without the courtesy of any *quid pro quo* are expected to solve problems, in vacua. As if it were an axiom of good government, it was given out that Ministers could collect money and that the names of donors should not be revealed, a highly exceptionable doctrine. Communists in Parliament started the hare and the Prime Minister conceded the need for an enquiry. The enquiry was held by the Cabinet Secretary without any power or mandate to take evidence. The Cabinet Secretary reported that "on the facts placed before me", he could find no flaw, and thereafter the papers were put through the dry room of another lousy enquiry, (very perfunctory), by two high dignitaries of State, with the result that the whole record of a dubious deal emerged not only stainless but whiter than the snow.

When questioned at his press-conference in the middle of May, Mr. Nehru has "ruled out" any judicial enquiry into the Mathai affair, adding curtly. "There is nothing more to be said about it." As a matter of fact the question of a judicial enquiry *did* arise because the Communists led by Bhupesh Gupta, M.P. *did* raise the issue and demanded a judicial enquiry to clear up the matter by the elicitation of all relevant evidence. But it all turned out to be an affair of departmental screening;

and now there is nothing more to be said about it.

Let it not be suggested that Pandit Nehru relishes any lapse from high rectitude on the part of officialdom, but he just cannot bear the bother and vexation and distraction of petty things that are liable to show India in a bad light abroad, seeing that her pronouncements and her example are intended to represent a facade of superior performance, regardless of rot in the backyard. Genuinely there is no lack of integrity on his part, for Mr. Nehru, it is all like throwing rubbish into the incinerator with lid on, to prevent any smoke spreading to contaminate the purity of Asian revival and the glow of the Bandung spirit.

Censure of China? Not quite, because we have recognised suzerainty and Chou-En-Lai is busy *pacifying* Tibet. All these pertain to politics of high altitudes in the nuclear era. After all, the mental and moral energy of an individual is limited, and if 99 per cent of it is engrossed in the sublime, it would be cussedness to complain of the inadequacies of what remains for internal fumigation. Pandit Nehru is undoubtedly a human dynamo, but his faith and passion are so expansively diverted that Dr. John Matthai's counsel for ten years just fails him. That is why all say yes, and how every sensible man, here at home and also abroad, knows that Jawaharlal Nehru is now indispensable. On a subject so important, most people would resent frivolity, but I cannot repress my memory as I think of the saying: "Don't shoot the pianist, he is doing his best."

TO BE OR NOT TO BE—A CITIZEN

BY

M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW

[*"The author examines the concept of Citizenship in its various aspects and contends that 'in her attitude to Citizenship and Naturalization India sets an example to the world—Ed.'"*]

The policy of the Government of Ceylon in regard to the admission of Indians resident in Ceylon to the citizenship of Ceylon, which we learn, is to be the subject of conversation between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Ceylon in the near future, and the slow rate at which that admission has been made—in the first years of the Indo-Ceylon agreement of 1954 being 46% of the applications received sinking down to 1% per year in subsequent years—are an indication of the new look on citizenship that has come to prevail in modern times. For the question is not of the Indian citizens temporarily resident in Ceylon but of the nearly 1,000,000 immigrants (mostly workingmen) on the plantations who have been living there for more than a generation, who were born and bred there, and who desire to become citizens of Ceylon. The Ceylon Government would allow only a small proportion of them to be admitted to Ceylon citizenship. The rest of them would be citizens of neither Ceylon (if the Ceylon Government will not let them) nor of India whose citizenship they lost long ago by settlement and long residence and by losing the *animus revertendi*. Being citizens neither of India nor of Ceylon they would, in the Prime Minister of India's words, become Stateless.

This is a new phenomenon in the world of politics. In modern times, at any rate since the time of the French Revolution, among civilized people, the right of citizenship in any State has been granted to all applicants provided they possessed qualifications ensuring loyalty, certain standards and norms of living, and conduct and character.

Through Naturalization laws which did not impose impossible conditions, strangers wishing to settle down in the territory of another State than their own were freely admitted to the citizenship of that State. In fact on the morrow of the French Revolution in the first flush of the victory of the Revolution which changed subjects of kings into citizens of a free and self-governing State, the title of citizen was offered to all those who would love the new life of freedom. Citoyen or Citoyen francais was a proud title—not only to Frenchmen, born and bred.

It has always been so in the great days of great peoples. The Romans proved their political superiority to the Greeks in their offer of citizenship to all who would accept their rule with all its duties and obligations—first to the Italians and then to the peoples of diverse races and creeds whom they thus incorporated, not merely admitted, into their empire. Roman citizenship which was at the beginning of Rome's history acquired by birth only was now acquired by adoption. And then by manumission, the slave of a Roman citizen could become a citizen. And again the right of citizenship was often granted to whole communities or individuals by the Senate or the Comitia during the time of the Republic and later by the Emperor during the time of the Empire.

And so it has been with every great State, Religion, Civilization or People. The right of membership has been open to all provided they observed and fulfilled certain conditions dictated by its nature, character or ethos

of any of them. The open door has been their policy in the days of their strength. It was so with Christianity and Islam—till their unity was broken or they fell from their high estate. It was so with the great empires that followed the Roman—the Ottoman, the Spanish, the Portuguese. It was when they became weak or doubted their strength or lost faith in themselves that great States and great peoples began to shut their doors tight or kept them only slightly open—just ajar, allowing only a trickle of strangers outside the gate to get in.

And so in these latter days the laws governing the grant of citizenship to aliens and strangers have become illiberal to the point of intolerance. Naturalization laws have begun to enforce more and severer conditions than before. The U.S.A. the land that has been made what it is by immigration has begun to look askance at it. Immigration that used to be free is now limited by the rule of quotas. Only 155,000 are admissible every year—what a fall from the 1,197,000 on the eve of the war of 1914–1918. America seems to have lost its faith in americanization celebrated by Edward Bok 50 years ago. The quota system has been followed in other countries which are in greater need of immigrants like Australia and Canada. Some others are even more illiberal—they base their exclusion on race or religion. The U.S.A. and Canada want much fewer Japanese and Chinese immigrants than European. The South African Government practises Apartheid against the outside world as against people within being logical to the point of suicide. The Australian Government professes a White Australia policy. Alone, the Communist Governments practise the old policy of the open door—only people from outside are chary of making use of the invitation.

All this tightening of the laws of citizenship seem to be due to fear. As Ceylon is afraid of even a 2 million minority of Indians, so

are the others. With democracy Ceylon seems to have imported this fear of the stranger. What are these peoples afraid of? They are afraid of being swamped and conquered by an alien civilization and culture. If that is the disease, the remedy is obvious. That is, see that the alien accepts your civilization and culture. I quite believe that after a visit and travel in Australia which lasted for a month that the opposition to Asian immigration is economic rather than social. In no white country have I seen so little colour prejudice. In fact I should say it does not exist. I with my colour was taken for granted, admitted without any surprise or start everywhere, in hotels, restaurants, not even stared in the streets as I was in England or in Europe—in fact I took it as a grievance that it was not noted. The Australian objection is economic—they do not want themselves to be swamped by people from Asia with lower standards of living. The safeguard is obvious—a certain economic standard could be asked of the Asian immigrants both before and after entry into Australia. Even adherence to social and moral types of living without change of religion, for we are living the age of the multi-religious State—could be insisted on. So also, the U.S.A. and Canada towards the Chinese and the Japanese. If there is no room in any country for immigrants from abroad let the ban be general against all the world and not against any particular people on grounds of race or religion. If after 5000 years of civilization and progress we are back in the old days of Hellenoi versus Barbaroi, of the Celestials versus Foreign Devils, Red man versus Pale Faces, White versus Black, can we congratulate ourselves on progress?

The case of Ceylon is especially depressing. For, here we have a small island which geologically, geographically and historically was once part of India. Its civilization and culture are derived from India, as a child gets its first nourishment and education from its mother. Its

peoples are from India—the Singhalas and the Tamils—belonging to the two stocks that have peopled India—the Aryans and the Dravidians. Its religions are also from India, Buddhism and Saivism. And yet look at the Ceylon Law of Citizenship. It was passed in two Acts and provides for 3 clauses of citizens, citizens by descent, citizens by registration under the Citizenship Act of 1948 and citizens by registration under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949. We, in India, are more concerned with the last of them. According to this Act, an Indian resident who applies for registration should fulfil the following special qualifications :

- (1) the applicant must possess a minimum qualification of 'uninterrupted residence' as defined in Section 3 ;
- (2) his wife (if he is married) and his minor dependant children (if any) must also possess certain residential qualification—Section 6 (2) (ii) in its recent amended form ;
- (3) he must establish a reasonable degree of financial stability—Section 6 (2) (i) ;
- (4) he must be free from any disability or incapacity of the kind referred to in Section 6 (2) (iii) ; and
- (5) he must 'clearly understand' the statutory consequences of registration—Section 6 (2) (iv).

What is an Indian or Pakistan resident as it is only residents that can apply for admission to Ceylon citizenship? According to the Acts 'An Indian or Pakistani resident means a person

- (a) whose origin was in any territory which immediately prior to the passing of the Indian Independence Act 1947 of the Parliament of the United Kingdom formed part of British India or any Indian State, and
- (b) who has emigrated therefrom and permanently settled in Ceylon ;

and includes (1) a descendant of any such person and

- (2) any person, permanently settled in Ceylon who is a descendant of a person whose origin was in any territory referred to in the preceding paragraph (a).'

The terms 'uninterrupted residence' and 'permanently settled' not being legally defined in the Act have been left to be interpreted by the Commissioner for Registration. Fortunately there is a Supreme Court in Ceylon and it has rejected all rigid and illiberal interpretations of these terms. But all kinds of difficulties and rigidities have been allowed to complicate the procedure of applications and disposal of applications for registration. The result is that out of about 1 million possible applicants and 8,00,000 actual applications for registration and admission as citizens of Ceylon in the 10 years after the passing of the Act only 150,000 have been admitted to Ceylon civilization.

Why do the 7 million Singhalas object to 1 million Indians being newly admitted to Ceylon citizenship? Are the majority afraid of being conquered or (as physical conquest is out of the question) being suppressed or overshadowed by the minority in public life. There are political devices to prevent that—like representation in the legislature and in the administrative services in proportion to population. If the Singhalas want to raise the economic standards of Indians upto their own—granted that theirs is superior—they can put that in as a condition of citizenship and for the 1,000,000 labourers in the plantations they could call upon the Planters to raise the standard of wages, of housing, of living of Indian labourers on the Plantations. If there is good will and fellow-feeling solutions will be found. But if fear rules the political life of Ceylon then that Council of despair, Partition, is the only way out.

