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BROADWAY TIMES

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one part to Mysore and the other to the Madras State. But the most popular suggestion with the leaders of the "agitation" is the establishment of President's rule thus resorting to the break-down clause of the Indian constitution.

Prime Minister Nehru had suggested fresh elections in the state and had urged the authorities to take early steps to confer with the institutions and persons affected by the controversial Education Act to redress their grievances. The first suggestion by Pandit Nehru to solve the political tangle seemed to have been ignored by the present Government while the second suggestion had to be dropped due to the non-co-operation of the affected parties.

The Chief Minister of Kerala would do well in accepting the advice of Prime Minister Nehru to have fresh elections in the State to restore peace and order. Fresh elections seem the only way out of which the Kerala Government and the opposition groups alike claim substantial support. The elections ought to result in the establishment of a stable administration particularly armed with the popular mandate on the specific issues that have caused so much feeling in the State. The continuation of the present state of affairs is not in consonance with a democratic administration. At the same time it is worth noting that the direct action launched against a constitutional Government is not creating a worthy precedent in a modern democracy. These unhappy events in Kerala would have produced some good if it led to a decision by all parties to abandon all agitational methods which would cause anxiety and suffering to the public to achieve their objectives. Obviously these methods are not associated with democracy.

The sober opinion in the country is largely critical of the direct action that is going on in Kerala at present. Whether the opposition parties fail or succeed in their objective, they have already created a bad precedent for all those who might be dissatisfied with any government at any time in future. Communism or Communist Party are not banned by the constitution or law of the land anywhere. Only by propaganda against these and in favour of democratic parties can lasting results be achieved by the parties professing to be opposed to communism.

We record with deep regret the passing away of KASTURI SRINIVASAN, Editor of The Hindu. He was a well known public figure and a Stalwart of Indian Journalism. In his demise India had lost a gentleman who was held in great esteem at home and abroad.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Equitable distribution, not to speak of equal distribution, can come only when we have passed the present stage of having only poverty to distribute. This, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has admitted. The problem now is therefore to produce wealth and above all other things, more food grains.

The question is whether the Government policy is the one most likely to bring this about. The Swatantra party thinks it is not, and believes that the attempt to disturb the human mechanics that now produces food grains will result in no increase but will decrease production. The individual who owns his field has an incentive which a body of multiple owners do not have. It is much more difficult to get maximum effort put out in the field when it is not an individual managing his own farm in the interest of his own family but a number of people got together who appoint some one to oversee the job.

"Co-operative farming" if it means anything means displacement of a number of rural workers finding a job on the land. There are no industries ready to absorb them. Their lot will be that of the handloom workers, men, women and children, who were forced to go begging in the streets as a result of the competition of weaving mills. Mechanisation, even where it is possible, will displace bodily labour and this would be a disaster in a country where employment opportunity is admittedly inadequate. The industries in our land are far too few and even these very unevenly spread to furnish industrial jobs to the huge population. Government policy as far as it has been indicated is going to be progressively wrong in the field of agriculture. The Swatantra party has come to be formed on this most

provocative point of Government error, in defence of the freedom of farm, family and occupation. The socialist pattern, if it is not just electoral deception, is an attack on every one of these freedoms.

The principle on which the Swatantra party has been formed is that social justice and welfare can be reached more certainly and more properly in other ways than through the so-called socialist policies of the present Congress Government of India. State compulsion brings in its train injustice, expropriation, the repudiation of contracts, favouritism and the use of public funds and the opportunities afforded by power for party advantage. The royal road to social welfare is what has been proved so effectively in free countries, viz., through freedom of avocation and facilities provided by the State for private initiative to find incentives and opportunities for fulfilment.

The immediate provocation for the formation of the new party is the attack of the Congress on the peasant proprietor, its "land reform" policy of progress towards collective farming. Production will be adversely affected by this policy. And multiple ownership leads necessarily to management through an official, or officials.

As compulsion has been widely objected to, it has been replaced by a policy of discrimination in favour of collective farming and against individual ownership. Discrimination and special favours doled out of public funds are only another form of compulsion. The use of public funds to carry out such discrimination is totally unjustifiable and an infringement of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of occupation and non-discrimination

activities that can help to cut across an
... and the

Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

Kerala has been presenting a sad spectacle in the last few weeks. The opposition parties in the state, the Congress, the P. S. P, the Muslim League and the Communal organisations have joined hands for the first time to launch what is now familiarly known as the direct action, to oust the Communist Government under its ironman E. M. S. Namboodiripad.

Discounting the mass rallies, meetings and picketing on an unprecedented scale by the opposition parties as subversive and undemocratic, the Communist Government is determined to remain in office crushing the "agitators" with an iron hand. The inevitable encounters between the two groups have already resulted in four Police firings and the consequent loss of at least a dozen lives. Several volunteers are courting arrests in different parts of the state. Lathi charges by the police have become daily occurrences.

The opposition leaders have made up their mind to see the Communists out of power in Kerala. They have drawn up a charge sheet of omissions and commissions on the part of the Namboodiripad Ministry. They demand immediate resignation of the Communist retinue and urge fresh elections in the State.

On the other hand, the Chief Minister of Kerala repeatedly "expresses the hope that those who have been organising this campaign would desist from it and help all peace loving citizens to bring the conditions of the state back to normalcy."

The situation in Kerala brought Prime Minister Nehru to the State on the invitation of the Government. His meetings with the leaders of the opposition parties, communal organisations as well as those of the Government seem to have little effect so far. The agitation in Kerala has also brought a number of leading men in the country to scenes of action. Several statements are being issued by eminent men regarding the situation in Kerala, some decrying the direct action of the opposition parties against the legally constituted Government of Kerala as un-democratic, while others suggest fresh elections to solve the difficult situation. It is interesting to note even suggest the dissolution of the state of Kerala adding

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between citizens. The hierarchy of officials is expanding at a terrific rate as a result of the policy of State-interference in everything that seems to yield profit. Taxation has reached an intolerable pitch, and the prospect of Government taking up trade so as to find money for its adventures through the price structure in a monopoly market will mean an undisclosed heavy load on the poor and middle classes. The expenditure involved in State management of social services counter-balances its utility. Social co-operation in the form of private charity is most frugally and fruitfully managed. The attempt of the Congress party to gather up all resources and become the monopolist benefactor of the people serves only to deceive the public for partisan purposes. It serves to find jobs for favourites, and to make the administration costly. The springs of private charity have been even now substantially choked by the taxation policies of Government. All that Government has so far succeeded in doing is to convert itself into a wasteful channel of public service, to choke the springs of charity, to raise material values above spiritual, and create an atmosphere of uncertainty choking the springs of individual incentive, and making the lives of poor people harder than ever before. It is only private industries and freedom of avocation that will furnish employment opportunities to all classes of people. Even the rural labouring classes will suffer in employment-opportunities as a result of the so-called land reforms.

It is well known that putting a ceiling on land holdings is not going to release enough land for distribution even to please a few landless peasants and it is not calculated to make any substantial contribution to the relief of poverty. The ceiling policy is associated with the intention of giving inadequate or nominal compensation which makes it robbery

and yet it is admitted that it cannot serve to provide land to others in any significant measure. And it is sought in order to avoid further fragmentation, to put the robbed land under 'Co-operative' management.

A general feeling of insecurity and uncertainty has been created most detrimental to national effort; worst of all, to the incitement of class hatred under Government auspices. It is reported with gratification that the crop reports of the season have been very good. It is forgotten that this is what the present order of things has produced, not the collective pattern in the offing. Exhibitionist planning has led to inflation all round and consequent distress to those least able to bear it.

The *Swatantra* party wants that progress should be built on the solid foundation of realism. It is opposed to ruinous adventures. The self-employed peasant families should not be disturbed. But by far the most important reason among all is the moral reason of the present state of the Congress party. It is difficult to describe it without using harsh terms. Careerism and the hunger for personal profit have ruined the morale of the Congress party, and the good 'high-command' is unable to cope with it. The officials of the administration at all levels have caught the disease and suffering people complain bitterly about corruption and inefficiency in an administration that has its octopus hold now on everything that is essential and important. Until we reach a much more prosperous condition by individual effort assisted by every possible incentive without interference, we have to encourage the wealthy to take pride in beneficence, a pride that is native to the land and has an unbroken tradition about it, and which Mahatma Gandhi re-enunciated in his doctrine of trusteeship.

REFLECTIONS ON A CONSERVATIVE PARTY FOR INDIA

BY

PROF. V. GANAPATHI

To many, the conflict of ideas between our respected leaders, Pandit Nehru and Rajaji, flashed by the Press in recent days might appear to be a verbal tug-of-war, quite exhilarating in itself. A sense of seriousness or urgency is, in the opinion of the writer, what is needed on the part of citizens in understanding the situation. The issue as obtains at the moment is Co-operative Farming and each side argues with utmost sincerity and courage of conviction. This makes the task of understanding all the more necessary and difficult even. Apparently, a progeny of this controversy is the powerful advocacy of a conservative party for the country by Rajaji. This may not be a very correct way of putting things for the need for a healthy opposition party far different in aims and methods from the Communist party is being incessantly stressed by Rajaji for a long while now. Nevertheless, the Abhyankarnagar Session of the Congress and its aftermath has generated a countrywide debate if not agitation on the desirability and feasibility of adopting the technique of co-operative farming on our soil and apropos the context, has tended to confirm the apprehension of Rajaji and others that the ruling party has gone off the rails and that the sooner a brake is applied, the safer would it be for both the party and the country. To speak of the truth, the revolutionary and risky proposal of both the party and the Government for agrarian reform through the new co-operative venture has come in handily just to clinch the issue. The object of this article is not so much to highlight the relative merits of the two sides to the controversy as to examine broadly the rationale

of a conservative party for the country at this juncture. Personally, the writer believes that Rajaji's suggestion for forming a new party will have to be applauded and given effect to with anxious haste not in any sentimental mood or attitude of her ownership but in a spirit of recognition of the imminence of the political and economic situation in our country today. And in what follows, an attempt is made to reflect on the overall performance of the ruling party or its synonym the Government in the years since Independence, exclusively from the standpoint of the average citizen who in exercising his franchise is governed more by broad considerations than by technical appeals based on expert analyses of particular issues. On the basis of such random reflections, the case for a conservative party is herein espoused.

The balance sheet

The political independence of the country was indeed the first and major entry in the score-card of the Congress at the moment of their taking the reins of Government and assuming office. Here again, one will have to remember for what it is worth, the fact that the Father of the Freedom struggle chose to remain outside the Congress organisation and could never get reconciled to the fait accompli of partition. Freedom through division and discord was anathema to him. This is mentioned nowise to belittle the political achievement of the Congress as such, but to indicate rather dispassionately that the major credit item of Independence was matched by the unprecedented liability of Refugee Rehabilitation whose cost in human and real terms far

...a constitution and conferring on the individual a charter of Fundamental Rights along with safeguards for minority protection and insulating the people against executive tyranny in general, with orderly provision for the administration of justice are indeed a cardinal achievement even though general distinguished non-Congressmen like Ambedkar and Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, made notable contributions to constitution-framing in Free India. Anyhow, continuity of civil life and the peace and security of the citizens in terms of a stable constitution are an accredited achievement of the Government in the post-Independence era and this is one that could hardly be exaggerated when viewed against the chronic political disorder and instability witnessed in the land of a neighbour for whom paradoxically the problems were fewer but the facilities larger.

Foreign policy or in the official jargon, external affairs, is a prominent segment of Governmental responsibility where the ruling party may be said to have exercised its privilege to the long-term advantage of the country. The adage of Panch Shila has commanded respect in the comity of nations. Still a measure of uncomfortable vagueness surrounds the concept of dynamic neutrality read in conjunction with the policy of non-alignment with power-blocks. It stands to doubt at the same time as to whether the observance of this policy has stood in the way of checking or curbing certain unsafe forms of assistance which a neighbouring state is receiving from a powerful nation in the world. Again, Kashmir is another unsolved problem consuming our time and resources rightly or wrongly. In refreshing contrast to this, we should record the glorious achievement of the Integration of the Princely States and the democratisation of political and social life there. However, States Reorganisation and the wisdom of its modus operandi have not altogether been beyond question.

To the ordinary citizen, it will thus appear that the Congress Government has done pretty well in the political field particularly in international affairs. He is however more concerned with, and rightly so, the economic and social conditions at home and the way the party in power seeks to approach and tackle them and with what tangible success. This area of governmental conduct to which he turns his gaze with instinctive curiosity may be comprehensively designated as *economic*. It is in this sphere that the short-comings of the policies vigorously or ruthlessly pursued by the official party have been proving themselves unmistakable. The balance in this connection seems to be on the debit side. Food shortage, scarcity of essential goods, soaring prices, persistent unemployment, under-provision if not non-availability of welfare services and a host of others—these have ever been the arresting problems to which the common man expects a speedy solution at the hands of his administrators. The food problem is still, with us in one form or other. The shortage of consumer goods persists. While the shadows of hyper-inflation have been dispelled, the price-level is none too commensurate with the earnings of the multitude in the country and in fact, in recent days it is actually on the increase. The problem of unemployment has in no palpable measure been solved and it is today as threatening after a decade and more of independence as ever before and even getting worse. Beyond all, 'the welfare state' is still a mirage. It will certainly be infantile to reproach the Congress or the party-government for these ills that have endured with us for long decades. Nevertheless, in the process of stock-taking of the Congress administration of the country, their failings and possible mishandling of situations cannot pass muster. To a broad review of this aspect, let us turn.

The socialistic mesh and plan commitments

One writer said not without sarcasm that Planning is the great panacea of our age.

Let us not be sarcastic and concede the obvious without the academic 'much ado' that an uncontrolled capitalist economy thriving in an atmosphere of Laissez-faire has failed everywhere to deliver the goods (literally in fact) and that a controlled and planned economy has to be installed in its stead with its roots deeply imbedded in the ideology of the welfare state. And accordingly, the administrators in our country too began embracing avidly the philosophy of planning and to begin with, we had the First Five Year Plan, presumably with modest targets and devoid of too harsh a burden on the community. Ambition and suffering are directly proportional to each other—this is possibly as much an economic truism to be respected by planners as the correlation between investment or input and the national product or output. This seems to be the surmise so far as the trials and travails of the Second Plan go. The Congress party got into an ideological mesh at Avadi where the Socialistic Pattern resolution was passed and ever since, there has been a socialistic orientation of economic planning in the country. The ambitions of this ideology have never been declared or chronicled by its votaries intelligibly and as it is turning out to be the case, its coverage is as elastic as to assimilate all spheres of social and economic life of the individual and oblige him to fall in line with the intended policies and programmes of the Government all under the expiating label of Socialism. The economic inequalities in the system were to be eliminated and a decent living ensured to all individuals. The social milieu itself was to be structurally transformed, it was argued. A socio-economic revolution was to be brought all over the country by democratic means and with accelerated pace. The spokesmen of this ideology have been frequently assuring that in the achievement of these goals of a socialist pattern of society, the means are as important as the ends and that at all events, totalitarian techniques ought to be

avoided. In order to give effect to these aspirations, the means adopted have essentially been a bold formulation of a Second Plan incorporating this vague ideology. A massive scale of public outlay was to be undertaken the resources being mobilised both internally and externally, both through normal and abnormal measures.

The end of the Second Plan period is fast approaching; and what have been the happenings? To translate the socialistic objective into practice, the scope of the private sector has been considerably abridged and in line with the basic strategy of the Plan, the key industries and enterprises have been earmarked for Governmental Organisation and management. A gigantic public sector has been coaxed into being and along with it a vast official set-up of a public and quasi-public character. A mixed economy comprising both the public and the private sectors functioning in a complementary fashion, we are told, is the only ideal type of economic make-up befitting the pattern of democratic socialism. Now, all this is sublime as far as it goes in theory. In effect, the scheme has not turned out to be so rosy and has actually led to an unhealthy state of affairs in the economy at large. In adherence to their integrated and many-pronged drive towards socialism, the direct tax net has been extended to the most inelastic limit and perhaps, the maximum number of direct taxes which any single country in the world could accommodate is to be had in our country; yet we are supposed to be an under-developed economy. The egalitarian fervour has been overdone and today, private enterprise apart from its structural disabilities for growth in the face of the progressive on-march of the public sector, is crippled in its own sphere by the crushing burden of taxation. The handicaps of private industry have produced in turn several far-reaching repercussions in the socio-economic life of the people, e.g., closure of enterprises, retrenchment of per-

leading to unemployment, industrial unrest, shortage of consumer output, inflationary conditions etc. Some time ago, the administration was driven to a very bad strait as regards the resources for the prosecution of the Plan projects, when the foreign exchange position deteriorated abysmally and the tide had to be stemmed by resorting to very desperate means in the name of national welfare ; it is well-known that our currency has a very precarious backing in terms of foreign balances today. In the process of combating this foreign exchange crisis, the import side of our trade was tightened with the curtailment of importable items and the difficulties of the private sector have been intensified, not to speak of the plight of the consumer as respects the availability of certain essential items and their prices. The well-meant counsel of several non-party persons in the country exhorting the Government to be more realistic and to cut down the huge expenditure so as to avoid the conditions of a financial crisis and to avoid risky jolts and jerks for the economy was never seriously countenanced and instead, an attitude of getgoing was in evidence ; economic realism, it was perhaps felt, would mean defeatism in the context of the socialistic inhibitions and the plan commitments. There was to be no appreciable retreat from the announced targets and in the choice between prudence and prestige, the victory was to be for the latter.

This apart, the impact of Congress ideology has not been the less pronounced in the matter of the land question. The move for the abolition of the large estates is really a feather in their cap. But it has not ended there. From the vague Socialistic pattern resolution at Avadi four years ago, the adventurer's idea of Co-operative joint farming has now emerged at Abhyankarnagar where incidentally the cause of State trading was also passionately pleaded for.

Rash ideology and race with leftists

Having drawn the balance-sheet in a rough way, we are in a position to reflect objectively. The pious intentions of the Congress party are in no way to be looked askance at. It is on the other hand their governmental policies and practices that have to be adjudged. It does appear that their vague and hasty commitment of an ideological nature, viz., the undertaking to sponsor a socialist pattern of society without delay has been showing itself as the Achilles heel. On retrospect, it is to be surmised that the Congress has aspired to accomplish too extravagant a metamorphosis within too short a period after Independence. The immensity of the task of lifting an underdeveloped economy by its own boot-straps has not been sagaciously appraised. Solving the problem of poverty and unemployment in a backward economy subject to foreign domination for centuries within a matter of years is a deadly impossibility if the democratic and constitutional route is to be trodden. Even from a purely economic point of view, an excess of socialist bias attached to economic policies, while desirable on egalitarian or redistributive grounds, is bound to prove its futility in the field of capital formation and production. Add to this the special paucity of indigenous capital in an underdeveloped country and the inappropriateness of too active and progressive a socialist policy becomes obvious.

A plausible explanation for the ill-conceived haste with which the Congress party has chosen to push ahead with the philosophy of socialism all too suddenly and to slip off the rails in their tax-policy as well as agrarian reforms is that it has acquired a fear-complex, owing to the growing popularity of the Communist party with the electorate. The communists are the only other party who are competing rather effectively with the Congressmen at an All-India level. In the second General Elections, the verdict at the polls was not

entirely in favour of the ruling party nor was the triumph uniformly encouraging as between various states. Kerala is a thorn in their flesh. Elsewhere, coalition has meant compromise if not condescension on the part of the Congress. The Congress is in the horns of a dilemma. Rather unfortunately, the party appears to have entered into an unhealthy competition with the Leftists and in earnest begun the game of appeasement of the electorate with swift results of the same tantalizing categories as generally belong to the Red variety. It is an injurious attitude which the Congress Party should even inadvertently display in recent years. It is a kind of undercutting and market-capturing, which if bad in economics, is worse in politics. For an argument, the real antidote to the expanding influence of the Communists must take the shape of a Sarvodaya campaign clinging to faith in human nature and striving for a change of heart in the reactionary elements, if ever, the trouble-spot should be located in these. What Bhavé is accomplishing is the pointer in the right direction. There is the feeling among sober people that in recent years, the Congress is de facto going the Marxist way in their anxiety to remain in power and ward off the Communists. It looks as though the Congress, in attempting to wean away the populace from the Communist hold, is obliged to take time by the forelock and get the better of its adversary by adopting at least unconsciously analogous techniques. An uneasy preoccupation is always a stumbling block for rectitude especially in political conduct.

A Conservative party—the only way out

More than once, the leaders of the Congress have themselves expressed real concern about the growing weakness of the party and the need for revitalisation. We have also heard about the administration of shock-treatment for giving a jolt to the party from within. Whatever be the explanation, it is hard to deny that the ruling party is not exercising as much

hold over the people as in days bygone. From the prosperity of the chief opposition party, the recent reverses of the Congress in municipal elections in some centres, do lend further strength to the inference that the Congress party is tending to become an abating lure for the masses. It is axiomatic that in democracies, the verdict at the local polls carries a more crucial significance for the strength and appeal of party-government than that of General elections. There is no use ascribing these reverses to mutable and momentary influences of a localized compass or describing them as transient misfortunes. All this would mean that the Congress party is fast losing its stamina. It should be acting wrongly under an ideological duress. Psychologically, it should currently be finding its difficult both to cope with the triumph of its rivals and to face an inner contradiction of its inherently Gandhian disposition which it has caused itself in recent years through its romance with socialism.

The Congress party has probably got into a condition of fatigue. Having struggled for Independence through many a stormy vicissitude for a long time, the Congressmen got into office with all the legacies of colonial governance and facing the Herculean task of setting right the horrible aftermath of the partition. Along with the world, the party was bereft of the light that was Gandhiji. The activities of a bickering neighbour and the preoccupation with Kashmir meant a heavy draft on its resources. The iron-willed Sardar was snatched off from the scene for ever, and along with him the element of moderation, too. All this has cast the ominous task of both manning the government and guiding the party at a leadership level of Panditji and caused inordinate strain to him. Once or twice, he wished to remain out of office on his own, but could not. At the same time, the requisite talent for a ruling party was not forthcoming in adequate measure

leading to unemployment. Psychological impasse seems to confront the party today and as responsible congressmen have themselves begun to admit, the party has got into a mood of complacency. This is enough bad augury for the party. It is losing its resilience. It may not be too critical besides to argue that with the attainment of freedom, the single factor making for cohesion and integration in the party had vanished and, ever since, it is presumably suffering from the absence of a comprehensible ideal or a clear-cut National Programme that could take the place of the erstwhile freedom motive and conduce to like cohesion and unity in the party. Again, it is conceivable that the record and achievements of the party have all the while been more due to the individuals in the party than to the party itself or its platform. Who could deny that the achievements of the party-government in the sphere of foreign relations are very largely a reflection of the personality of our Prime Minister? Similarly, who could hesitate in attributing the miracle of States Integration to the unflinching zeal and subtle genius of Sardarji?