As against the despair of Ceylon as embodied in her citizenship policy, is the hope and charity that India embodies in her citizenship policy. The Constitution of India lays down in Article 5 that at the commencement of the Constitution, every person who has his domicile in the territory of India and who was born in the territory of India or either of whose parents was born in the territory of India or who has been ordinarily resident in the territory of India for not less than 5 years preceding such commencement shall be a citizen of India. Rights of citizenship of persons who have migrated to India from Pakistan are granted under certain conditions. India is not afraid of its Muslim citizen population being increased as the Ceylon Government is afraid of its Indian citizen population being increased. Parliament which has been given the right to frame laws of citizenship has been faithful to the spirit of the Constitution on these matters of citizenship and acquisition of citizenship. The Citizenship Act of 1955 (Act No. 57 of 1955) while respecting the provision of the Constitution regarding the acquisition by persons born in India provides for the acquisition by registration of women who have been married to citizens of India or by persons of full age and capacity who are citizens of any of the countries of the Commonwealth including Ceylon and the Republic of Ireland. For acquisition of Indian citizenship by citizens of other countries the Act provides for naturalization by rules which puts the naturalization laws of India among the most liberal in the world. The qualifications for naturalization contained in the Third Schedule of the Act for a person who is not a citizen of a Commonwealth country or of Ceylon or the Republic of Ireland (already provided for) are

- (a) that he is not a subject or citizen of any country where citizens of India are prevented by law or practice of that country from becoming sub-

jects or citizens of that country by naturalization ;

- (b) that, if he is a citizen of any country, he has renounced the citizenship of that country in accordance with the law therein in force in that behalf and has notified such renunciation to the Central Government ;
- (c) that he has either resided in India or been in the service of a Government in India or partly the one and partly the other, throughout the period of twelve months immediately preceding the date of the application ;
- (d) that during the seven years immediately preceding the said period of twelve months, he has either resided in India or been in the service of a Government in India, or partly the one and partly the other, for periods amounting in the aggregate to not less than four years ;
- (e) that he is of good character ;
- (f) that he has an adequate knowledge of a language specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution ; and
- (g) that in the event of a certificate of naturalization being granted to him, he intends to reside in India, or to enter into, or continue in, service under a Government in India or under an international organisation of which India is a member or under a society, company or body of persons established in India :

Provided that the Central Government may, if in the special circumstances of any particular case it thinks fit

- (i) allow a continuous period of twelve months ending not more than six months before the date of the application to be reckoned, for the pur-

- poses of clause (c) above, as if it had immediately preceded that date ;
- (ii) allow periods of residence or service earlier than eight years before the date of the application to be reckoned in computing the aggregate mentioned in clause (d) above.

And in the application of these Naturalization Rules the Government of India has been liberal. Even Christian missionaries have been naturalized. I have not heard of Christian missionaries faithful to their vocation being refused naturalization. The only hardship may proceed from the requirement of an adequate knowledge of a language included in the Eighth Schedule, where English does not find a place. But the kind of foreigner who would like to be a citizen of India would have an adequate knowledge of some Indian language.

In her attitude to citizenship and naturalization India sets an example to the world. Her stand on this question should be the stand of all civilized nations. It is a stand that should be taken by the United Nations Organization. It is a pity therefore that in the Declaration of Human Rights accepted by

the Assembly of U.N.O. without a dissenting vote on December 10, 1948 the right to citizenship of the citizens of one State wishing to be citizens of any other is not recognized. Of course this right cannot be an absolute right—no right is absolute. It may be subject to conditions for acquisition and exercise. But the conditions should not be beyond the reach, within reason, of any applicant. Economic, cultural standards and conditions may be laid down—for they are attainable. But unattainable conditions like identity of race or religion are unreasonable conditions and would make of the citizenship of a country that through its Government insists on such conditions a byword and reproach among the nations of the world. That after all these centuries of civilization and progress there are still people like those of the tribal age who look upon a stranger as an enemy and that after 5000 years of the history of the State it has been the misfortune of a statesman to speak of stateless people, is one of the ironies of history. It is up to every civilized people and Government to make that irony out of date.

PANCH SHEEL—A PERSPECTIVE

BY

T. SURYANARAYANA RAO, M.A.

Panch Sheel has just completed five years of its existence. At the close of its fifth year it has been put to a severe test, thanks to the Tibetan issue. Two Panch Sheel nations feel embarrassed and embittered at the happenings in Lhasa, Kalimpong, Peking and Mussoorie. These two nations happen to be the originators of the concept of Panch Sheel and that renders the situation all the more unhappy. Of the five principles at least three are in immediate jeopardy, dragging the other two into peril. China accuses India of interference into their internal affairs. India, as the host of the Dalai Lama was not genuinely prepared for an attack on these lines. Statements and press writings have grown into big dimensions only to worsen the situation. They led to the opening of other related issues: trespasses into the first of the Five Principles—respect for territorial integrity. The Chinese maps showing large tracts of Indian territory as parts of China and their occupation of certain U.P. border areas are called into question. Under the pressure of estranged feelings the third of the principles has been flouted. Though there has been no aggression, certainly cold war talk has begun. It is truly said that wars begin in the minds of men. The world is watching the developments of Tibet with abated breath. One fears whether the Panch Sheel will outlive this infantile disorder.

When the two pioneers of the doctrine are at loggerheads on the score of interference into internal affairs, failure to respect neighbour's territorial integrity and cold war talk, what is the fate of the other two precepts: Mutual Benefit and Equality and Co-existence? It is time therefore that the international community refreshes its memory of the Principles and opens

its eyes to a more positive method of preserving it.

Two thousand five hundred years ago Buddha preached his Five Principles to his following. Do not injure other people. Do not be greedy. Develop self-control. Do not resort to untruth. Avoid intoxicants. Buddha addressed himself to the individual. The sting of the animal in man is removed by right thought, right speech and right conduct. Bigotry is a sort of intoxication. It leads to self-righteousness, it begins with destroying others and ends verily as Bhasmasura did with self-destruction. It was really a stroke of genius when Nehru applied this concept to international relations. He took another stalwart on the world scene, Chou-En-Lai and propounded the modern Panch Sheel in June 1954. Respect for each other's territorial integrity, non-interference into each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, mutual benefit and equality and co-existence are the five famous principles.

Within a very short time after its inception the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung identified itself with The Principles. Some 40 nations including Russia, Yugoslavia and a number of Middle Eastern countries have so far accepted them as a guiding factor in international relations. The Principles fall in line with the U.N. Charter and the UNO gave them its blessings too. In a short span of four or five years the Panch Sheel Community has become the third force in and outside the U.N. A solidarity Council has been meeting periodically. Its recent meeting at Cairo in February last has made some progressive resolutions calling for stoppage of nuclear tests, disarmament, freedom of colonial peoples etc. There has been a demand for a Bandung

Market on the lines of the European Common Market. Its many-sided activity has received ample support from all nations including the big powers.

But, in spite of all this progress the Panch Sheel has not struck deep roots. The plant seems to fall flat for even a mild breeze. There must be something below the surface sapping off energies at the very grass roots, and it is worth our while to study them.

The Panch Sheel nations are a heterogeneous group in more than one way. Some are big democracies, some groan under dictators, some are caught in military grips. Still others have feudal, communist or neo-communist governments. A number of them do not have stable governments. We know them too well to mention. The Warsaw, the Nato, the Seato and other pacts have eaten into the flesh of the community of Panch Sheel nations. The big powers play a powerful role in shaping the political and economic policies of many an Afro-Asian nation. Then there is the African group, with special characteristics of its own. The North African Arab nations are a class by themselves. The Mid-African people headed by Ghana and Guinea are waging a heroic battle against internal division and domination. The rampant racialism in the form of Apartheid poisons the rest of Africa. In this connection we cannot ignore the Latin Americans. Glaring instability of Governments seems to be the dominant feature of the area. Coups have become the normal trend of politics. If a whole continent like South America suffers from insecurity, the chances of world peace would be bleak. The logic of indivisibility of peace applies with greater force to the world today than ever before.

Now that the Panch Sheel has become an accepted guide in international relations, what does it require to strike deep roots, to grow to full stature and to bear good fruit?

Each individual nation must have a strong and stable state. We live our public lives today within the broad compass of political parties. It therefore rests upon the political parties to fulfil the task of maintaining a stable government. A basic principle of co-existence of two or more parties who are otherwise rivals is the formulation of their common ultimates. Accepting this premise, the following should be the tenets of conduct for the aspirants to political power. In the Panch Sheel area democrats, socialists, labourites, communists must all feel one on these points.

1. Each rival party has a right to rule. The aim of a party can by all means be to fight the wrongs of other parties, and establish its superior claims. But it has no right to do anything to prevent the rivals from occupying power. Such acts on the part of ruling party as liquidation of opposition, using governmental weight to stifle its growth and expression must stop. This applies to all with equal force, whether they are democrats, socialists or communists.

2. Political parties must keep off from the corrective and cultural agencies of the community. Judiciary, University, Press, Arts must all enjoy independence. Respect of law and diversity of views should be cultivated.

3. A code of ethics of political fight has to be framed. In matters of persuasion, propaganda, electioneering etc., the opposing groups must sit around the table and prescribe a detailed code of conduct and pledge to adhere to it.

4. Efficiency of administration must be kept at an optimum level. Filling of the services with one's own party men, and emptying them of those belonging to opponents should be regarded foul, mean, and detestable. Qualification, character and devotion alone should rule the service, not political affiliation, nor family connections.

5. Keeping the doors open for youth, for experimentation, and for secular changes in

RULE OF LAW AND DELHI DECLARATION

BY

K. A. NAYAR, M.A., B.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

socio-political ideologies. In other words, vested interests in all forms should be humbled. A growing nation requires growing minds and growing ideas.

It should be clear that the troubles of many of our neighbours spring from non-observance of the above mentioned principles. Corrupt politicians, parties aiming at uprooting the existing states by violent methods, groups denying opposition's right to rule are the bane of their politics.

Panch Sheel for international relations should thus begin with sound national states. Otherwise it is impossible to conceive of conditions conducive to the growth of the idea. Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and other nations in the Middle and Far East and the South American states have to put their houses on firm ground before they can discharge their Panch Sheel obligations. The political groups within each nation have to set the matters right. This is much more important in the case of those who are just emerging independent or changing hands like Cyprus, Ghana and Cuba.

The second major set of requirements of Panch Sheel consists of enlargement of joint socio-economic programme and adoption of non-public and silent diplomacy. Efforts are now being made to establish an Asian-African Conference to promote co-operation and co-ordination in fields of agricultural production, trade and economic planning in the region. This line of activity must be given fullest encouragement by all concerned. Then, when things go wrong as they have gone on the question of Tibet, rushing to the press and platform has to give way to more useful methods like personal discussion and negotiation. Every issue should not be reduced to propa-

ganda or take-it-or-leave-it method. Politics is not mere electioneering. It is high time that nations championing the Panch Sheel realized this. More positively, machinery for dealing with controversial issues should be established on a permanent basis.