The Congress as a party is feeling fagged. In this state, it is wedded to a socio-economic ideology that is somewhat alien to the temper and tradition of this land. Much the worse part of it is that the Congress progenitors of the socialistic creed are themselves not very clear about its precise destination and specific techniques. From Avadi, they came to Abhyankarnagar and what next is purely a matter of speculation. It is to be feared if the Congress has got caught inextricably in its own trap. Herein lies the occasion as well as justification for the entry of a fresh force into the national life of the country. This is best done by the formation of a new party more as an organisational necessity than as an end in itself. The sober elements in society who have no vested interests in politics nor premeditated anxiety to get into power though they could man the government if confronted, will have

to unite and form a party that could rightly be called a conservative party. This is not the time for word-pecking or slogan-hunting and no useful end can be served in debating on the dichotomy of Left and Right. Leftist or Rightist, a new party is needed that would function in constitutional opposition to the ruling party or simply as an **Opposition Party** but in contrast to the existing oppositions, with a constructive programme of its own. It will be a non-communist opposition functioning in such a way that it acts as a brake on the rash ideological ventures of the ruling party and its possible excesses. Let it be very clearly borne in mind that this new party ought not to inhibit its functioning with a spirit of rivalry for rivalry's sake. This cannot be so by the very logic of its genesis namely that it stands for *good* government and not *its* government. It should be on its guard against the infiltration of dissidents from other parties who, disillusioned with the scope for personal prosperity in their own ranks might canvass the ticket of the new party. According to the political glossary, the new party must necessarily belong to the conservative agencies and it has to be deliberately so, for in its view, the ruling party has gone too far on the road to Socialism and the country has to be somewhat redeemed from this State. In wearing the mantle of conservatism, there need be no sense of apology.

The 'New' conservative outlook

How best the proposed party can achieve it is a matter of detail and it has to be worked out ingeniously. To begin with, its role could be similar to that of a second chamber in modern government acting as a fearless but sober critic of the ruling party whenever the latter's ambition runs riot and 'ends' made to justify 'means.' At the same time, it must evolve a precise programme of its own carrying a positive edge. In formulating such a programme, it must keep in view the pressing

needs of the people and the solutions advanced should be in consonance with the spiritual and cultural background of our civilisation. It should not profess a policy of undoing what has already been done or what is undertaken to be effected by the party in power in all spheres of administration. In certain fundamental directions where the party in power is felt to have encroached on the freedom of the individual in general and that of private enterprise and initiative in particular, the new party will have to focus its attention and strive to restore or reinstate the individual to his rightful place in the scheme of things. A conservative party is also designed to work for progress, but, for the right kind of progress and through the right type of means; in its avowed conviction, however imminent a problem may be, the administration ought not to resort to desperate or drastic means. This does not mean that it will tend to be obstructionist or reactionary. A wealthy instance is to be had in the British Conservative Party which, by no unbiassed appraisal, could be branded as reactionary; likewise, the British economy today has gone a long way towards democratic socialism without ideological fuss or administrative haste and above all, without any serious impairment of the freedom of the individual. The proposed party will have to wait till the next General Election for acquiring the status of a dynamic political entity in order to function from within the legislature. In the meanwhile, it will have to do a lot of spade-work towards inviting the notice of the people at large and acquainting them with the need for a new party. After all, with a vast majority of the electorate being unlettered, Parliamentary or Representative Government cannot be said to obtain today in substance. Universal Audit Franchise in the face of nationwide illiteracy has meant putting the cart before the horse and the verdict at the polls may not be the reflection of an enlightened judgment of a well-informed electorate. The way the

average voter casts his ballot and the spell and inducement of electioneering is none too wholesome. The new party need not therefore set much store by the nominal test of its performance at the polls nor feel crestfallen by limited appreciation at the hands of the voters in the initial stages. Moreover, the members of this conservative party in general, it is expected, may not all be political 'professionals' and can well afford to be stoic in their reaction to election results. They should be animated by the higher spirit of fearless adherence to truth and in both expression and action, be governed by their inner voice; they should feel neither jubilant over popular approbation nor depressed with popular indictment. Theirs should be the path-of-the good and not the path-of-the pleasant.

Suggesting the label *Swatantra* for the party rather thoughtfully, Rajaji has deftly expressed the philosophy underlying the new party by putting it in vivid contrast with that of the Congress today. He says: 'The socialist pattern of society which corresponded to the *paratantra* philosophy wanted that the state should have to regulate and control and be the master of the activities of other persons, the citizens being not independent..... There was a threat of confiscating *swatantra* from citizens by a gradual process.....the new party was necessary which claimed that social justice and social welfare could be attained without depriving individuals of *swatantra*.' Very recently, the criticism has been levelled that the proposed party will throw the Indian people into the arms of the Communist party. It is indeed very hard to understand the logic behind this apprehension and it appears to be an inversion. Surely, the conservative party will have no intention of restoring feudalism in the place of co-operative farming, of recalling the erstwhile princes, of repealing the existing economic and industrial regulations and statutes in their entirety in

leading to unemployment, giving three hundred and sixty-five tax-holidays for industrialists or of abandoning and undoing the Five Year Plans! At worst, it might prove 'reactionary' in relation to what it fears to be the Leftist swings of the Congress.

It was Prof. Joad who cracked the wit that 'Socialism is like a hat that has lost its shape because everybody tries to wear it' and probably one is inclined to feel that the cap named after the Father of the Nation should any day fit us all, much better than a borrowed one if only the wearer knows what he is wearing!

THE RADICAL IN POWER

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

If at the age of 84 President Synghman Rhee still seeks another term of office, the theory of American instigation need not be invoked as explanation. Nor is Dr. Konrad Adenauer, of equal vintage, disposed to be condemned as stale. One who becomes a legend in his own time and gets accustomed to exercising power could develop the traits of the drug-addict: nothing except *force majeure* or physical incapacitation or a self-wrapped religious paroxysm removes them from the scene of excitement. Aged 76, Eamon de Valera has decided to step down from the premiership of Eire, a decision which, according to the high-class magazine of Ireland, the *Leader*, is precipitated by the discovery that the veteran has turned virtually blind and is no more the firebrand of the past.

'Dealing with De Valera' David Lloyd George once observed, 'is like trying to pick up mercury with a fork.' In other words, the Irish statesman though staunchly patriotic was capable of changing opinions and adapting means to ends, which are but two phases of the same process and not so rigidly separable as in the code of Gandhian philosophy expounded by some of his followers. At the Nagpur Congress, V. K. Krishna Menon was at pains to prove that our stand under the Commonwealth umbrella never hampered our independence; and then the tie-up between Ghana, a member, with Guinea (affiliated to France) attested a moving pattern of co-existence without any apparent abridgement of sovereignty. In Eire too, a professed neutral in the Second World War, there has been a mild psychological shift, and though no policy-statement has been made on the issue, Dev (as has been known since 1916 when he was

condemned to death by British authorities) is inclined to see Ireland back in the Commonwealth on a status "somewhat like that of Canada," with bitter memories lived down and the hatchet informally buried. On the partition question, De Valera is quoted as favouring a solution in accordance with "the principles of national self-determination and fair treatment to all sections of our people." The notion would have been inconceivable at the time Michael Collins signed the Irish treaty, saying: "Here I am signing my own death-warrant". And his premonition came true with his assassination.

Reminiscing recently in grateful old age, De Valera told James H. Wincester: "I have proposed such a solution and I am now prepared to sit down with our fellow-countrymen of the six counties to consider it, or any practical way that may be proposed." The six counties comprise Northern Ireland, the stronghold of Protestant ascendancy where also a new generation is losing pride of the Orangemen, and where the anniversary of the Battle of Boyne is celebrated with diminishing *eclat*. Pollsters have established that the spirit of separatism is languishing except amongst survivors and eye-witnesses of the 1916 tragedy and its sequel of Black-and-Tan Government, not long ago enacted in Cyprus in vain.

Time is a great healer and the human psyche is getting more attuned to organise peace rather than to cherish inherited antagonisms. In our Brave New World we cannot help being educated out of old feuds across borders and also domestically out of the shreds of feudalism. In Ireland when they speak of "troublesome days ahead", they now mean the repercussions of unemployment relieved by occasional emi-

~~leading to unemployment in the~~
youth to Great Britain itself for a living wage. There is an early graph-rise in the chart of what we in India would call emotional integration, since the surge of rationalised living dulls the edge of past aversions under the process of the dead burying the dead.

All this involves superficial inconsistency and Eamon De Valera does not deny it: and it was Emerson who said that fear of inconsistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, and De Valera was never a stickler for procedural consistencies, he having himself switched from role to role.

He refused to enter the Free State's Dail in 1924 on the plea that he would not take the oath of allegiance to the King of England, but in 1926 he took the orthodox oath and figured as Leader of the Opposition in a 26-county legislature. It was near the same time of the Gaya Congress in India where C. Rajagopalachari, incidentally, championed the No-Change policy which repudiated Council-entry and which later had to be circumvented by an astute formula of his devising. Nine years later, De Valera, introducing a new Free State Constitution, abolished the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Britain was not perturbed and political observers commended the Irish rebel on his command of the King's English which, they say, is best spoken in Dublin, if not in Inverness: not in England any way. In the same period he sponsored the External Relations Act (an isolationist aberration, since revoked) which linked Ireland to the Commonwealth. A political radical once suspected of anarchial tendencies, De Valera ruled Eire with a dictatorial hand during World War II when Ireland demonstrated her neutralism. Fourteen times he had been in jail as Leader of the Sinn Fein Party, but Dev treats its (the Dail's) remnants as an inimical faction in Irish politics. He claimed prudence in coercion against the risk that the young republic might get involved "not only in war with another country but in a hateful civil

war as well." It was not a time for academical niceties. 'It is a military measure, not a political one,' he told the House in the country he had just helped in liberating after being long under the shadow of the gallows. When charged with somersault De Valera coolly explained:

'The main difference is that today in the republic which covers five-sixths of all Ireland the people are completely free and it is possible for them to choose their representatives freely. Groups not subjected to Governmental control cannot be permitted to organise and arm themselves for any purpose whatsoever. If any group can do it for one purpose then another group can do it for a different purpose. Lawful Government is set at naught and the result is anarchy.'

Obiter dicta suitable for a different set of circumstances do not apply. While we in India are embarrassed over our rising population, the Irish are alarmed at the drain in manpower owing to emigration at the rate of 1,000 persons per week. They fear that if the present rate of emigration continues, Ireland's population will be down to 2.9 million in 1951 to 2.8 million in ten years. Ireland had 110 people to the square miles against Belgium's 715; and De Valera's policy is to ensure the manufacture of goods for home needs, and the quest for export markets in place of the shipments abroad of the Irish unemployed. He further estimates that accord with the North, free from ancient rancour, will enhance income in the whole island by a common tourist trade, because foreign visitors are always ill at ease in a divided country with check-points on the routes.

And after all, De Valera had his fill of office unlike Collins and Griffiths and Terence MacSwiney, Mayor of Cork, who fasted unto death like our own Potti Sriramulu in India

instead of merely threatening stunts in the name of self-purification. He was Prime Minister from 1932 to 1948; again he was back in office in 1951. He cannot boast of non-deviationism in political practice and international principle, at home or abroad. Any one in power who imagines he could adhere to the straight and narrow path is under a delusion. he could still do his best without claiming to establish eternal codes of democratic conduct. The good of the State is supreme law and the man who successfully annexes and exercises power needed for it, is among the benefactors of mankind.

THE STORY OF AN EARTHEN POT

(As told by itself)

BY

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Mine is a long, sad story. Let me go back to the source of my existence. From the very outset, mine has been a tale of cruel suffering. Before I was born into the realm of shape, I was clay, mere clay—scooped out of the earth. Have you ever known the agony of being scooped out? After that, I was moistened to the extent of almost catching a fatal chill in the chest. And then, hard and callous hands kneaded me for what seemed an eternity which had neither beginning nor end. Occasionally, those hands slapped me without any sentiment, as though I had been guilty of something quite naughty and unbecoming. Yes, they slapped me with their palms, those callous feelingless hands, and at every slap released a hollow thud-sound which made the air gasp for breath.