Besides, it should not be forgotten that we have U.N.O. as the lender of the last resort. The Panch Sheel should have correct relationship with that body. The Specialised Agencies should be utilised to full extent without starting duplicate units. For purposes of negotiation and arbitration U.N.O. is the ideal place. Further the Panch Sheel group should exert a moderating influence in the deliberations there. It should be a powerful check on the extremities of the big powers. It should also supply working personnel to man surveys, petrols and the like at the instance of the U.N.

A word should now be said regarding the Principles and the future world order. History is heading towards the creation of a uniworld law and order, a World State. As surely as Americans, Germans, Italians and Indians had united under single composite governments, the universal citizens desire and look to a Universal State to put an end to the existing chaos. At present there is a curious kind of co-existence—co-existence of freedom and slavery, of haves and have-nots, of mighty arms of states and the meek rights of individuals. Genuine Panch Sheel should put an end to this sort of queer co-existence. It should work out a large-hearted Synthesis of political ideology. It should help a universal ideology to grow. And, when the time comes for a Universal State, it will be the historic task of the Community to strengthen its hands and lead it to prosperity.

Rule of law like Public Policy has for long remained very ambiguous and ill-defined set of rules in Anglo-American laws. It has been rightly likened to the directive principles of state policy of the Indian Constitution. Though ill-defined, the judiciary has never overlooked the principle. Irrespective of social or political outlook of the government, the judiciary stood firm and impartial at all times. Thus while slave trade was rampant in Europe, in the famous Somerset case, Lord Mansfield thundered in the open court "let the black go free." It is of course not very long ago when the English court again let the 'red' go free. Lord Denning commenting on these two cases once remarked that English law knows no colour bar, whether it be the colour of the skin or the colour of the political creed. Karminski J., I think went a step further in *Taczonoska vs. Taczonoski* and declared as reported in the Times Law Report that English law knows no race discrimination either. The most powerful dissenting judgment of Lord Atkin in *Liversidge v. Anderson*, a war time case, brings the rule of law principles to the forefront. He said that amidst the thunder of guns and clashes of swords, English law were never silent. In war time or in peace time the law spoke in the same language and with the same consistency. As the poet Wordsworth sang, it spoke in the language that Shakespeare spoke and held the morals which Milton held. It is this consistency and the moral grit that I consider the chief quality of the rule of law.

Rule of law of course, is as old as civilization itself and it still remains a trait common to all civilised states. Aristotle preferred rule of law to that of any individual and according to Bracton even the rulers were under

the law—Ipse autem rex, non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et sub lege quia lex facit regem, quothed Bracton. This view was repeatedly upheld by many jurists. Lord Coke in his famous reply to King James said, "True it was that God has endowed His Majesty with excellent science and great endowments of nature; but H. M. was not learned in the laws of his realm of England and cases which concern the life or inheritance or goods or future of his subjects are not to be decided by natural reason but by the artificial reason and judgment of law which law is an act which requires long study and experience before that a man can attain to the cognizance of it: that the law was the golden met wand and measure to try the causes of the subjects and which protects H.M. in safety and peace: with which the king was greatly offended and said that then he should be under the law which was treason to affirm, as he said to which I said that Bracton said, "Quod rex non debet.....et lege." Thus rulers are under rule of law and it requires the judges to be impartial and independent. If that be all rule of law will be tantamount to rule by the law or by the judges. But rule of law is a concept by which is meant to establish order and then to maintain peace through settlement of disputes in accordance with the law. If this view is adopted then it is at once apparent that the lawyer's functions are equally important for as Rajamannar, C.J., of Madras has said in *John v. Pai*, "lawyers are the responsible officers of the court" and between the mighty executive and the ordinary citizen they often stand demanding not only justice be done but also seem to be done. In rule of law countries the court has no power to prohibit

a qualified lawyer to act as a counsel, as they have in Soviet Russia. But the court do have the power to prosecute a lawyer for contempt of court. Needless to say therefore that this branch of our law is to be carefully watched and jealously regarded. Lawyers must have unfettered freedom to conduct their cases. That is why Lord Erskin, when he was a lawyer refused to obey Jeffery, J., when the learned Judge wrongly asked him to sit down. When Mr. Marshall Hall was asked to sit down by the Judge of the English High Court, he just looked back as if the Judge's commands were directed at some one behind him. Infuriated by this, the Judge said, 'I am asking you Mr. Hall'. He hit back saying, "I thought your Lordship is addressing some girls in the gallery. But of course if your Lordship would like me to address by sitting, I would most gladly do so." Again Hallet, J., not more than two years ago, had to resign from the Bench for interrupting a counsel too often. So in theory and in practice, the unrestricted freedom of the Bench and the profession is the key note of the rule of law.

Prof. Dicey writing in 1885 attributed three meanings to rule of law. 'It means', he said 'in the first place, the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power and excludes the existence of arbitrariness or prerogative or even of wide discretionary authority on the part of the government. Englishmen are ruled by the law and by the law alone; a man may with us be punished for a breach of law but he can be punished for nothing else.' The main principle behind this is our old principle of criminal law expressed by the Maxim *nulla poena sine lege* i.e., no punishment without law. That itself is not of much help because as we have seen Hitler did all what he did according to the law. A dictator can first make the law he desires and then act according to that law. Can we say rule of law exists in such a State? Again what does Dicey mean by

regular law? Are trade union laws, delegated legislations, laws of the Law Society and other group laws regular laws? If not where is the predominance of regular law? Wide discretionary powers also do exist in England. The government can compulsorily acquire land owned by private individuals. According to the Public Health Act they can require to run the drainage through the land of a private individual which might even have reserved to build a bungalow on. It is this lack of certainty that led Mr. Hayek to conclude that planning is inconsistent with the rule of law. But as Prof. Wade has told us what is essential to safeguard rule of law in a Welfare State is that where an individual plans his affairs reasonably with due regard to public welfare he shall receive compensation if he suffers damage as the result of a change in the law or the exercise of discretionary authority granted in the public interest. Group laws are not inconsistent with the rule of law provided that there is no imposition of arbitrary punishments and that ordinary judicial methods are observed. He is also of the opinion that delegated legislation would conform with the rule of law if provisions were made for simplicity, publication and accessibility.

The second meaning of the rule of law, Dicey puts in this way: "It means again equality before the law or equal subjection of all the classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts; the rule of law in this sense excludes the idea of any exemption of officials or others from the duty of obedience to the law which governs other citizens or from the jurisdiction of ordinary tribunals; there can be with us nothing really corresponding to the administrative law (*droit administratif*) or the administrative tribunals (*tribunal ex-administratif*) of France." But this is not quite accurate today. In the present day rule of law countries, there are innumerable administrative tribunals e.g., Land

tribunal, Rent tribunal etc. Further the Judges, the foreign sovereigns, etc., enjoy wide immunities from the ordinary legal procedure. Police constables have wide powers to arrest which an ordinary citizen does not have. These examples are enough to show that many persons have peculiar rights, powers, immunities and duties which the ordinary citizen has not. As Prof. Hood Phillips remarked in some cases they are above the ordinary law while in other cases they are not subject to the ordinary law administered in the ordinary court.

'The rule of law lastly may be used', said Dicey, "as a formula for expressing the fact that with us the law of the constitution the rule which in foreign countries naturally form part of the constitutional code, are not the source but the consequence of rights of individuals as defined and enforced by the court; that in short the principles of private law have with us been by the action of the courts and Parliament so extended as to determine the position of the Crown and of its servants; thus the Constitution is the result of the ordinary law of the land." In another words the Constitution in England is not made but grown.

This again is only partly true. We know that in England the mutual relationships of King, Prime Minister, Cabinet and Parliament have never been regarded by the court. Further as Sir Ivor Jennings has remarked, the most important principle that of the supremacy of Parliament is no doubt rule of law; it was not established by judicial decision; it was settled by armed conflict and the Bill of Rights and the Acts of Settlement.

While professors were striving to reconcile all these with Dicey's three meanings, the International jurists took a bold step towards re-defining the principles of rule of law. To this purpose Jurists from 48 nations met at Athens from June 13-20, 1955. The theme

of the Congress was to consider what minimum safeguards are necessary to ensure the just rule of law to protect individuals against arbitrary action by the State. The Act of Athens which later became Delhi Declaration put forward the view that rule of law which springs from rights of individual which rights include freedom of speech, press, worship, assembly and association and the right of free election to the end that laws are enacted by the duly elected representatives of the people and afford equal protection to all, demands that state should be subject to the law, that Government should respect the rights of the individual under the rule of law and provide effective means for their enforcement, that Judge should be guided by rule of law and that lawyers of the world should preserve the independence of the profession. The Congress of Delhi which was represented by 53 nations unanimously approved this declaration. The conference exploded the myth of Parliamentary supremacy, one of the twin pillars of Prof. Dicey and said that Parliament is under rule of law. The rule of law they said imposes a positive duty on the government to establish elected legislation, independent judiciary and democratic executive. This at once brought the Pakistan military regime before the conference. Can there be rule of law in a country where the executive is non-democratic? The question has not been satisfactorily answered.

The importance of Delhi Declaration is in recognizing rule of law as a dynamic concept which imposes on the government a positive duty to create conditions in which citizens' developments, of cultural, economic, social and political is made possible. From personal freedoms, thus the emphasis is placed to what Lord Denning has styled bread and butter. This is a clear recognition of the fact that personal freedom without economic freedom would only mean freedom to starve.

As Norman Marsh, who prepared the paper on rule of law has observed, the Delhi Declaration, is only a beginning. The main purpose of the Congress was to get a body of principles recognised by the participant states as fundamental. Their purpose was not proselytisation, but only consolidation. Hence they decided not to invite Jurists from Iron Curtains and South Africa to the Delhi Congress.

Now the Congress has adopted the declaration what should be the next step? It is submitted that the Jurist must strive to obtain

recognition of the principles by the non-participant state. But at the same time Judges shouldn't sit idle. Of course the rule of law is primarily a constitutional principle and as such fall within the exclusive control of each state. But since the state is under the rule of law, the Judges are not bound by the constitutional provisions should such provision conflict with the rule of law. Hence should any such clause or decision stand in the way of progress clanking their medieval chains, my respectful submission is that the Judges would do good in ignoring it.

LABOUR SURPLUS IN INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY

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The concept of "Surplus" is suggested in the sense that Indian agriculture is confronted with excess supply of labour which the rural sector of the economy is unable to absorb with advantage or employ productively and profitably. This is generally known as the farm problem—too many people on too little land, and its logical sequence a transfer problem of providing them with alternative avenues of employment and productive activity elsewhere in the economy. If the excess number leaves farming, the per capita income in agriculture goes up, even without changing output, by a simple process of arithmetic. If they leave in favour of non-farm employment or if they are rehabilitated in other productive occupations, the aggregate national income goes up. It is better, therefore, for the excess number to leave or to be removed, for they are not producing anything at all or at least, only a portion of their food. They are indeed a liability on the rural sector. They are unemployed or underemployed.

We are all familiar with the terms of unemployment and underemployment in the agricultural economy of all underdeveloped countries. Employment has two dimensions of time and productivity. Idle hours or idle days come under the category of "visible" unemployment. This is amenable to precise measurement. In Indian Union, it has been estimated that agricultural labourers work only a little over 7 months in the year. For five months they are completely idle. Taking all the agricultural workers together (1951), on an average, the adult male earner in a labour family was employed on wages for

189 days in agriculture and 29 days in non-farm pursuits making a total of 218 days per year. It is to be noted that the unemployment situation is serious in the food deficit areas of South India and West India with 181 and 196 working days in an year. About 74% of the unemployment, was due to want of work. The data is related to visible types of unemployment only. Visible type of unemployment is said to exist when the actual amount of labour worked by agricultural labourers is smaller than the amount of labour time which the labour force is able to supply. In other words it refers to the amount of labour which can be withdrawn from agriculture without impairing output or changing the mode of production. This is the "pure" surplus, which is a burden on agriculture today. It has been found that 13% among agricultural labourers are without wage employment throughout the year including peak periods. Taking into account seasonal unemployment, the percentage will go upto 25 or 30 per cent of the total labour force available in the country. Excess demand for labour during peak periods may be relieved by partial mechanisation of agriculture and in slack seasons subsidiary occupations may be provided. However, the fact remains that there is surplus of labour which may be removed with advantage and profit.

In terms of productivity of the worker, we have what is known as disguised unemployment or underemployment. It is rather difficult to measure. It depends upon the level of technique attained, the amount of capital invested and the crop pattern in agriculture.

Nevertheless, it is observed that with a simple change in the mode of production, many will become superfluous in agriculture. Apparently people are employed or rather self-employed but they are not engaged full time or the level of productivity is far below their capacity to contribute. To take a familiar scene in Kerala and elsewhere we have 3 or 4 adult females cooking and/or gossiping in the kitchen all day, preparing food for 3 or 4 males of the household. Visibly their hands or lips are busy and moving but surely they are not productively employed and a major portion of their services may be dispensed with. Females belonging to middle class, families are not generally permitted by society to undertake wage employment. In an age of equality and freedom, women may be emancipated in their own interests and of the economy. The story of the males in a middle class family is similar but more frustrating. Taking farming as a family tradition and way of life, healthy and young adult males spend all their time in idleness as work on the farm is limited and wage employment is despised on "prestige" value.

A comparative estimate of the productivity of the worker in agriculture in some of the underdeveloped countries will indicate the low level of yield of the Indian counterpart.

Real product per male engaged in agriculture

Measured in O.U. units 1949-52

Brazil	...	2060
Ceylon	...	1285
Egypt	...	1265
Pakistan	...	825
India	...	585

Source: Colin Clark—Conditions of economic progress 3rd edition, p. 227.

O.U.—Oriental unit has been defined by him "as the quantity of goods or services exchangeable directly or indirectly for one rupee in India in 1948-49."

The poor performance of the Indian worker in agriculture indirectly proves that he is underemployed due to lack of complementary resources of labour in terms of land, better technique and equipment. It means a change in the mode of production. If agricultural practices change, the same or better output may be obtained with less number of people engaged in agriculture. This is the secondary type of "surplus" labour which might be declared superfluous in the interests of efficiency in farming and better standards of living for the people.

A comparative image of the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy would further clarify the point under discussion. 2.1 per cent of the labour force engaged in factory establishments contribute 6.5 per cent of the national income (1951). 70 per cent of the people of India engaged in agriculture contribute only 50 per cent of our national income. Evidently something is wrong somewhere. Either they are not producing enough justified by their numbers or some of them are not producing anything at all.

It means some people are not wanted in agriculture, may be in the order of 10-15 millions. But they continue to live as parasites on agriculture and hence like weeds to be weeded out. But to use such harsh phrases against a section of the people who might have "inherited" agriculture, is neither fair nor warranted by the paucity of alternative jobs available in the country. In the nature of things one could expect them to come out attracted by higher incomes or better opportunities elsewhere or driven out indirectly by technological advance. There are thus two historical factors working for the elimination of the "labour surplus" namely the "pull" and "push" factors of the economy. Industry is more productive and gives better wages. Higher incomes in industry might attract labour. But where is the industry? Hence the need for urgent industrialisation. And

mechanisation may be initiated on a regional basis wherein the nature of the soil and crop warrant such a change.

Considering the high level of productivity obtained in manufacturing and other services, progressive economies reveal a very low percentage of labour engaged in agriculture.

Percentage of active males in agriculture

	Year	Year
	1880	1950
U.K. ...	17	6.0
U.S.A. ...	54	16.0
France ...	47	29.0
India (1911) ...	71	68.9 (1951)

This is the direction of progress and higher per capita income is generally associated with low percentage of the population dependent on agriculture.

Fisher-Clark thesis stipulated that in progressive economies more and more people are engaged in manufacturing and services than in agriculture. To simplify, as an economy grows or prospers more and more people will be engaged in industry than in agriculture and still more in the services than in manufactures. The emerging distribution of employment is treated as an inevitable condition of economic progress.

It is observed in progressive economies that the proportionate contribution of agriculture to national income is declining.

U.S.A.

Proportion of total income from commodity production—1889-1939

Period	Agri-culture	Manu-facturing
1899-1908 ...	40.8	41.7
1909-1918 ...	41.0	44.7
1919-1928 ...	31.0	52.1
1929-1938 ...	26.1	59.6

Though the absolute size is increasing, the relative share of agriculture in the national

income is declining. This is true also with regard to land rent. The logical conclusion is that the importance of land as a factor of production is declining relatively to industry with the progress of science and "know-how."

Indian factory worker too is producing about 4 to 5 times more than the worker in agriculture. But Indian industry today is unable to absorb the "surplus" labour from agriculture. But a solution is needed. Agricultural Production Team (U.S.A.) Ford Foundation, 1959, recommended a public works programme for projects requiring primarily hard labour such as contour bunding, land levelling, surface drainage, irrigation, wells and tanks, to relieve unemployment in the rural sector. The Team further believes that it will contribute directly to increasing food production, provide income for needy people and will not be inflationary. However, it should remain as a short period solution.

The man-land ratio being too high in India, some people have to leave agriculture, to avoid compulsory idleness or partial employment. Gradually many more prosperous farmers too will relapse from cash farming into subsistence farming due to the normal functioning of our laws of inheritance. Land reform measures such as ceiling on land-holdings will have a salutary effect in that direction in reducing the magnitude of "surplus" population in agriculture. In view of the fact, that land and its return to the landlord namely rent is bound to decline in future, it is desirable that some of the rich landlords who are not interested in farming leave it in favour of industry and trade in order to provide better work and income for themselves and others.

To conclude, an understanding of higher productivity of non-farming enterprises in general, will help the land owners to appreciate the changing political climate and transforming pattern of agricultural organisation in the country without tension or frustration. Let them capitalise the high land values in other

productive enterprises without fighting a losing battle against land reform measures. It is within the reach of such intelligent and enterprising landlords in finding a long-term solution for the "labour surplus" in agriculture. Let them not stick to land, with an absolute theory in the rights of private property. Mobility in ideas is the primary source of all socio-economic change. Mobility is the potential factor of growth in Indian economy; in ideas, mode of living and occupation. Further, the

under-utilised labour resources in the rural sector, it is admitted, is the chief saving potential in the economy and source of capital formation in the country. Underemployed labour living on starvation levels, is a perennial source of discontent and agitation. Hence a solution of the problem of "labour surplus" in agriculture remains as the imperative need of the hour, in the interests of both economic well-being and political stability.

STRANGE WAYS OF SECURING A BRIDE

BY

S. KANNAN, M.A.

The means of securing a bride in the Tribal societies in India are varied, interesting and constitute a colourful target for the modern Anthropologists. Although one method of securing a mate usually predominates, there are some tribes in which several methods are concurrently used. The marrying partners have little choice in the matter; both the preliminaries and the act of marriage are a group affair, with individual choice reduced to a minimum. Most of the times marriages are arranged on the basis of economic interest, with both original families seeking to gain by a transaction that is free from ecclesiastical or state supervision.

Marriage is more of a civil contract rather than a religious sacrament, and so we find less of religious solemnization. Of course there are some tribes which have assimilated the religious aspects of a Hindu marriage. The Ho of middle India have their traditional marriage ceremony coupled with the rituals of Hindus. In the case of the tribes like the Khasi, marriage has had a religious sanction behind it. A tribal marriage is a contract between two family groups 'in a net work of social obligations' and not a contract between two individuals.

Coming to the ways of securing a mate we have as many as eight types among the Indian tribes. They are the Probationary marriage, marriage by capture, marriage by intrusion, marriage by purchase, marriage by service, marriage by exchange, marriage by trial and marriage by mutual consent and elopement.

Probationary marriage

The Kuki tribe presents a very good example of this type. The young man is allowed to

live with the girl of his choice in her house for weeks together. If they find themselves temperamentally suitable and compatible, they decide to marry each other. In case they are temperamentally unsuited, the young man is expected to pay a cash compensation to the girl's party and he is to leave the girl's house immediately.

Marriage by Capture

It is generally believed that capture and stealing are quite common among the tribal people. This view can no longer be accepted. Of course such practices are known to occur in some tribes, but never very often. Extension of the application of the Indian Penal Code and also due to social advancement, marriage by capture is increasingly decreasing. Anyhow marriage by capture is there.

We have instances of marriage by capture in the case of Hos, Santhals, Gonds, Mundahs, Bhumijas and in some of the tribes of Assam. The Ho call it 'oportipi' and the Gond 'posi'-othur.' Exorbitant bride price is often said to lead to marriage by capture. In the elder arranged marriages too, the father of the girl requests the groom to take the bride away by force at an arranged date, place and time. The girl may pretend to show some resistance, but, ultimately allows herself to be carried away. Abduction marriages of similar nature are said to increase the prestige of the bride's parents.

In the case of Gonds it is not high bride price, as in the case of Ho, that makes parents encourage capture. It is because of the view held by them that remaining unmarried for a long time brings discredit to the girl concerned. So the parents of the girl encourage the girl's cross-cousin to carry her away. Pretention

and mock fight may take place and the bride weeps and laments on the occasion.

Physical capture takes place during rival village raids in some of the tribes in Assam. Sometimes mates are also captured in a peaceful manner on festive occasions and at inter-village meets. Such occasions are characterised by rivalry, intoxication, feasting and dancing. These captures are socially approved and in return the entire tribe is to be entertained in a feast by the gallant who has captured a bride.

There is another type of capture which is called—the ceremonial capture. This is found among the Kharia, Birhor, Santhals, Bhumijas, Hos, Mundahs and some other tribes of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. When a young man loves a girl without any reciprocity or when her father is not agreeable to the match, the boy may forcibly put a vermilion mark on the girl's forehead, which act is indicative of a formal marriage. The boy soon leaves the village and hides himself. In the meantime the guardians have the matter settled, upon which the young chap returns to the village to be accepted as the husband of the girl.