That done, I was patted on to a potter's wheel on which, I felt, I looked strange; but I could not, of course, guess how exactly I looked on the wheel; something, I should imagine, like the mound of a little newly-made grave in my village.

In any case, I had already begun to feel a loathsome feeling towards myself, wearied out as I was under the pressure of so much crass humiliation at the hands of a so-called human being.

The wheel started to whirl. I felt giddy and sick; I had a suspicion that I was now being taken away from my natural state to one foreign to my nature . . . a state of form and feature. What is form if it is not, in the last analysis, a form of captivity?

Whirl . . . whirl . . . whirl! and I felt myself heaving and swelling into a curious circular shape. I bloated into a sense of belly, empty and packed with bilious vacuity. I felt I could vomit; I felt I had suddenly become a sort of starving stomach bloated and swollen as I now was, to a circular shape.

And then, I began to grow slender towards the top. What exactly was I becoming? I asked myself. A shape, unfamiliar to my kind, but most familiar to the huddled huts in my village. I was becoming a water-pot.

Yes, a mouth at the top seemed to grow automatically out of my belly: a gaping wide-mouthed openness or rather, a wide-open mouth, to put it more succinctly. It was a mouth which cried out for help, but my language being silence, nobody heard. When did a human being, in any case, ever hear or understand the language of unsullied clay?

Just at the moment when the cold and unfeeling process of being shaped on the wheel was over, I thought to myself; well, the worst is over, thank Fate!

But I was mistaken. The tragedy had only just started. I had yet a long way to go . . .

Wet through and through, I held myself together inside the prison-cell of shape into which I had been driven and to which I had been sentenced, for no fault of mine; when, suddenly, I found the potter's hands holding me lightly, as lightly as though I had completely lost all weight. And, before I could call out to mother earth, I passed through an ordeal of fire, even as Sita in the Ramayana did! When I went in I was greenish blue—c;

shall we say, greenish-grey, and moist; my whole form, an opaque dull mirror of wetness; and when I came out of the fire in the testing place called the kiln, I came out a hard pinkish-brown water-pot, mature enough to be sold at the market-square along with other pots, sister and brother-pots.

Sold at the market-square! yes, so I waited and waited for my turn. I saw, not far from me, a heap of broken pots . . . useless, broken, castaway derelicts of earth: just imagine! after such a strenuous process of hurt and suffering and humiliation at the hands of unimaginative men!

Came a woman towards a sister-pot and, striking on her with her knuckle, enquired the price, which, after paying, she took her way. I had just begun to like that sister-pot who had stood beside me, day after day, for a whole week which, to us, seems a much longer period of time than it does to humans. Well! I said to myself; that is the law of life, I suppose; being parted from one whom one loves . . . Then came a man who took me up rather roughly, struck his finger on me over and over again to make sure of my worth, to examine my soundness. It was no good my murmuring to myself. I have no faith in human judgment. The hollower the sound of the pot, the more it is supposed to fetch. I said to myself: in the world of men the hollower a thing the greater the price! Well, that is the way of the world, the law of life . . .

He picked me up, paid down the money and took me home. "Look what I have brought home" said the man to his woman. "A very handsome pot" said the woman and, without wasting either words or moments, she immediately bore me, pressed to her slender waist and walked towards the village-well. I must confess to a feeling of gratefulness to the man who had bought me for her.

My time of tragedy is now over: I said to myself. But once again I was sorely mis-

taken. The worst humiliation was yet to come. The woman's hands, on reaching the well, put a halter round my neck and let me deep, deep, deep down into the darkness of a deep, deep, deep well, until I fell flat, at length, with a curious thud on the surface of the well-water. It was so dark that it was impossible to see anything; I could only feel a sense of chill, at first, on my bottom; and then the tug of the rope from the top made me flop from side to side until, finally, like a drowning man, I began to gulp down water through my open mouth and through the gullet, gurgling in a strange manner. I am told poets have described such gurgling sounds in a most poetic way . . . but the experience of water going down the throat of a drowning thing is different from their description. There is not much difference between the gurgle of dipping water-pots and the death-rattle in the throats of drowning men.

Suddenly, the uncomfortable vacuity inside me had, for the first time, been displaced by an even more uncomfortable fullness. While I was under water I felt part of it and felt no pressure on my belly; but when the rope began to be pulled upwards the parapet of the well, I felt the entire upward journey heavy and well-nigh unbearable.

I wished the rope would snap and cast me back into the depths of the well forever! That, at least, would have been a fairy-tale ending to a gruesome tale of transformation from the formless into form!

But I reached up alright and then, at last, the insulting halter was taken off. I felt released.

What next? I asked myself, since there was nobody else I could ask.

The woman lifted me with great care and not, I confess, without imparting a thrill to my whole body; and, lifting me, she set

~~... leading to unemployment...~~
crowned with a stiff ring of twisted cloth.

And now, I said to myself: I am a veritable prince seated on a throne! Indeed, it was worth my while to have gone through all the agony and humiliation I went through since, now, at the end of it all, here I am, seated on

the head of a lovely woman who is bearing me through the village like a prince on a throne

No, no not a prince, but a god! Only a god is set on the head by a human being only a god!

How we love to console ourselves!

THE GOODNESS OF COFFEE

BY

YVONNE SALDANHA

Mornings, when we reach for that welcome cup of steaming, rich, flavoursome coffee, do we give a thought to the expert care and endless work entailed in its production? The life of a coffee planter is one long round of work, work and more work—from the planting of the coffee seed to the final preparation of the produce for market. He watches, with an almost paternal devotion the gradual growth of the new seedlings into strong sturdy plants, and keeps a constant guard against the onslaught of pests and such diseases which can cause untold havoc. He has to prune, manure and spray the plants, and when the coffee berries appear—insignificant little green berries which, like the story of the 'Ugly Duckling,' almost overnight ripen into beautiful blood-red fruits—he has to see to their picking, pulping and drying and final packing into sacks to be transported to the factory for curing.

Like all growing things, coffee plants have to go through the 'nursery' stage before they are fit to stand up to the various weather conditions. Seeds are planted in raised beds which are protected from adverse weather by pandals erected over them. The seedlings are then transferred to nurseries and when, after gentle care and daily watering, the plants become strong enough, they are replanted on the hill-slopes ranging from 2500 to 6000 ft. above sea level for Arabica (higher quality) coffee, and 3000 to 4500 ft. for Robusta (lower quality) coffee. The land is divided into blocks for easy supervision and the plants are planted in separate pits about 6 to 8 ft. apart. Each block is provided with the necessary footpaths and drains. Wide-spreading shade trees provide a light feathery shade and protect the

plants from the extremes of sun, wind and rain.

The chief pests and diseases which attack coffee plants are Borer, Green Bug, leaf disease and black rot. The Borer is a small beetle, and, as the name implies, it bores into the stems of the plants making them brittle and easily broken. Drastic methods have to be employed to eradicate this pest. The plants affected are uprooted and burnt. Burning is very important, as slipping over this operation may result in the adult beetles emerging and laying eggs. The Green Bug is usually endemic to certain regions and occurs in pest proportion only when conditions are favourable. This Bug sucks the sap and devitalizes the plants, and has to be kept in check by spraying the plants with insecticides. Leaf disease and blackrot are both caused by fungi. Leaf disease is the most devastating, and economically the most ravaging of all the diseases that affect Arabica Coffee. Both these diseases are kept under control by spraying with disinfectants like Bordeaux Mixture.

Thus, with pruning and constant manuring with both natural and chemical manure—the plant reaches the berry-bearing stage after 5 or 6 years. These adult plants are able to produce coffee berries regularly for about a hundred years! With good manure and favourable weather conditions the yield may be very high—a ton per acre for Arabica coffee and double that for Robusta.

The spike, which later becomes the blossom appears early in January, and remains in a somewhat chrysalis stage till the early showers in March-April known in the coffee-planter jargon as the 'blossom showers.' From

leading to unemployment. In the middle of March onwards one who is in the know, can almost recognize coffee—planters, wherever they may be, by their anxious looks skywards, hoping desperately that the rains may come. Because, if the blossom showers are delayed, then the spike withers away, spelling doom for that year's coffee crop. But if the blossom showers are timely the spike develops into the beautiful white coffee blossom—very like jasmines in appearance and perfume. During this time the term 'coffee garden' seems to me much more appropriate than the prosaic 'coffee estate' or 'coffee plantation.' But this is only "beauty that must die;" the flowers drop off in a few days, leaving behind the beginnings of the coffee berries. These take many months to mature, and through the monsoon months the plants go through their usual routine of pre-and post-monsoon manuring, tracing of pests and diseases, spraying and pruning.

In November the berries ripen and are ready for picking. Every morning a small army of coolies sallies forth, equipped with sacks tied round their waists. They spend the whole day among the coffee plants, taking care to pick the just-ripe fruits. Under-ripe coffee produces a bitter taste and over-ripe fruits produce a fruity flavour. In the evenings, bearing their loaded sacks, they make their way to the pulping ground. The coffee fruits are measured in bushels, and each coolie is paid according to his pickings. The coffee fruits are 'pulped' or skinned the same day in 'pulpers' which are either manually or electrically worked, and the denuded coffee beans are then placed in fermenting tanks

for 30 to 48 hours. When fermentation is complete the beans lose their stickiness; they are washed well and placed in wire trays for draining. After all surface moisture is removed, the coffee is spread out in cemented drying yards. Good coffee beans will have a light bluish-grey colour after drying, and will 'bite' clean and bone-hard. This coffee is then filled in sacks and brought to the curing factories, where it is brought to a standard dryness and then peeled; that is, the inner skin is removed with the help of electric machines. The coffee is then graded or 'sized' and 'garblers' separate the defective from the good beans. Now the coffee is ready for the market and it is packed in sacks.

Some estates do not possess pulpers, so in these cases the coffee fruits are picked and dried so that the pulpy outerskin dries to a hard shell. This type of coffee is known as 'Cherry' coffee, as differentiated from the pulped 'Plantation' coffee, and when it is transported to the factory has to undergo the preliminary process of 'hulling' and then the subsequent sizing, garbling and packing.

Much of Indian coffee is exported, and for the present, at least, the coffee market abroad especially in America is very good indeed, thus helping to add a good deal of hard currency to our Indian coffers! The coffee kept for Indian consumption is sold to the retailers who prepare it for domestic use by roasting and grinding it. This final product is the 'coffee' that we buy, and this lengthy process has to be gone through, every year to give us that, refreshing cup of steaming rich coffee!

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

Our Prime Minister

Periodical visits to places South of the Vindhyas have become a regular feature with our Prime Minister. Hardly a month passes without his presence being felt in some big function. Of late he has been three times to the south, firstly in connection with a tour of Tamil Nad, secondly, to participate in the deliberations of the Planning Commission of the A.I.C.C. and currently to resolve the deadlock in Kerala State. If he succeeds in bringing peace to war-torn Travancore—Cochin he would have achieved nothing less than a miracle.

The six-day stay in Ootacamund did him immense good. He revels whenever he could afford a few days's stay on a hill top. He rode down the delectable Wenlock Downs more than once.

Through twelve turbulent years, Nehru has been the key figure of Asia. He has eclipsed Chou, put Sukarno in the shade. In a decade which has seen several wars and revolutions in the East, which has witnessed the assassination of U Aung San of Burma and the death of Jinnah in Pakistan, Jawaharlal has managed to keep himself at the helm in this country.