Marriage by Intrusion

A peculiar method of securing a mate-intrusion marriage—is found to be practised among the Hos, Birhor, Santhal and some other tribes. This method is termed by the Ho as 'anader,' meaning 'that which involves humiliation.' In the case of physical and ceremonial capture the initiative is taken by the young man, but, whereas in the case of intrusion marriage it is the girl that takes the initiative. When a girl loves a boy without much reciprocity or even when the boy is in intimate relationship with her but postpones marriage without a valid reason, the girl thrusts herself on the young man. One fine morning she secretly enters his hut and seats herself in a corner. Every attempt is made by the mother

of the boy to drive out the girl. The girl may be abused, treated harshly and even beaten. The girl sticks to the position to the last and refuses to change her intention. Soon the courtyard of the house gets filled with the neighbours and the young man is compelled to marry her.

Marriage by Purchase

Marriage by purchase is another method of securing a bride among the preliterate societies in India. A bride price is paid to the girl's family for the services she will render to her husband's family and it is also in a way a compensation to her parents' family. If the dowry to the girl from her parents is considerable, the bride price loses its significance. The implications of bride price is apt to be misunderstood by outsiders. The bride in no case becomes the chattel of her husband or his family. The arrangement may be in fact designed to protect the woman and her consanguineal group. This transaction ensures her a good treatment by her husband and his family. It can even serve in socially cementing the marriage and the two contracting parties.

The bride price usually takes more than one form. It can be either cash or kind or both. The Naga tribe is found to pay a bride price. So also the case with some of the tribes in Central India. The Rengma Naga do not attach any economic significance to the bride price they pay. To drive home this point, they accept ten rupees less than was promised. Among the Ho bride price naturally has the economic significance. Bride price among them is exorbitant and they consider it also beneath their dignity to accept a lower price for one's child. So much so a number of men and women remain unmarried. They resort to other modes of securing a bride. The spinsters are also likely to be identified with witchcraft or sorcery. In order to avoid these troubles they are led to borrow money necessary for the marriage expenses from the Hindu money-lenders. It is also suspected that the

low status for women and prostitution among the Ao and Angami Naga might be the result of the absence of bride price which gives several moral values among the Rengma Naga.

Marriage by Service

To circumvent the problem of high bride price some tribes like the Gond, Baiga etc. resort to marriage through service. Among the Purums of Manipur it is found to be the only way. For three years the prospective bridegroom is expected to serve in the house of the bride's father. He has to do all kinds of work that the sons of the house do. He will eat, drink and live with the family during his service. Similarly if a prospective Gond or Baiga finds himself too poor to pay the bride price he has to serve in his would-be father-in-law's house. They marry after some years and set up their own family. The would-be father-in-law in the Birhor tribe even goes to the extent of lending money to the prospective son-in-law who pays the bride price at usual rates. The loan in course of time will get repaid.

Marriage by Exchange

Marriage by exchange is another commonly prevalent method among the preliterate societies and also in some of the more civilized societies of our country. By exchanging women with each other, the families are able to avoid the botheration of bride price. However this method is not practised among the Khasi tribe of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Assam.

Marriage by Trial

Physical charm and good manners are not always sufficient for a young man to win a bride. Sometimes daughters are given in marriage on the strict principle that 'only the brave deserve the fair.' Any young man in need of a bride has to submit himself to an endurance test before he can hope to attain his marital ambition. The moment he succeeds, the loveliest lass in the village is his for the asking.

The Gonds have a picturesque marriage custom, one of the tests of a suitor's worth being the ability to scale a slippery pole, while he is being belaboured with sticks by girls. On a festival day young girls and their suitors gather in large numbers to make merry. A pole is erected in the centre of the village. The pole is made slippery by rubbing ghee over it and it is very difficult to climb on it. The suitor is expected to climb the pole when the girls who are around the pole with sticks in their hands beat him. Once the youth reaches the top of the pole he can marry any girl from among the crowd.

In the Bhil village at the time of the Holi festival, youngsters of both sex practise a folk dance around a pole or a tree to the top of which a cocoanut and gud are tied. The girls make an inner ring of dancers round the tree and there is an outer ring of men. Any suitor is to break through the inner ring to climb the pole or the tree and to eat the gud and break open the cocoanut. There is considerable resistance from the girl dancers who may even tear his clothes, flesh and strike him with broomsticks. Of course these things are 'not to offend the suitor in anyway' and so everything is in good faith. If a suitor succeeds in the test he walks away with the girl of his choice.

Marriage by Mutual Consent and Elopement

In almost all the tribes in India adult marriage is the rule and so if there has been instances of child marriage it can safely be attributed to the contact with the Hindus. In the tribes like the Ho and Santhal there were some instances of child marriage in the immediate past. But prior to their contacts with the Hindus only adults could marry and hence the scope for mutual consent and parental approval for a marriage was considerable. This is more so in the case of tribes like the Konayak Naga, the Ao and Sema Naga, the Angami, the Bhotia, the Munda, the Oraon and in some of the South Indian tribes like the

Muthuvan, Mannan and Paliyan which have all youth dormitories—some mono-sexual while the others bio-sexual. These youth dormitories provided excellent scope for the young in their choice of partners. If the approval of parents was not forthcoming, then an elopement is the natural recourse and the elders were found to receive the 'overfond couple' without the least hesitation. This mode of securing a mate—by mutual consent and elopement—is not out-dated and is still prevalent in India.

Inheritance of widows

As Lowie points out, in some preliterate societies women are conceived of as property.

In the Sema Naga tribe on the death of a person, his property goes to his widow. But if he wants to get that property he has no other go but to marry his father's widow (other than one's own mother). And so he inherits his father's property along with his widow. In some of the Central Indian tribes it is not uncommon to find one marrying his brother's widow thereby putting an end to the need of returning a once accepted member of the family and also sometimes the bride price. In some societies the bride price is so high that one prefers to marry the widow of his brother without having to pay a bride price.

WALES, THE HOME OF THE CELTS

BY

MATHEW CHERIAN

In previous issues of Broadway Times I have written two articles on British Isles and one on the Republic of Ireland. With a historical background, England was portrayed as a place of law and order, Ireland as a country of ever-green farms and Scotland as a land with a storied past. In this article the fourth and the final in this series, I shall try to give you my impressions of Wales and its people. As I have done before I shall give you the comments in the form of a travelogue reminding you of at times glimpses of Welsh history.

The people of Wales represent the remnants of those combative Celts who were subject to centuries of Roman rule. They were driven to their mountains by Saxon invaders. They had to withstand the 'efficient' administration of the Normans. Nevertheless, the Welshman has not ceded an iota of his cultural independence although politically and militarily he was subdued on several occasions. He has accepted the supremacy of Westminster with much less difficulty than the Irish (Northern Ireland) or the Scots.

As soon as you enter the soil of Wales you will realise that you are in a different country (assuming we enter from England). This is not entirely due to the question of language though Welsh is indeed a sufficient obstacle to most of us who desire to penetrate more deep into the mysteries of Welsh character. You notice a great difference in the way of living on the other side of the border.

Surprisingly enough the Welshman is no politician. Statesman like Lloyd George is an exception to the general Welsh attitude to politics. For them, generally politics are narrowed down to pertinacious defence of language, customs and ways of living.

After this general introduction let us start our trip, to explore this Celtic abode with the County of Glamorgan. Let us first take a look round the capital of Wales, Cardiff. Financially and industrially this is the most important city in Wales. Thousands of inhabitants of Wales live and work in this city and the adjoining County of Glamorgan. The majority of the work is provided on account of the plentiful supply of coal from the Rhondda Valley. Cardiff is an extremely cosmopolitan city. In the docks of this busy city you will find Chinese, Negroes, and several other nationalities working side by side with the local people. But away from the docks, Cardiff is a quiet city with the beautiful Cathay's Park, Municipal buildings and the National Museum of Wales which houses an exquisite collection of Welsh art and handicrafts, both ancient and modern. It is axiomatic in Wales that no talented child shall be deprived of the opportunity necessary for its development. If its parents are unable then the neighbours or the village community will see to it that help is forthcoming. The imposing Cardiff university buildings and several other Welsh educational institutions are ample testimony to the passionate love and desire for knowledge of the Welsh.

A few miles to the north of Cardiff lies Caerphilly noted for the production of cheese and it is as famous as the Cheddar cheese of England. Caerphilly has a fine old Edwardian castle.

Our next place of halt is Swansea, a lovely seaside resort. The charming little Gower peninsula, on the neck of which Swansea stands offers delightful wooded landscapes and quiet unspoilt beaches. Not far away from Swansea is Mumbles, a favourite holiday resort for south Walians.

Swansea is a town largely devoted to the working of copper and anthracite coal. North of Swansea lie the valleys so well described by Richard Llewellyn in "How green was my valley." But at the present time their virgin beauty is soiled by the advent of the industrial age. Let us now proceed to the nearby town of Carmarthen. Through the town of Carmarthen flows the river Tawyn famed for its salmon and its Coraclemen. The coracle is a sort of basket over which a leathery skin has been stretched to make it watertight. On the inside across the middle is a wooden plank which serves as a seat and attached to each end of the seat is a leather thong which he uses as he carries the coracle on his back.

Carmarthen is a quiet country town with an ancient castle which is now used as a county gaol. If you happen to be there on a market day you will see the town full of lively chattering folk who flock there from the surrounding countryside with their wares.

I understand that nearly every county in Wales has a slight difference in accent which distinguishes it from the other though it is difficult for an outsider to make out this. But if you spend a sufficiently long period in Wales it is easy to make out the south Walian from the northerner from his accent. In the main street of Carmarthen there is an ancient oak tree. According to a local legend, if the oak tree dies so also will Carmarthen.

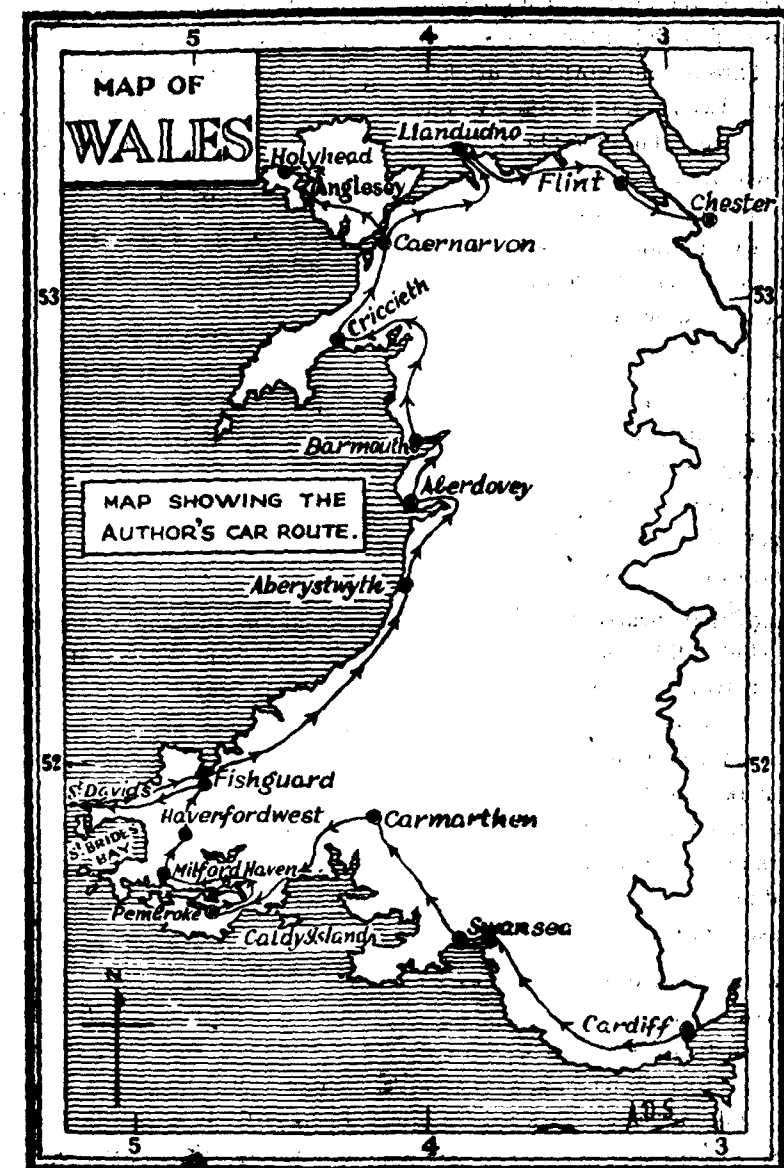
Carmarthen is situated in the centre of a fertile countryside, watered by countless little streams. As you travel you will be fascinated by these lovely streams passing gently over pebbly beds. Let us now proceed in the direction of St. Davids in Pembroke. Women with their heads enveloped in shawls in the Arab fashion, riding donkeys, are familiar sights in these parts. These women trot briskly to prepare the cockles for the market. You can see them in hundreds in the nearby markets of Swansea and Carmarthen.

In Pembrokeshire one doubts whether one is in Wales, for there are several English names like Goodwick, Milford Haven, Deeplake and many others. Here you will find several Norman castles consequent to their conquest of Wales. Tenby in the south is an ancient walled city. It has a delightful sandy beach. The Caldy island which is not far away from the coast has a monastery whose monks carry on weaving and metal work.

Let us now proceed to Pembroke to see its castle which is probably one of the most impressive ruins in Wales. This part of Wales is well known for its birds. In the early morning the sea birds' shrill cries are at times deafening.

From Pembroke we are on our way to Milford Haven where lies the truck of the old French battleship, L'Orient which was presented to the town by Lady Hamilton. This was the famous ship where "the boy stood on the burning deck, whence all but he had fled." Lady Hamilton and her husband's graves are in the local churchyard. Milford Haven has a lovely natural harbour. It is said that Henry II used it in the twelfth century as the base from which he sailed his fleet to conquer Ireland. Now it has a good fleet of fishing trawlers. Like Aberdeen in Scotland, Milford Haven in Wales has flourishing "silver harvests."

Now we are on the road again on our journey to Fishguard via Haverfordwest. Fishguard is the terminus of the main South Wales railway line from London and its importance is mainly due to its docks built at the beginning of the century. The town is perched on a cliff from where you can have a panoramic view of the Fishguard bay down below. There is an interesting story connected with Fishguard. In the year 1797 three French ships arrived in the bay and started disembarking soldiers. The Lieutenant of the county got ready to meet the invaders. The defenders were ill-equipped. Suddenly there descended from the hillsides a multitude of red-coated figures.



They were Welsh women in their traditional red coats and tall hats. Mistaking these red coated figures for the English army, the ships sailed away leaving the already disembarked soldiers to surrender. Fishguard celebrated its victory. In the morning they saw Lord Cawdor's (Lord Lieutenant) yacht leaving the harbour with the French soldiers. It was alleged that two Welsh girls had fallen in love with two French soldiers and during the night helped them to escape. When some years later the lovers returned to Fishguard with their French husbands surprisingly enough, they were given a rousing reception.

On the northern tip of Wales overlooking St. Brides Bay is the venerable Cathedral of St. David, soaked in centuries of tradition. One is amazed at the rich interior of this church and it is worthwhile remembering that nearly fourteen hundred years ago this was almost the solitary outpost of Christianity in the British Isles.

Let us now explore the county of Cardigan with its innumerable valleys, rivers and rivulets. The coast line from Aberporth to Borth teems with delightful sandy beaches, cliffs, precipitous headlands and all that is necessary to ensure a perfect seaside holiday. Aberystwyth is probably the best known of Cardigan seaside resorts. It is also the oldest university town in Wales and houses the National Library of Wales. As I have mentioned before, the Welsh passion for learning is fantastic. Most of their educational institutions are started with money collected in pennies and half pennies from the Welsh farms to give the youth of Wales the advantages of advanced education.

From Aberystwyth the autocar and rail services make it convenient to explore the hinterland; whether you go to the Devils bridge along the beautiful Rheidol Valley or up to Plynlimon through the enchanting countryside of Ilyfrant you will see to the north the beginnings of the rugged mountain scenery so typical of north Wales, while to

the south slope away more gently the hills and valleys of Cardiganshire.

Devils bridge is an extraordinary sight indeed. Clamped between two cliffs through which a current of water flows into a dark pool far below, this bridge deserves the name it bears "Pont Y Gwr Drwg" or Bridge of the Evil one, for a local legend has it that the devil himself had built it. This part of Wales you will see nature in its untamed magnificence.

To the north of Devils Bridge, Plynlimon watered by the rivers Dovey, Severn and the Wye is the natural boundary between north and south Wales. Nearabouts are the well known wells of Wales, some of them producing sulphurous, saline and chalybeate waters. In one of the springs there is barium chloride so useful for the treatment of the heart.

We are again on the road now heading to Aberdovey. It is a quiet town, hospitable and has an equable climate. Nearby is Machynlleth from where the Welsh hero Owen Glendower launched his ill-fated campaign to drive out the English from Wales. It is to-day a peaceful law-abiding town.

After coming all the way we should visit Barmouth which is associated with great names like Shelly, Ruskin and Tennyson. Darwin worked out the "Origin of Species" and the "The Descent of Man" in a house by the seashore.

Let us now proceed to county Caernarvonshire, where stands Caernarvon Castle which is described by Pennant as "that most magnificent badge of our subjection."

In this county there are umpteen lovely seaside resorts, not forgetting the birthplace of Lloyd George, Criccieth, with its thirteenth century castle is beautiful indeed.

Aberdaron situated in Aberdaron bay is the most remote village in Wales and there lived in Aberdaron an extraordinary man by name Dick of Aberdaron, the son of a local carpenter who mastered thirty-five languages

and made a dictionary in Welsh, Hebrew, and Greek. How we miss him here in India at the present time!

Closeby is Anglesey known as the "Mother of Wales" in ancient times, joined to the mainland by a masterpiece of engineers, the Menai suspension bridge. The first station in Anglesby after the crossing has the longest name of any place in the world, Llanfairpwllgwyngyllgogerychwyrndrobwllandysiliogogoch, or just Llanfair P.G. according to the ordnance surveyor.

Anglesey is still the corn growing region of Wales with its rich corn fields. The name 'Mona' is given since she is reputed to have capacity to feed the entire Welsh population. Holyhead is nearby from where there is a regular steamship service to Ireland.

Back to the mainland let us proceed to Caernarvon through the university city of Bangor; Caernarvon at the southern end of the Menai straits has the grim majestic mass of its castle. This was built by Edward the First in the thirteenth century as a symbol of his determination to reduce the Welsh to complete subjection. But in 1284 the clever monarch knowing fully well that the proud Welsh chieftains would accept no foreign prince, promised to designate a ruler who could speak no word of English. He sent his Queen, Eleanor of Castille who was expecting a child to Caernarvon that she might be delivered there and in that stone fortress the child was born. Triumphantly, Edward presented the boy child to the assembled Welsh chieftains as their new prince "who spoke no English, had been born on Welsh soil and whose first words would be spoken in Welsh." On that historic day was created the first Prince of Wales and subsequently the eldest son of the King of England has always been titled Prince of Wales.

The next place of halt is Llandudno situated in Orme's bay between the rocky precipices

of the Great Orme's Head and the little Orme's Head. It is the most frequented of all Welsh seaside resorts. It is a favourite spot for visitors from across the border, from north of England and the Midlands. Llandudno has all the facilities of a modern holiday resort.

Closeby is Conway with its castle built by Edward the First. In St. Mary's Church, there is an interesting tombstone with a most remarkable inscription.

"Here lieth Nocholas Hookes of Conway who was the forty-first child of his father Wm. Hookes and the father of twenty-seven children, who died on March 20th 1637."

Conway is situated on the estuary of the river Conway and is a beautiful town with no encroachment of modern civilisation.

Throughout your journey you will see many public houses with huge signs "Have a Hancock please." Hancock is the most popular beer in Wales.

If you are lucky you can see some of the typically Welsh functions, for instance; in a small town, Llanrwst, near Conway each year there is a festival of song and poetry which is presided over by white robed Druids with their attendant blue robed bards. The Welsh interest in music is remarkable. For days they will sing in these festivals, you will become as intoxicated as they with the subtle blending of voices and the plaintive beauty of their songs.

Let us continue our journey to Rhyl another popular holiday resort and then to Flint.

We have come to the end of our tour of Wales. We have been passing by mountains, lakes, waterfalls, limpid streams and green valleys since we started from St. Davids till we reached the English border.

From Flint let us cross over to Chester in England and bid adieu to the charming country of Wales.

HOW ARE STOCK EXCHANGES AFTER BECOMING STATUTORY BODIES?

BY

S. NARAYANASWAMY

Since Independence, most trading rings have been brought within the ambit of Acts of Parliament. Before this, Stock Exchanges were voluntary associations of individuals or firms registered either as companies or societies. The Bombay Stock Exchange was the only body that had its trading regulated by a statute of the province of Bombay called the Securities Contract Control Act—a name which has since been adopted for the Central Act, that controls and regulates the activities of all Stock Exchanges in India.