A Kashmir Brahmin atvaism, a wealthy westernised home, a wordly upbringing—all conspired to make him a spoiled child. Two years of Harrow snobbishness, three years of cyrenaism at Cambridge and two years of living in London completed his education, and there landed in Bombay a photogenic youth, smart and spruce, an easy going patrician and amateurish lawyer whom one could spot drifting into the obscurity of the Allahabad



High Court. But love of India saved him from so unkind a fate. This passion was to preserve him from mediocrity, work him to a leading position and supply the motive power to his restless energy.

This lonely man, saddened by the death of his father, mother and wife works at feverish pace. From the snowclad peaks of the Himalayas to the lush paddy fields of Kerala, he flits through like a ministering angel by plane, train and car, talking talking talking—addressing sometimes as many as a dozen

that he can dilate offhand on any subject, from family planning to atomic energy.

At his Cabinet meetings, he is a virtual Dictator, towering over his colleagues, clamping down his will on every issue that is discussed. He is the Prime Minister, chief of the External Affairs, Chairman of the Planning Commission, at the helm of Atomic Energy. So overworked is he that a few months back he felt like getting away from it all. But the nation said No and he changed his mind.

Despite the deepening and unresolved Tibetan crisis, an unsavoury international situation and a Kerala in the crucible, Nehru looks calm and unruffled. Every morning he emerges bright and brimming with life, with the shining buttonhole. His tours are triumphal processions. He fondles babies in the wayside, flings garlands with palpable delight, stands erect on the convertible that takes him places.

Age has not withered his charm though time has written wrinkles on his face. His sole guide, friend and philosopher of late is his talented daughter, Srimati Indira Gandhi.

Loss to Journalism

Sri Kasturi Srinivasan, Editor of *The Hindu*, who passed away at the ripe old age of 72



inherited a rich legacy. His father, Kasturiranga Iyengar, a lawyer by profession, acquired a ramshackle English daily and poured into its pallid arteries the rich and vitalising blood of a new life. Soon, it became the authentic voice of nationalism in Madras City. Srinivasan had a gruelling apprenticeship under his father. After taking his B.A. degree he joined the family concern and his early years were devoted to management side. After the demise of A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Srinivasan stepped into the editorial gadi and put in the longest innings as Editor.

During his regime *Hindu* moved to its present posh premises, streamlined the machinery and introduced several amenities to the staff and workmen. During the interwar years, he fought the battle for the freedom of the Press and presided over the first all-India Editors' Conference. He played a notable part in the London talks for acquiring the then Associated Press of India and functioned for a while as Chairman of the Press Trust.

Shunning the limelight, he devoted all his time and energy in building up the *Hindu* and ploughed back its huge profits in going in for the latest innovations. To his employees he was a gentleman and they all knew that he would safeguard their interests.

Racing and music were his twin hobbies. After the carking cares of office work one could sometime spot him enjoying a concert by some top ranking artiste at Gokhale Hall or in the Rasika Ranjini Sabha.

In his death India loses not only an outstanding Editor but a gentleman.

Loss to the Stage

Those whom the Gods love die young. This is particularly so in Hollywood. But there are exceptions and one such is Ethel Barrymore, one of the greatest actresses who shared the stage movies with two of her talented brothers.



Eighteen years ago on February 4, at the age of 62, Ethel celebrated her fortieth anniversary as a star on the New York stage. Instead of making a final bow before the footlights, Ethel put on her 300th performance as Miss Moffat in a leading theatre.

Second of the distinguished Barrymores, Ethel was born in Philadelphia on August 15, 1879. She had British blood from both parents. She began acting as soon as she could talk. By the time she was 12, she was a veteran at the game and a much prized member of The Bauble Shop Company, a play put on her by her actor uncle, John Drew. She played the leading role in that play, that of a woman of 32, when the star fell ill one night. Her career might be said to have commenced from that night. Six years later she went to London where she played with Sir Henry Irving in the Bells and other plays and also appeared at the Garrick Theatre. On her return to New York she was given the leading role in several plays which were enacted.

She began her full career in 1914 and figured in many films. Hollywood however did not agree with her. Her greatest part was Rasputin and the Empress, a film in which for the first time all the three Barrymores acted together. The film was completed in the record time of four months.

She never quitted the stage. An accomplished pianist and an ardent baseball fan,

she mentored consistently, she had a very talented career. Her marriage with Russel Griswold Colt was dissolved in 1923.

The New President

Liu Shao-chi, the new President of the Chinese Republic is a tall, striking figure with snow white hair. His book "On the Party" is the text book for young Communists. At the age of 61 he is still an exceptional organizer, but not so popular with many of his colleagues. His intellectual attainments have however commanded their respect.

He has all along been very close to the last President Mao Tse-tung. Liu has been the main figure behind the People's Communes campaign which has been sweeping over China since last August. Under the old chief Liu held a ceremonial post.

He was born of poor peasant family in a village in Central Hanan province. From village school he went to a middle class school and later entered a Technical College in Shanghai. In 1920, when only fifteen years of age, he enrolled in a Russian language class and joined the Socialist Youth Corps. A year later, he was one of the eight students of the Youth Corps sent to Moscow for study.



became a Pamburo member in 1962 FELLOWSHIP IN A COMMUNITY

BY

RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI, M.A.

One nation, indivisible, equality and justice for all that was what we wrote in our Constitution eight years ago. So many divisions, so many inequalities, so many acts of injustice are springing up that the ideal of one nation seems to be still receding.

All our efforts are concentrated on this one goal—to extinguish speedily the inequalities in the villages and distribute equally not only wealth but also resources and opportunities. In so doing great emphasis is laid on men and materials. Trained personnel, improved seeds and implements are taken to the remote villages, sparing no cost. Block development is carried about at a rapid pace. Villagers are released from their ancestral moorings and are taken sight-seeing to other States to broaden their mould. Common ownership of village resources is being endowed by legislation. But nothing seems to instil that sense of fellowship in a community which is the substance of one nation.

Even after a decade of Independence, our villages are not free from strifes. The canker of communalism is deep-set. The members of one community or caste in a village do not feel that the development of the village is the joint responsibility of all the communities in the village. They strongly hold the view that if the development cannot help the progress and welfare of their own community, it can have no place in the village programme. And all communities of the so-called superior caste sometimes stand up as one man against any programme mainly intended for the welfare of Harijans or backward classes. To a lesser extent is this joint action perceived in the animosity against the followers of any faith

other than their own. No well can be sunk, no school or dispensary or latrine provided without the issue being examined by the villagers from all these stand-points and more often than not disagreement is the consequence and one becomes desperate and prays for a volcanic eruption, nothing short of which can uproot these age-long prejudices in our village communities. Desperate evils call for desperate remedies but that can happen only in a totalitarian state. In a democracy we have to go slow and we can afford to make mistakes, so we are told.

If religion or caste cannot hold the villagers together, what is it that can? The opportunity for making a little money is a strong factor that bands village leaders into local committees for receiving financial dispensations. State loans and subsidies are often distributed through them. The rake-off for individual benefit is a great incentive for unity. But that lasts till the money is there or they fall out before the money does. Anyhow, it is not a force for everlasting integration. Political leaders could lash their followers together but that was in the pre-Independent days. The burning desire to win freedom for all peoples in the country actually held these forces in check though not wholly destroyed them. One nation, indivisible, became a near possibility but that was only a transitory feeling in the country. There was nothing to unite the peoples in the days following the success of the freedom struggle.

A great opportunity therefore for instilling a feeling of national solidarity was lost in the years following independence. We rejoiced in our freedom and endeavoured to integrate

our communities through social education and wasted our energies. The Bratachari movement started in Bengal held within it the seeds of a new era of fellow feeling. But it did not spread. The extremists in the South forgot Bharathi's words "ஓர் குலம்" and talked of a new caste. It was Vinobha who brought a new stir in our hearts. Here was someone who could preach with the moral authority of the Mahatma. It was the sermon on the Mount dished out in a manner that the villager could understand—share and share alike in land ownership. It went beyond this socialist concept. There was even the

hope of the Agape of the early Christians. What we need in the villages today is the emphasis on the Fifth Gospel in Community Development—Fellowship. Unless this is preached and practised with religious fervour in our rural areas there is no hope of extinguishing inequalities such as there is in caste, creed and wealth and means. "Fellowship day" has as much call to be celebrated in villages as Sunday (Church day) for Christians or Friday (Temple visiting day) for Hindus or Moslems. Fellowship in a community is, to my mind, the life-breath of a community development programme to have lasting benefits in rural India.

became a Politburo member in 1942 and the next year finally went to Yenan to work with Mao. Promotions came rapidly. He became the first Secretary of the Central Committee of Communists and the Vice-Chairman of the Military Council. He functioned as a member of the Select Committee of the first National People's Consultative Conference in 1949. When the Red Government was recognized in 1954 he became Chairman of the First National People's Congress. At the party Congress in 1956 and 1958 he delivered keynote speeches—a sign of the pointer as Mao's successor.

Since the commencement of the Communist regime, he is known to have made only one trip outside his country and that as head of the Chinese delegation to the 19th Soviet Party Congress in October 1952.

New Monty Row

Field Marshal Montgomery, one of the soldier heroes who won the war for the allies has once again hit the headlines. Recently, he announced that he was going to Moscow to meet Krushchev. "We cannot go on living in a state of tension," he said. The Russian leader informed Monty that he was always welcome. So he went to Moscow and had four meetings with Krushchev and several talks with the Russian Defence Minister and the chief of Staff. These talks naturally created a lot of diplomatic flutter.

For many years after the war, Monty was one of the strongest and uncompromising opponents of Communist Imperialism. At one time he even toyed publicly with the idea of a preventive nuclear attack on Central Europe. But of late, he has changed his mind. A few weeks back he wrote an article supporting the Red regime in East Germany. He further supported the idea of a disengaged Central Europe. He said that the East German regime could not be ignored.

His views have naturally inflamed Washington, Paris and Bonn.

Love Match in Japan

A girl who before the war would never have been able to look into the face of the Crown Prince Akihito of Japan married him on April 10. Had she met him before the war—unlikely event—she would have to bow so low that she would not have seen more than his knees and feet.



Miss Shoda, the girl in question, is reported to be an enchanting beauty, but does not belong to any of the traditional families from which a Crown Prince's consort through 125 generations have been selected. She does not belong to even the old nobility. She stems from the respected SAMURAI class, the warriors who served the feudal lords, and her father is President of the Nisshin Flour Milling Company, the largest in Japan. That is one amazing factor in the Royal romance. Another is that the Crown Prince has chosen his bride himself. Four of his friends assisted him by carrying messages and arranging casual meetings.

Akihito, 25, is a handsome young prince—charming, intelligent and friendly.

The Japanese are delighted at this love match. So dramatic a break with tradition makes one wonder what the effect will be on the future of Japan. Inevitably, this romance will change the marriage customs of Japan and the traditional attitude towards romantic love. Perhaps, most important of all, it will bring the throne closer to the people.

Dancing in Germany

"German audience are the most attractive and appreciative", declared Srimati Roshan Vajifdar, the talented Bombay danseuse, now on a tour of Europe. She had been to East Germany before. This time she has responded to an invitation by the State Dance Academy of Germany on a three-month lecture-cum-dance tour. Last November, she and her renowned sister Shirin appeared before East German audience during their tour of German Democratic Republic.