The Bill when it was published looked drastic and far-reaching in the powers it sought to confer on Government and no less drastic in the punishments it prescribed for infractions of its provisions. This created a lot of misgiving among the members of the then non-statutory exchanges. The Bill sought to make all contracts in securities entered into outside the purview of the Stock Exchanges—that is to say contracts entered into with persons other than members of the recognised Stock Exchanges, void except of course for spot delivery. The Bill also sought to recognise only one Stock Exchange in each centre, thereby forcing two or more Stock Exchanges where such functioned to amalgamate. The Bill made jobbing transactions as were not disclosed to be such, void as well as punishable. It prescribed codes of conduct for members. It conferred powers of intervention on Government in crises, in emergencies and where Government considered that Governing Bodies or Committees were mal-administering or inefficiently administering the affairs of an Exchange. It laid down a system of licensing

brokers in centres where no Stock Exchanges existed. It clothed Committees with powers to inspect the account books of members. It also laid down elaborate rules and bye-laws for the listing of companies' shares on the Stock Exchange Lists of official quotations and for permitting dealing in the shares of listed and unlisted companies. It laid down the rules as to settlement trading and for establishing Clearing Houses. It laid down qualifications for candidates for membership and for authorised assistants of Members being approved. Rules as to conduct of business have also been laid down.

The Bill was before the public for eliciting public opinion for quite a long time and the Government showed commendable keenness in getting expert advice and in responding to representations on procedural matters. The Government preserved their principal objective of effective regulation and control with a view to prevent misuse of the Stock Exchange machinery to serve purely speculative purposes—or to serve the personal ends of money bags. Today the Act, with certain sensible modifications made to the original Bill, has been in force for some two years and one by one, the areas have been notified and the relevant Stock Exchanges have come within the purview of the Act. Calcutta is the only Exchange that has shown strange reluctance to come within the ambit of the Act and was given time to modify its enrolment methods and rules to conform to the Act. Calcutta is also the city in which a second exchange continues to function—The Bengal Share-dealers' Association which has shown reluctance

to merge and whose members have not been keen on making deposits. However the Government of India have now asked Calcutta to come within the jurisdiction of the Act and it is expected to be before the end of the year.

The advantages of a Central Act to regulate the activities of Stock Exchanges are becoming more and more obvious, even to those that have a general distrust of statutory regulation. The most important psychological gain is that the Stock Exchange, which has been popularly regarded as a den of noisy outlaws, gesticulating fiercely and uncouthly or as a concentration of rapacious human beings that do their best to resemble a lower order of God's creatures, has now come to be recognised as an important economic institution, which even a welfare state recognises as indispensable. The second advantage is that uniformity of rules and procedure as among all Indian Exchanges facilitates inter-market business without causing confusion or creating disputes. The irresponsible elements of an Exchange that were dedicated to rabid speculation are now obliged to observe certain hours of business instead of shouting round the clock and playing ducks and drakes with price levels that were bringing about a heavy disparity between the official closing prices of an evening and the opening rates of the following morning—a perpetual headache to officials, as to conforming members of the Exchange.

The Stock Exchange is the place where persons who act as agents for sellers of shares, meet those who act as agents for buyers of shares. The idea is that those who want to sell and to buy must be enabled to do so, with the minimum delay and this is the principle of free markets. In the process of creating such free markets, those who buy solely in expectation of profiting by the appreciation in price and those who sell solely in the expectation of profiting by the fall in price—who are called speculators, play a very useful role.

They are the elements that impart liquidity—a most important quality to the market. If those that sell and buy anticipating falls or rises are not there, the market will be thrown on investors, who sell and buy and these are in the nature of things not numerous and trade will be hampered and buying and selling orders will remain unexecuted. The investor is helpful in securing liquidity for his scrip by the presence of the speculator, who is often held up contumely by those who are not fully conversant with the social purpose served by the speculator in a stock trading ring. It is not the object of the Act to abolish the speculator—but to keep his activities from getting out of hand by stipulating that margins shall be deposited by him—so that this financial obligation will curb any extravagant inclination to take a headlong plunge. This is a sagacious and sensible provision and should be welcomed.

The Securities Control Act has worked to the advantage of the country as a whole. The members of Exchanges have afforded the fullest co-operation and many of their fears have been happily dispelled. Regulation invests the members with responsibility and helps them to evolve a code of professional conduct, which should ultimately help the profession to feel proud of its functions and also proud of the way it has functioned in shaping the scheme of economic things in India. The Act to regulate Stock Exchanges in India had by and large been vindicated, even within the short period it has been in operation in this country.

All restraints are irksome and mildly rebelled against to begin with, but are appreciated for the finer qualities they build up. The refinements of any code of business conduct, confer dignity on the professions concerned, while in no way shrinking the arena of business opportunities. The new Acts that seek to regulate and control trading rings are appropriate to a Welfare State.

A ZEALOUS LOT

The orb of day begins to shed its cosmic ray,
No more nocturnal voices are heard ;
Passions mandate—He kept it away,
Leapt out of bed, our Law Apprentice.

Magic fumes and spells of coffee over
News sheet seduces his clear mind ;
Taking his bath he was charting his course,
Soon he had the gift of garb all over.

Eyes dripping pity he appeared at Master's
Where await him all scowls and no smiles.
Amiable semi-brute the Master appears,
Agreeable mediocrity, they call the Apprentice.

Master eludes notice of his presence,
On the Master's pride he is a dun,
Thus spends time in the lion's den,
Stars crossed by malignant for Apprentice.

Master is cursed systematically, comprehensively,
His people thought he had got celebrity ;
Held his tongue, he ate his supper
Hoping that heaven means something more.

Temple of Justice built in the busy haunts
There they play the clients like pawns ;
Glare of day lights her open gates,
Through which each other they chase.

A traveller 'tween Master and Court
Is the Law Apprentice—his supreme lot,
Oh ! Apprentice ! 'Twill vex thy soul
To hear what I here pitiously tell.

'Tis said a sheer waste of time,
Scarce they could from scorns refrain,
Doleful plight of one year study of law,
All his learning gets entombed low !

Advocates argue long and loud,
Their old lives lively mocked ;
Apprentice draws learning from this creed,
Shaking his roots on Earth in such speed.

The classic grace of the job is lost,
Today's lawyer is in wild cat's notion cast,
Relegated like a squealing mug,
His back firing potentialities so big.

Lawyer has no firm reason or will
Endures the absence of skill
There is a gloomy hollow dun I find,
Poor man built of a black coat and a gown.

Days are past—his great renown,
Fortune to him does now frown,
No ban or brawl—he draws a nay,
Craft has taught me this to say.

Never does he prove a complicated fraud,
But wants to eat fruits in such trade,
The lawyer fails to understand the summary,
Though his Junior refreshes his memory.

The Judge grows wild at his pleadings,
And his retort survives the pleader,
In act to speak the lawyer mellows eloquence,
The creed had already shed all brilliance.

The Procedure Code is left to posterity
Apprentice goes down hands in his *diary*.
Here too Examinations are very low company,
A dying fire to stir his great fantasy.

—S. Venkatachari

Personality Sketch

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BY

KASHYAPA

A sketch of a few hundred words can hardly do justice to the manifold personality of the Indian Premier. Besides, some aspect or other of Nehru's character has already been touched upon when I wrote about Rajaji, Pant and Krishna Menon, and in the sketches to follow, I shall doubtless have to mention a few other facts of the Pandit's personality. After much revolution within my mind as to how I must approach this month's essay, I decided (and, I hope readers will agree) to enter into the minds of some of India's foremost political figures and write what they might say (or think) about Nehru. I need hardly add that these are purely imaginary interviews. . . . and no offence meant.

Gandhiji : When I think of Jawaharlal today, I cannot help remembering what I wrote about him years ago. I then said "Jawaharlal is my political heir. He may differ from me while I am living. But when I am gone he will begin speaking my language." How true my prediction has become! What is Panchshila save Ahimsa on an international plane? What is India's policy on Goa except non-violence as a means of achievement? What is the Dalai Lama episode if not a perfect example of the Christian virtue of charity? I am convinced more than ever, that Nehru is my truest disciple, in spite of all that I hear about him. I have heard that in many matters (on a national level, not international) he has preferred *Sole-Force*—the force of a majority—to the *Soul Force* which I spoke about. Perhaps he forgot the spelling of the phrase that haunted me. It was my mistake. I must have chosen a less ambiguous sounding

word! I have also heard that he is given to much verbiage, and has opted for the Outer Voice, in preference to my Inner Voice. This again was my mistake. When I lived, I made



Nehru act as the Outer Voice to tell the people what my Inner Voice told me. He can't get out of that habit now. Maybe he will acquire that Inner Voice in course of time. After all he is young. I wish he and Rajaji got on better together Oh I am sorry, I did not wish to offer advice. I gave it up even before I died. Nobody relished my advice!

Rajaji : Jawaharlalji and I are the best of friends. I have great respect for his sacrifices and struggles in the years that we lived together, and worked together. It was much pleasanter, in spite of the several hardships and sufferings that we were subject to, to fight for freedom. Governing well is an infinitely more difficult job than fighting to govern. Like a child that cries for a big plantain, and then chokes in trying to swallow it whole, we have got what we cried for—namely Independence—and I am afraid we are choking in trying to swallow it whole. I am not saying anything against Jawaharlalji. I have great respect for him. May be I am old, and less impulsive. But at my age and with my experience I can hardly afford the luxury of costly errors produced by zealous and hasty decisions. It is always bad to love one's own ideas and notions like one's own children. We get blind to their defects. Nehru has many ideas. He has got to love and adore them. Naturally he feels bothered, when I say that there are pitfalls. He follows an idea like a boy following a butterfly. I am an old man telling him to look at the ground over which he runs in his pursuit of the colourful fly. Very irksome I know. But it is difficult to keep quiet without warning him about the dangers. After all I fought for this freedom as much as he did, and I do not like to see it all wasted

Jai Prakash Narain : Sarvodaya is not a fantasy but a fact. I have retired from active politics but not from political activity . . . I am sorry, I forgot I was to give my opinion of Panditji He is the Great Dictator

of India. That he is great, none can gainsay. That he is a dictator, is not his fault. It is the error of the whole system. He has no worthy comrades who can be his peers in status or intellect. And I have retired also. I know he regarded me with as much affection and respect as I regard myself, I mean, him. If he were made the head of a Coalition Government, with keen intellects from opposition parties as well by his side, he would be the world's greatest prime minister. I am not advocating a Coalition Government as such, but you know what I mean. But as things stand, he is forced to be what he is. He has to go on as he wills, where he wills. Nobody to tell him what to do. Nobody who can even approach him. A great pity. And I have chosen to retire

Ajoy Ghosh : The Communist Party of India wholeheartedly supports the foreign policy of the Prime Minister. He has kept the American war-mongers at a respectful distance. Of course we would like him to take a more concrete and positive policy towards the People's Democracies but in the present context of the international political situation we have to welcome even Nehru's dynamic neutrality. On the national front, the Congress is still harnessed to the apron strings of vested interests, and the Prime Minister can take a more rational view of things, instead of waiting. He must force the pace. He must accelerate the speed. The CPI will always extend a hand of responsive co-operation to the P.M. and help him to thwart the anti-people manoeuvres of the bloated capitalists and blood-sucking landlords. By adopting a form of undefined and indefinable Socialism, Nehru thinks he is making India safe from the Communists. I wonder. Is he making India safe from the Communists or safe for the Communists? Quite an interesting dialectical problem. I must talk to Dange about it

Pant, Morarji, Jagjivan Ram, Sasri etc. : (In chorus). Nehru is the greatest man on

earth and the biggest Prime Minister in the Universe. How sincerely we listen to what he says, and the way he invites suggestions (approving and supporting ones only of course) from us is most democratic. And, the way he lets us go on in our respective spheres as long as we don't say anything to hurt him or his favourite themes, is so comfortable. Take our desire to Hindi-ise the sub-continent for instance. Nehru has been so understanding and uninterfering. He doesn't quite like our strong Northern feelings, but he lets us do what we please. Of course we talk about Socialism and the Plan and Panch-sheel in glowing terms. It is quite nice. I (not we, mind you) hope to emulate him when I succeed him. . . .