Roshan, slightly bulkier than her sister, but

as vivacious as Shirin was... Bharat Natyam and Mohini Attam. The elaborate poses and footwork will be annotated in full. Roshan who hails from a Gujarati family has now made Bangalore her home. She took her lessons in Bharat Natyam from Mahalingam Pillai, Chokkalingam Pillai and Kittappa Pillai. She was for a while a Government scholar specialising from Madras. She has a sculptural grace for which Bharat Natyam is famous. About three years back, Roshan dancing in Museum Theatre sent Madras audiences into raptures.

THE D.K. AND THE D.M.K.

BY

ANALYST

The recent municipal elections have brought to the fore the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. It gained a few seats in some of the municipal Councils in the Districts, but its victory in the City of Madras was as spectacular as it was unexpected. Having secured over 45% of the seats, it was possible for the Party to enter into a working arrangement with the Communist minded and independent members and instal in office its own nominee as the Mayor. This event has brought the Party into the limelight. Its significance for the future is being seriously discussed. The public are anxious to know whether it is a passing phenomenon or something to be reckoned with in the future. There is an old saying that the present is the result of the past and an index of the future. Whether it can be true of the D.M.K. remains to be seen. The Congress Party tried last month to probe the secrets of the D.M.K. success in the City. Various were the reasons advanced by the leaders. Some attributed it to the apathy of the educated voter and the general atmosphere of dissatisfaction with the commissions and omissions of Congress in office. Organisationally the Congress had been weakening over the years, to the point of not holding public meetings except when the Prime Minister or some other equally high dignitary chose to visit the metropolis. This has left the field clear for the opposition Parties especially the Communist and the D.M.K. It was stated by some knowledgeable people that a rule which was made on the eve of the elections not to allow any one who had served two terms to get the Congress ticket again reacted adversely against the party depriving it of the

services and organising abilities of well-known vote-getters.

It was alleged that the reconstitution of the municipal divisions was heavily loaded against the Congress. The voters' lists were hopelessly faulty enabling mass-bogussing by any party which could command enough man-power and liquid resources. Bad lists, bogussing and the like are nothing new. The Congress had been familiar with them in the past. But any one who has had an opportunity to study the figures of the municipal elections in comparison with the votes cast in the general elections held two years earlier, would not admit as valid any attempt at oversimplification of the issues involved. There was for instance, in the divisions comprising the South Madras Parliamentary Constituency a higher percentage of polling than in 1957. The Congress share of the votes had declined by 6 to 8% while that of the D.M.K. had somewhat gone up, but not to the extent of tipping the scales so heavily in the latter's favour. Bogussing had been there no doubt but it could not have been the monopoly of any one party. It was suggested by some observers that the spectacular visits of well known film stars of the D.M.K. variety to the *cheries*, their rubbing shoulders with the common folk and the spirit of camaraderie which they exuded did the trick. The slum people who number usually 25% of the voters in many divisions could undoubtedly have been influenced by such patronising visits. But the sense of frustration against the Congress had led even the intelligentsia, at least in some divisions into voting for the D.M.K. But to read more into it than is warranted by the

facts of the situation, would be a piece of self delusion. Making allowances for all the extraneous factors mentioned above, the fact indubitably remains that the D.M.K. has acquired considerable influence over sections of the City's population, especially among students and people inhabiting the slums.

The D.M.K. has fifteen seats in the Legislature and a fairly good strength in the Councils of Salem, Cuddalore and a few other centres. But its main appeal is to the common man at the grass roots and in a general way to the student population. Thus it manages to secure through a well-knit organisation with branches and reading rooms in almost every village of some size. Sustained propaganda is conducted through the hundreds of reading rooms named after the many leaders of the Party. They are the nerve centres of indoctrination. The leaders especially the top ones, are either film stars, stage actors or story writers for the screen. There is no village without a cinema house and therefore, their names are household words. They are good speakers and have developed a style rich with the jingle of words and alliterative appeal. The art of pun is brought into full play with a string of subtle sex appeal running right through the speeches. Their conferences are largely attended. In fact their takings at the gate are considerable. They have no doubt mass appeal. At the same time there is an undercurrent of competition in the leadership for always remaining in the forefront. Whether it is ambition or fear that lies behind this anxiety the fact is that every one in the top leadership has his own newspaper or periodical to push up his own personality while subserving party ends in a general way. The political implication of this thinly veiled rivalry and how it might develop in the future, if the party really becomes stronger than what it is today are matters of pure speculation.

No party however star-studded its leadership

may be, could have built itself up years into a position of fair strength without having a substantial political support from sections of the people. That support is there for all plainly to see. How strong and how wide-spread it is cannot as yet be properly assessed. Much of the popularity of the party however has been due to its being the inheritor of a movement based on certain well known negative sentiments, more especially against the unity of India and against the so-called domination of the south by the north.

The D.M.K. was certainly not the first political party to raise the slogan of separatism. In a vague way the Justice Party of the Pre-Reform days, dominated largely upper class interests among the politically minded non-Brahmins, sowed the seed of disaffection against the north and all that it helped to represent. The British authorities of those days found in the Justice Party a useful political ally for weakening the hold of the Congress on the mass of people in the south. But with the enlargement of the franchise to all literates in 1935, the Justice Party lost its hold on the people completely and its titular leadership was thrust on a power-hungry Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, an erstwhile Congressman looking Marx-like and endowed in an ample measure with the gift of the gab. His exit from the Congress had a tinge of shadow attached to it and he naturally nurtured a grievance against the north, which according to him, controlled the South through the then local Brahmin leadership of the Congress. He gave his party a broader base. He called it "The Dravida Kazhagam" and said that it would work for a sovereign southern State. He raised immediately a war-cry against the Congress with his anti-Hindi agitation in the years immediately preceding World War II. It gave him some following here and there, but

It was by no means spectacular. He lapsed into loyalism during the war and later sought to impress upon British authority the unwisdom of granting freedom to this country. He was and is a complex of several negative attributes and to this day is unreconciled to freedom, to democracy, and to all the human rights enshrined in the Constitution, which according to him perpetuate division of society into castes and places it under the leadership of one community.

The D.M.K. leader Mr. C. N. Annathurai, a member of the Legislature was the understudy of Mr. Naicker for many years and really helped in a big way to put his leadership on the political map of the south. But in the years immediately after freedom, relationship between No. 1 and No. 2 got strained. The younger elements were eager to utilise the opportunities thrown up by adult franchise and march ahead as a disciplined political party for the attainment of a separate Dravidian State. There were already rumblings within the party and they came to the surface when the old septuagenarian leader of the D.K. took a second wife in the evening of his life for reasons which the younger elements held to be selfish and not in the best interests of the Party. That was the signal for a break in its ranks. Mr. Annathurai and his followers formed a separate organisation under the name and style of "The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam" (Dravidian Progressive Federation). The two organisations and leaderships attacked each other for some time with vigour, before settling down to their own ways.

For some time the difference between the two Kazhagams was more or less like the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. Mr. Annathurai, with the rhetoric of which he is a master, characterised their departure from the parent organisation as a "tearful" one. And to this day Mr. Naicker or Periyar as he is widely called speaks of them as the dear "tear drops."

As long as the old composite State of Madras continued to function, neither the D.K. nor the D.M.K. could gain any hold on the people anywhere. But with the separation of Andhra and the detachment of Malabar and South Kanara, the position became different. Some of the sentiments on which the D.K. and D.M.K. thrive, especially the old dislike of the Brahmin Community and a new Tamilian irredentism which became more and more pronounced helped to consolidate their ranks. Brahmin baiting and other negative attributes found their echo and succour inside the Congress Organisation itself, though not so openly. Slowly but steadily the feeling began to grow in the minds of the Kazhagamites that their work outside strengthened the hands of friends inside the Congress. But the dynamism of the D.M.K. leadership and its pragmatic approach to political and social problems gained for it a wide following. In the face of this success the old leadership of Mr. Naicker began to weaken and came to have but a sentimental appeal. Mr. Naicker turned a somersault and made an open avowal of what was previously a veiled position. He lent powerful support of himself and his organisation to the leadership of Mr. Kamaraj and the success of the Congress in the elections while continuing to attack both the Northerner and the brahmin as he has always been doing. The cinema he attacks as immoral. Perhaps the fact that the D.M.K. leadership is steeped in filmdom gave some point to his opposition. Unkind critics have said that some kind of an alliance exists between the Chief Minister and Mr. Naicker. Political exigencies and the logistics of electioneering may have lent some colour to this supposition. But it is well-known that Mr. Kamaraj, while not disposed to reject the political support flowing from Mr. Naicker, keeps his own counsel at all time. It is impossible to divine the mental changes that might have come over him. But he is as unrelenting an opponent of the

D.M.K. as Mr. Naicker himself. It is rather difficult to analyse the tangled skein into which public life in Madras has knotted itself into. But the recent transformation of Mr. Naicker made it easier for Mr. Annathurai to chalk-out a different line for himself and his followers. He chose to throw his party into the electoral fray in the last general elections and for a new comer it did fairly well. For winning the elections and perhaps for some other reasons as well, Mr. Annathurai gave up the plank of anti-brahminism and is concentrating on the issue of a sovereign southern State. There is however one essential difference between the positions of Mr. Naicker and Mr. Annathurai in regard to the idea of a sovereign State. Mr. Naicker is for the present state of Madras becoming a sovereign Tamil State, while Mr. Annathurai does not believe in its viability or tenability and makes a wider bid to include the Kerala, Kannada and Telugu States as well in the sovereign State of his conception. But his party is, as yet largely unknown outside of Madras. During the last few years, both the leaders have conducted quite a few movements to impress Authority with their respective strengths. But all of them have proved to be damp squibs. After taking to legislative work the D.M.K. is talking less and less of direct action. But not so Mr. Naicker. He must at least be talking of some 'movement' all the time. It has become a pastime. A sense of total frustration seems to have overtaken him. Beyond the fact for having aroused the under-dog into a consciousness of self-respect, he seems to have completely failed in everything that he had undertaken. And so he finds himself in the unenviable position of having to mouth old shibboleths and hatreds against the brahmin and the northerner, though it is doubtful if he really believes in them still. He appeals in the sacred name of the Buddha and in the name of the great Thiruvalluvar. He expatiates on love but preaches rank violence

against the special targets of his hatred. It is only the inherent goodness of the people that has kept them out of mischief. Nowadays he is feted in town after town with vulgar displays of affection that would excite the envy of heroes. But it has not any relation to his political following. He is a bundle of contradictions, wasting himself in the back-woods of hatred and reaction. He is slowly losing his rank and file to the D.M.K. which at the moment is decidedly on top. To such desperate straits has Mr. Naicker been reduced that of late he has been led to seek an alliance with another "movement" run by a newspaper magnate, having for its objective consolidation of all Tamil speaking areas, wherever they happen to be into one sovereign Tamil State.

The D.M.K. has been built up by the tactic of unceasing repetition of the party-line that the North is neglecting this part of the country and bestows on it a step-motherly treatment all round. The Congressmen beyond making assertions to the contrary have not been able to carry home the other view point with success. As a matter of fact though the Congress has a comfortable majority in the Legislature, it is not so sure of the future, especially as it is becoming more and more depleted of intellect in its ranks, and growing apathy towards integrated thought which matter in a big way in the modern world.