T. T. Krishnamachari: Had I but served God (or even Lever Bros.) half as sincerely and honestly as I served Congress and Nehru, I would not have been so destitute now. Don't ask me anything more please. I want to read my books, and finish my *magnum opus* on Sharks—the human variety in the world of Commerce of course. . . .

Kamaraj: Nehru! Great man. Good man. My leader. Gandhi's first *sisya*. Long live Nehru! . . .

Indira Gandhi: Father! I can't help feeling strange when you people refer to him with wide eyed admiration as Panditji and the Prime Minister and all that. Of course, he is only Dad to me. Nevertheless, in public places and Congress meetings and all that I refer to him distantly as "Shri Nehru" and he gets up obediently and walks to the mike. I couldn't help laughing within myself. Imagine my ordering Dad about in the A.I.C.C. meeting! Gave me quite a kick, doing that. But Daddie says I must learn to put on those airs of a big leader. I am not used to it you know. But Dad says I must learn to be as big as my boots. He is grooming me nicely. How sweet of him. And Rajiv and Sanjiv are studying hard and growing up fast. I must also train them as Dad is training me. These other Congress leaders are quite jealous of me, you know. How foolish of them! They secretly accuse Dad of trying to perpetuate his family in the biggest offices of the land. Quite absurd. Nonsense, as Dad says. I am what I am because I am worth it, every inch. My being Dad's daughter is a pure coincidence. Surely I must not suffer for it!

Kashyapa: What can I add to these revealing interviews? And who am I?

INDIAN TENNIS IN WORLD LIMELIGHT

BY

SUMANT C. MISRA

At the very outset I must dispel the fears of many "Tennis fans" that the standard of tennis in India is falling and lower than what it was during the early forties. There is no gainsaying the fact that our top player today is the best we have so far produced and very much more in world class than any Indian player before. The impression of the lower standard may be attributed to the change in the status of the Indian tennis players. In the thirties and early forties any major tennis tournament could easily assemble a dozen or so good players which resulted in interesting matches and sufficient data for rankings. Nowadays, as the top players in the country are attending to their professions it is very difficult, except for a tournament or two, to get enough players of standing to compete in a Championship resulting in the majority of matches being one-sided and lacking interest. That is why although the top three or four players of India are as good if not better than their counterparts at any time before, the number of competitors and the number of tournaments played by ranked players has dropped considerably giving the impression of a lowering of the standard.

To bring Indian tennis into World Class we have to adopt ways and means that are adopted in countries which have produced and are producing a series of champions. Lawn Tennis is no longer a gentlemen's game to be played on week ends and tournaments competed in at the leisure and convenience of the players. In other countries tennis, like other sports, has become an all engrossing and time consuming activity and is therefore treated almost like a profession. Tennis players are not selected from the few who are

born lucky and wealthy, but from those who are athletically gifted and mentally determined to succeed. Due to our current low standard of living tennis adherents come from the restricted minute minority who can afford to play this rather expensive game. As such the latent available for selection and training is necessarily limited and the consequent results, barring exceptions, mediocre.

The Nations that have most successfully developed tennis champions are Australia and the United States and both these have adopted almost factory methods to produce them. Let us study the methods adopted by them to produce a brilliant array of champions and see how they compare to our own attempts.

1. *Selection of talent*: Almost any youngster willing and able to play tennis can do so in these countries. This is because he can afford to and does play games of his choice; to wean him to tennis the municipal authorities and the Tennis Association have made available good courts, easy of access, where guidance from professionals is available.

There is little that can be done in our country about the number of boys and girls able to play till such time as the standard of living appreciably improves. With the improvement in living standards the demand for recreational facilities will also increase; this demand is naturally going to result in a larger pool of new entrants to sports and a consequently larger availability of talent. An idea of the facilities available for playing tennis can be had from the fact that in a comparatively small town like Brisbane, Australia, there are over 400 tennis courts to cater for a population of a little over six lakhs. The percentage for an Indian City can only be imagined.

2/ *Cooling of Talent*: Each of these countries has available a number of professionals who impart knowledge of the science of the game and its application to aspiring youngsters. Even Colleges and Universities, apart from the Associations, have on their staff professionals for each game. Compare this to India where we are trying to have a tennis coach in each of the major cities in India and have so far succeeded in covering only approximately six to seven centres. The basic reason why more tennis players are willing to turn professional in other countries is that even as "teaching" professionals they are economically well off and if they are successful in their jobs the returns are indeed very encouraging. A sports professional in these countries does earn as much as a Doctor, a Physician or an Engineer and enjoys almost the same social standing.

3. *Looking after the individual*: The pursuit and attainment of International standard in tennis is now a full-time job. As such the leading tennis countries in the world ensure that from the formative age of approximately fifteen or sixteen, the promising adherents of the game are employed or looked after by sports organisations (or those interested in the game) with the express purpose of absolving them from the necessity of pursuing higher studies or professions to get their economic livelihood. In other words the promising ones are left free to devote all their time to the

game of their selection and their future offered for.

So successful has this scheme been that Australia, the first country to adopt this method on a large scale, has produced a bewildering number of champions and all in their teens. In the U.S.A., where to work for a Sports Firm meant being declared a professional, the rule has now been amended to permit of this method of encouragement so that they can compete again with Australian tennis on an even footing.

In India sports business is no yet big enough and as such the local Sports Firms cannot follow the Australian pattern on the same scale. It is therefore at this stage that patronage from private individuals interested in the advancement of tennis is so important and vital.

These facilities and the great rewards, monetary and otherwise, that await the successful contender for mastering of the game act as a further incentive to the youngsters to give off their best in an effort to reach the top. I am sure that given the same facilities boys from India will also do as well since they are no less endowed by way of talent and moral fibre. The hurdles of climate and distance can be conquered provided the opportunities and incentive are afforded.

It is therefore for the public and the tennis organisations to do the best they can and I am glad to be able to say that steps in the right direction have been and are being taken.

INDIAN TENNIS PLAYERS AS I SEE THEM

BY

DR. S. RAJAN

Honorary Treasurer, All-India Lawn Tennis Association.

How good is Tennis in India at the present time is a question often asked. Thanks to Ramnathan Krishnan, India is put on the Tennis map of the world. He is very ably assisted by his doubles partner Naresh Kumar.

Whatever may be the opinion of the Indian public, I am very sorry to say that after Krishnan and Kumar we find an appreciable gap before we name a third player. I wonder why Sumanth should not get into physical training and we can certainly have him next best to Krishnan. Sumanth Misra has long experience. His work takes lot of his energy and lately he has not shown keenness to brush up his form in Tennis.

Another good player from Madras is Vishnu-mohan, an individual with a big game temperament, but unfortunately only a week end player.

Balasubramaniam is a very tenacious player, has got good top spin drives on both the flanks and has a wrong grip. Champions of the type of Budge Patty, Tilden and Kramer found the grip they were using could not take them far on grass and had to practise for months together changing their grip before they attained their form again.

Premjit Lal is a promising youngster in the game. I am afraid he must improve his leg and back muscles by intense physical training. He must improve his match temperament also.

Jodeep Mukerji another youngster who got trained under Noor Muhamad in 1950 and later under Dilip Bose is basing his game entirely on forecourt play. He is quick footed and is good at anticipating the returns. Unless he devotes lot of time on physical training and fitness he will find it difficult to go far in the Tennis world.

I think as in all games what Indian Tennis players need is good physical make-up and fitness. Now greater attention is given to the game than physical fitness. Physical fitness is an absolute necessity for a powerful tennis player. I have been watching the other day the photographs of Lew Hoad, the well known Australian player does the Sit ups with weights on him. The latest theory is that weight lifting is a must in the physical make-up of every Tennis player.

Coming to practice, since modern tennis requires a high degree of efficiency in all departments of the game, one should practise each stroke for hours i.e., a low forehand, a high forehand drive and similarly for back hand, slices on both flanks, top spin on both flanks, volley at different levels, services of the type, slice flat and spins, lob smash and drop shots. The most important for a forecourt player is correct approach shots. Players must develop their own speeds as well as depth and direction of approach shots. There is no short cut to go to the top in tennis, and only after hard practice and training one comes up to the World class.

Australia which produces champions in succession owes its success for longer playing hours. In hot countries like ours, a good number of lighted courts must be made available so that in the evening youngsters can practise for several hours.

A good sportsman is generally a good student in his studies. I am of the opinion, that the pressure put by parents on children to give little attention to sports and devote much more time to books is not conducive to their growth as full fledged grown-ups.

It is the will to become a good player that is important.

Book Reviews:

KERALA, THE 'COMMUNIST' STATE

BY S. C. JOSEPH, M.A., M.LITT., B.LITT. (OXON.)

Publishers: THE MADRAS PREMIER CO. 33, BROADWAY, MADRAS 1

(Price Rs. 3)

Is Kerala a problem State? What are the facts behind the threatened agitation in Kerala? Is the Education Bill of the Kerala government an objectionable one? Is land reform a necessity in the State? Is Kerala an insecure State? These are discussed objectively by the author in a socio-economic and political background in this book and he gives answers and solutions to the "challenge" of our times, namely the eclipse of freedom and democracy in our State and Society. This book covering nearly 300 pages is the product of several intensive tours by the author in the State of Kerala.

GLIMPSES OF YESTERDAY

BY POTHAN JOSEPH

Publishers: THE MADRAS PREMIER CO. 33, BROADWAY, MADRAS 1

(Price Re. 1)

This book comprises of a collection of some thirty articles of lasting interest by one of India's top journalists, Pothan Joseph. The first article in the book, 'Myself' is a Candid Sketch of the author himself. There is a very interesting article "Russianise or Rustify."

The inimitable style of Pothan Joseph is delightful to read and the book deserves to be read several times.

Edited and published by Mathew Cherian 33, Broadway, Madras 1 and printed by
M. G. Daniel, Thompson & Co Private Ltd (Minerva Press) Madras 1.

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at

33 BROADWAY MADRAS 1

Grams : MAPRECO Phone : 3841