Neither the Congress Party nor the Communist Party have been able to secure the younger generation into their fold in any large numbers during the last decade. The D.M.K., on the other hand has steadily consolidated itself among the masses of the student population, though that impact has not been to the good of the rising generation. The D.M.K. while publicly avowing its desire to keep students off politics has absolutely no qualms about exploiting their enthusiasm for electoral ends. A point seems to have been reached when parents and students alike seem to be deve-

roping second thoughts about the dangers inherent in the situation. An anti-national party, not averse to employing methods of violence (as has been demonstrated on account of a few occasions in the past) its potentialities for destructive harnessing of the younger generation are causing considerable dismay in the public mind. But any action against the party is bound to confer a halo of martyrdom on the party, which is the last thing the ruling circles would like to happen. Perhaps with the passage of time the position might become different and the D.M.K. movement itself might perhaps take new shapes and forms. It might conceivably soft-pedal the demand for a sovereign Southern State,

which by no means is within the possibility of realisation by the D.M.K., as it has constituted today. It is very likely that as an intermediate step it might demand complete autonomy for each one of the Southern States or for any autonomous federation of the Southern States. In such an endeavour it is possible for the Party to enlist some support from the Communist Party, ever ready to speak in terms of various nationalities inhabiting India. The Reds and the D.M.K. have continuously been attacking each other in a big way. But that has not stood in the way of their entering into electoral alliance whenever and wherever they thought fit. That is a pointer perhaps to the future.

THE PRESIDENT TO THE RESCUE

BY

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

The cry is heard in Kerala that to put an end to the abnormal situation that has arisen in that State the President of the Republic of India should take over the Government of the State. I am not here and now concerned with the question whether the situation in Kerala fulfils the conditions required for the intervention of the President in the Government of the State. I am concerned in view of the demand made by influential organizations and individuals in Kerala and outside to examine the provisions of the Constitution of India providing for such intervention.

The clauses in the Constitution providing for such intervention of the President of the Republic are popularly known as the "break-down" clauses of the Constitution. It is rather ironic that a Constitution prepared, after long and mature deliberation, in order to establish a stable and lasting system of Government should provide for the breakdown of that system. Few Constitutions have provided for such break-down. If a Constitution breaks—down there is an end of the Constitution and the people have to proceed either violently or peacefully to get themselves another Constitution.

Only two Constitutions, so far as I know, provide for or rather against a situation resembling that of a breakdown of the Constitution. The Constitution of the U.S.A. provides that the United States (i.e., the Federal Government) shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government and shall protect each of them against invasion and on application of the Legislature or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence. So far

no cause has been given to the Federal Government in the U.S.A. to intervene in the State Government to maintain the Republican form of Government. But I should imagine that if the Governor of any State should attempt to assume the position and power of a Dictator and overthrow the institutions of Republican Government established at the time of the beginning of the Constitution of the U.S.A. the Federal Government would be justified in sending armed forces into the State, overthrow the dictator and his dictatorship and see that the Republican system of Government is restored. If the President of the U.S.A. should attempt to overthrow the Republican system of Government he would be impeached before Congress.

In the German Constitution of 1919 provision was made that "every State must have a Republican constitution and that in the event of a State not fulfilling the duties imposed on it by the Constitution or the laws of the Reich (the Federal State) the President of the Reich may make use of the armed forces to compel it to do so. In neither case, neither in the case of the U.S.A. Constitution nor in the case of the German Reich is there any provision for an alternative Government to the supreme Government established according to the law of the constitution if that Government should fail to perform its duties under the Constitution. All that these Constitutions provide for is for the armed forces of the State to be used to bring about a restoration of the system not for its supersession. That is the armed forces could intervene to restore order and in that atmosphere and environment of order to see to it that the old system is restored—with fresh elections to the Legislature, constitution

or a new Ministry, the functioning of the Courts of Law and the other processes of the Government provided for by the Constitution.

Why then did the Constitution of India make this express provision for the introduction of an alternative Government to the State Government which has proved its inability to govern. There was a historical cause and a political cause for the Emergency or breakdown clauses of the Constitution.

The historical cause was that this provision was ready to hand of the makers of the Constitution. It was found in the Government of India Act of 1935 framed and passed by the Parliament in England. That Parliament had a reason for providing against the breakdown of the Constitution which it was imposing on India. It knew that a large section of opinion in India represented by the Indian National Congress did not like the Constitution, had even proclaimed its intention to wreck it and that the political, and especially the communal situation was bad enough to dim the prospects of the success of the Constitution. But still as Parliament was responsible for the Government of India and the King's Government had to be carried on, provision was made in the Government of India Act of 1935 for the Governor to assume responsibility as agent of the Governor-General for the Government of the Province in the case of the system of Government in the provinces by Governors and Provincial Legislature in union and harmony not being possible and for the Governor-General to assume responsibility for the Government of India as agent of the Secretary of State and Parliament in the case of the Central Government by Governor-General and Legislative Assembly working in union and harmony breaking down. This provision was known to the makers of the Constitution of India and they incorporated this provision as they adopted so many other provision of that Act, necessary and unnecessary.

And the reason why they adopted this provision of the Government of India Act was a political reason, the second reason for the incorporation of this provision. And that reason was the political circumstance of the country. The makers of the Constitution of India knew they were making a full-fledged democratic constitution for an imperfectly unified people with the fires of communal jealousy if not hatred banked if not blazing, nationalism struggling against caste, a politically immature people, 80% of them illiterate and poverty-stricken and with many other social and political and economic antecedents of democracy lacking. They had to provide against the breakdown of the parliamentary Government they were providing for the country may be as a result of communal disturbances, the intransigence of political parties, devoid of the spirit and practice of compromise and give and take, divided from each other by ideological differences.

There is only one kind of constitutional break-down provided against in the Constitution of India—that is the break-down of constitutional machinery in the States in Article 356 of the Constitution. The other provisions in the Emergency clauses (Clause 352 and 360) confer powers on the President in the first instance and then on Parliament to provide for the Government of India outside the normal working of the Constitution to meet threats to the security of India or of any part thereof whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbances or (by Clause 360) to meet "financial emergency" whereby the financial stability or credit of India or any part of the territory of India is threatened. Why no provision is made for the breakdown of constitutional machinery in the Government of India as a whole we shall enquire later.

It is by Article 356 that the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the

State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may assume to himself all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or any body or authority in the State including the Legislature whose powers shall thereafter be exercised by or under the authority of Parliament which shall have power to make laws or confer authority to administer on subjects included in the State list of subjects of administration, the executive power of the Union in such case including the power of giving directions as to the manner in which the executive power of the State is to be exercised. In other words the executive and legislative power of the State is taken over by the President-in-Parliament. Only the powers of the High Court in the State are not affected by the assumption of the Government of the State by the President-in-Parliament.

Now what does breakdown of the Constitution mean and consist in? It may be a physical breakdown caused by internal disturbance with which the State Government can not cope. The President may under Article 355 go to the assistance of the State Government in such a case with the armed forces of the Government of India. But if the physical disturbance is so great and of such a character that it can be ended only by a more permanent intervention Article 356 attracts much more permanent intervention of the President... Failure within the meaning of Article 356 may also arise according to a learned commentator (Mr. D. D. Basu) in case of abuse of constitutional powers by a State Government, gross mis-government, something more serious than mal-administration.

Why are similar provisions not made against the breakdown of constitutional machinery in the Government of the Union. Why did the makers of the Constitution not adopt or adapt Section 45 of the Government of India Act of 1935 which empowered the Governor-General to deal with a failure of the constitutional machinery at the centre. For constitutional Government may fail at the centre as in the circumference as a result of clash between the Executive and the Legislature which fails to be resolved by a general election

or by flouting by the Executive the provisions of the Constitution that can help to out action of Courts of Law, or grave internal disturbance in which elections towards a change of Government cannot be held. What was it that prevented the makers of the Constitution from providing against such contingencies. Was it the shyness, the delicacy, the sense of shame which prevents an author from contemplating the destruction or failure of his own creation or that prevents a bird from fouling its own nest? How could they contemplate and provide against the breakdown of the supreme power in the Government they were creating. After all the Government of India under the Government of India Act of 1935 was a Subordinate Government, Subordinate to the King in Parliament—and against its breakdown provision could be made by substituting Government by the Governor-General acting as agent of the King-in-Parliament. Or did they leave the breakdown of Constitutional Government at the centre to be dealt with by the unwritten laws of Government. Over and above and outside the Constitution are the laws of political life. One of the first and foremost is the law of self-preservation. The President or the Head of the State as the supreme representative of the State would under that law of self-preservation be entitled to take all measures necessary for the preservation of the State. Under the Constitution of India the supreme command of the Defence Forces of the Union is vested in the President. It is true the exercise of that supreme command is regulated by law. But when the law does not apply in the extraordinary circumstances supposed (God forbid that they should ever occur) the law of nature, the law of self-preservation would apply. In times of crisis the Romans governed themselves by the rule.

Videant consules, no quid reipublicae detrimanti copit.

Let the consuls see to it that no harm happens to the republic.

For above Constitutions is the State—and the State must be preserved at any price and the temporary suspension of the Constitution is not a high price to pay for the preservation of the State.

ON 'INDIA WINS FREEDOM'

BY

REV. A. A. PYLEE

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's autobiographic narrative 'India Wins Freedom' has brought to light some of the inner stories of partition. As President of the Indian National Congress in its most difficult and eventful years of the Second World War he was intimately connected with all the negotiations and developments which finally led to the partition of India. His intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, in these years makes it fascinating reading. There will be differences of opinion with regard to his interpretation of events and judgments of facts but his observations on men and facts will no doubt attract widespread attention. There has been much comments in the press with regard to the views expressed in this book, but nobody will question the sincerity and frankness with which the author has dealt with men and events in this narrative. Anyhow this book makes the reader to pause for a moment and look back on the last phase of the history of our freedom struggle and think whether we have followed the right line of action. History alone can finally judge the course of action taken by the Indian National Congress, but the Maulana has his own strong opinions with regard to the events that happened in this period. The political wisdom, moral stature and the deep integrity of the writer compels to give due weight to his opinion, even though one differs from him on certain points expressed in this book.

The story of this book begins with the passing of the 1935 Government of India Act and ends with the Partition of India. He describes graphically many political events and decisions in this period with first hand knowledge. The Maulana considers himself as a political realist and always advocates a

positive attitude towards administration. He strongly supported the acceptance of the 1935 Act in spite of the 'fly in the ointment'—the Special Powers of the Governor. Again we find his constitutional approach to the 'Cripp's proposals', 'Council entry programme' and the 'Cabinet Mission' in this book. He regrets that this Constitutional and positive attitude was not in the nature of all the working committee members of the Congress which according to him, finally damaged the Unity of India. The Maulana thinks that if Lord Wavell's advice had been followed and the solution for Indian problem deferred for a year or two the Muslim masses of India would probably have repudiated the negative attitude of the League. Here one honestly doubts whether his estimate of the political situation in the country is really correct. He always underestimated the large following of the Muslim League. On the other hand Patel, Nehru and Gandhiji were able to feel the pulse of the nation much more than the Maulana and because of this there was some difference in their approach to political problems also.

There are many instances of sharp differences of opinion between Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad. He says very frankly on one occasion 'that the Sardar and I did not always see eye to eye.' According to him some of the actions of Sardar Patel were unwise and not in the best interests of the nation. When the Congress Ministry was formed in Bombay Nariman the accredited leader of Bombay Congress was ignored on Communal grounds and the Chief Ministership was offered to B. G. Kher. This the Maulana points out as a clever move by Sardar Patel. He criticizes

'Patel, Prasad and Kripalani who tried to judge things on their own and were accustomed to subordinate their judgments to Gandhiji.' According to the Maulana Sardar Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad were entirely the creation of Gandhiji. He accuses Patel for turning Gandhiji against Bulabhai Desai. Bulabhai had become a prominent leader of the Congress and the Desai-Liaquat formula is well known in the history of the Congress. Many charges that were brought against Desai were false but this propaganda permanently damaged his political career. He was not offered a ticket in the general election. The Maulana thinks that Patel was at the back of this clever move. Another instance against Sardar Patel is the inclusion of C. H. Bhabha in the interim Government simply because he was a friend of Patel's son. Anyhow he dropped out of the Government after some time. In the interim Government Sardar Patel's insistence on Home Ministry according to the Maulana was a great blunder. Liaquat Ali Khan, when the Muslim League joined the interim Government was offered finance which finally led to surmounted difficulties in the working of the Cabinet. In a recent article written by Mr. V. P. Menon the position of Patel in this matter was vigorously defended. Azad thinks that law and order was mainly a provincial problem and finance was the key to the Government. Liaquat Ali Khan used this opportunity to bring the cabinet down to his knees. This irritation in the Executive Council according to Maulana made Sardar Patel a believer in Partition. Azad points out that the first victim to the Mountbatten idea of Partition was Sardar Patel. But it could be argued from the other side that the Sardar was a strong practical minded man who was able to grasp clearly the force of the argument for Partition.

The division of the army together with the Partition was an erroneous step according to the Maulana. He sincerely thought if the army

had remained united, the rivers of blood immediately after independence. But the Congress leaders did not support his view and the inevitable happened. Patel's handling of the communal situation after independence was far from satisfactory in the judgments of Azad. To support this, he says that Jawaharlal also was dissatisfied with the performance of Patel as Home minister. With a little Sarcasm Azad describes Patel's collecting deadly weapons which were alleged to be used by muslims against the Hindus in Delhi. They consisted of a dozen kitchen knives, pocket knives, pen-knives with or without handles, etc. It is also pointed out that when Gandhiji began his fast on 12th January 1948, Patel left for Bombay and complained that Gandhiji was fasting without any justification. In a sense the Maulana says that the fast was directed against the attitude of Sardar Patel. The above statement seems to be a little exaggerated, because Gandhiji's intention was to bring about communal harmony and peace in the country. Finally the author joins with a few others in saying that adequate protection was not given to Gandhiji in spite of the previous threats on the life of the Mahatma. Sardar Patel was reputed to be a strong and efficient Home Minister undoubtedly but it is alleged by some that sufficient effort had not been made by him for saving Gandhiji's life. To this question also Mr. V. P. Menon has answered strongly defending the position of Sardar Patel with detailed facts. Anyhow reading through the book one gets the impression that these two great men could not see eye to eye even though they worked together for many years in the same working committee and the cabinet.

The relation between Azad and Jawaharlal was very cordial even though they differed occasionally on certain policies. He says that the sacrifice of Nehru in the cause of India's freedom is second to none in this country. Jawaharlal was considered as a

... production of some of the answers taken from a written test for the selection of personnel in one of our Corporations. Note the appalling standard of the applicants in these answers sent to me which calls for reviving the 'general reading' habits in our Schools and Colleges Ed.]

Some of the howlers in the answer papers of candidates who appeared for the written test conducted by.....

Christian Herter	...	" A Missionary "
		" A Religious ceremony "
		" A great leader of the Christians "
Mussoorie	...	" Italian Dictator "
		" An aerodrome and city "
John Mathai	...	" Private Secretary of Sri Nehru "
Aruna Asaf Ali	...	" A great Muslim leader. He is a kind hearted man."
		" European lady who took part in India's struggle for Independence."
		" Commander-in-General of Pakistan."
		" Prime Minister of Pakistan."
Gaek Wad	...	" A great wall in Baroda—one of the seven wonders of the world."
		" Leader of Labour Party in England."
		" The ruler of China is called Gaek Wad."
		" Nawab of Arcot."
		" President of U.N.O."
G. L. Nanda		" President of the Lok Sabha."
		" Socialist leader of India."
May Day	...	" Sacred day for religion."
Olympic Games	...	" A great Sportsman named Olympic died after leaving great wealth."
Kutab Minar	...	" A hill Station."
		" An eminent light house."

Bhilai	...	" A place in Tibet."
		" City Mayor of Delhi."
		" is in Rome."
		" The old name of England."
		" A place in Madras where water is given on cash basis."
General Ayub Khan	...	" Secretary of U.N.O."
		" He led an army during the period of Akbar to defeat the Rajputs."
Red Fort	...	" A very great wall in south Dudia, near Delhi."
		" The main gate in Russia."
		" A port in Bombay."
		" An industrial establishment in Delhi."
Thekkadi	...	" Place through which people go to Ceylon."
		" A movement under the leadership of Gandhiji."
		" A place where matches are manufactured."
Nobel Prize	...	" Prize given by the Government of India."
Panchen Lama	...	" Temporary meeting place of U.N.O."
Chagla	...	" Capital of Assam."
		" A river in China."

Since the attainment of freedom, Azad says that Nehru has become the symbol of our National Unity and progress. "I have nevertheless to say with regret that he is at times apt to be carried away by feelings. Not only so, but sometimes he is so impressed by the theoretical considerations that he is apt to underestimate the realities of a situation." To substantiate this view few incidents could be shown from this book. When the ministry was formed in U.P. Azad wanted two seats to be offered to the Muslim League, but Jawaharlal insisted on one. The Maulana thinks that this was a sheer miscalculation and an unfortunate development, which gave handle to Jinnah for his offensive propaganda which finally led to information of Pakistan. This seems to be a grossly exaggerated statement. Jawaharlal's Press Conference after the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposal is considered to be the cause of the rejection of the plan by Jinnah and the consequent direct action by the League. But it must be remembered that Jinnah would have been clever enough to find out some other reason for withdrawing from his commitment to the Cabinet Mission proposals.

Another instance of the hasty and impatient acts of Nehru is shown in his visit to the Frontier Provinces on hearing that the Congress was losing its hold in that area. He was then a member of the interim Government and Lord Wavell also did not approve of his action. Nehru though a man of principle is also impulsive and amenable to personal influence. Perhaps this defect of his makes him very popular among the masses. Azad says "that he was so greatly impressed by Mountbatten, but perhaps even greater was the influence of Lady Mountbatten." "Often he listened to Krishna Menon" and I knew that Menon often gave him wrong advice. "Sardar Patel and I did not always see eye to eye but we were agreed in our judgment about him."

The Maulana was not a blind follower of Gandhiji. Those who subjected their views to that of Gandhiji quite uncritically are not in the high estimation of the Maulana. Without any reservation he writes that to him non-violence was a matter of policy not a creed. His view was that India had the right to take to the sword if they had no other alternative. Gandhiji according to Azad overemphasized the position of Jinnah and made him unnecessarily big by bestowing on him the title Qaid-i-Azam. He never believed that Gandhiji could bring freedom by some magic or super-human method. Azad gives great weight to his own opinion and one is constrained to think that everything would have been alright if his advice had been adhered to. He desired to retire from the Presidentship of the Congress in 1946 to give place to Jawaharlal. Then he comments "that events, shaped since then have shown that I may have been wrong and those who wanted me to continue for at least another year were perhaps in the right." Here we get a glimpse of his own opinion of himself.

He notices some elements of comedy in the midst of great tragedy which makes the book lively. Some staunch communalists, he says, appear on the scene as great nationalists after independence which seems quite amusing to him. When Gandhiji's individual Satyagraha Movement was going on one Sampurna Singh who courted arrest without the previous sanction of the Gandhiji, Put up a defence against the explicit instructions of the Congress! The convicting magistrate fined him one anna which he paid from his own pocket and set him free.

On the whole it is a fascinating autobiographical narrative. There are opinions, and, judgments which one does not agree to but the author speaks with sincerity and authority through the pages of this book, the last phase of our historic freedom struggle.

PROBING THE MIND—NEURASTHENIA

BY

DR. G. D. BOAZ

(Prof. of Psychology, University of Madras)

[This is the first instalment in a series of six articles by Dr. Boaz of the Madras University under the title "Probing the Mind" wherein he discusses actual case histories.—Ed.]

Just as there are different kinds of physical diseases, so also there are different types of psychological disorders. The term Psychoneuroses, refers to a large group of psychological disorders which arise from emotional disturbances and which have no physical or structural basis. Hence they are called functional disorders (as opposed to structural disorders). The term 'Psychoses' refers to a group of severe psychological disorders, going under the layman's term 'madness.' Psychoses on the whole are more difficult for treatment and may often have a physical basis also for their origin. Most psychotic patients need institutional care and medical attention. Psychoneuroses on the other hand are easily amenable to various forms of psychotherapy developed in recent years. The treatment aims at analysing the psychological dynamics of personality structure. Mostly the trouble arises from some deep-seated and early maladjustments in life. Conflicts, and difficulties arising from strong emotional experiences such as anger, fear, shame, sense of guilt, frustration, etc., are usually the ultimate causes of such disorders. Therapy aims at discovering or uncovering these hidden experiences which, not being assimilated properly, act like poison in the psychic system.

Neurasthenia is a common psychological disorder coming under the category of psychoneurosis. It does not refer to a definite and particular symptom; rather, it stands for a wide range of psychological disturbances of

varying intensity. But the students of Abnormal psychology can always recognise a common pattern. Hence, the grouping under that name. Neurasthenia may be characterized by a number of physical symptoms, the most common one being a feeling of tiredness and fatigue in the morning, even after a good night's sleep. But in some cases, there can also be sleep disturbances, resulting in chronic insomnia. Neurasthenic patients may develop all kinds of aches and pains in the body, such as chronic backache, headache, pain in the joints, etc. These physical pains often mislead the patients and make them run from Doctor to Doctor, taking all sorts of drugs. They will not find any relief since these pains have nothing to do with structural complications. They are psychogenic.

Along with these outward symptoms all these patients have some common psychological and personality characteristics. They invariably develop pessimism, lack of interest in life, a strong sense of frustration and dependence on their symptoms which they always put forward as excuses for their inability to do things. These people also develop a high degree of self-deception. Psychotherapy probes into the minds of these people using various techniques developed by Freud and many others since his time. An actual case-history will make us understand these disorders in a more concrete manner.

A gentleman nearing fifty years of age came with various complaints. He was very

mind in his general bearing and manner. He reported having a number of symptoms like sleeplessness, giddiness, peculiar pains in various parts of the body and feeling of tiredness and fatigue every morning. According to him, the significant thing about these symptoms was that he could not attend to his work properly. He was a lawyer by profession. He had been suffering from these symptoms for a few years and they had become quite chronic by that time. By then, he had gradually reduced his activities and was almost at the point of completely giving up his profession. Because of some financial difficulties, he carried on a fraction of his previous normal work. It was mentioned earlier, that most of these patients develop self-deception. This patient was convinced that but for his trouble with these symptoms he would have done much more work and attained very great success at the Bar. Even a cursory analysis would show that this was not the case. It was found out that he developed these symptoms as an excuse for giving up his work. Why he wanted to give up his work was another matter.

He came from rather poor circumstances. He was very intelligent, in fact, almost brilliant. He had also a good and successful University career. Because of some factors in the environment and supported by the fact of his being very intelligent, he developed as a boy very high ambitions. It was difficult to say that his goals were too high. But certainly, it was not easy for him to realise those ambitions. He started practising at the Bar with very good success in a measure that was unusual for junior practitioners. By this time, he also married from a very highly placed family. Without his conscious recognition his goals and ambitions gradually became so high that they could not be reached. It was interesting to find out why such goals were formulated within his mind. Firstly, he was intelligent and hard-working. He had

a very good record of school and college career. This factor gave a realistic and plausible basis for building up such a big castle in his mind. Secondly, the early success at the Bar emphasised and to some extent, exaggerated his ability and importance. Thirdly his connection by marriage with a highly placed family made it necessary for him to achieve greatness in order to feel equal with them. Fourthly, even as a boy, he had developed very strong inferiority feelings regarding the socio-economic status of his father and his family. His dream-castles were partly of a compensatory character. Fifthly, a younger brother of his came into the picture. His brother was not so intelligent and clever at studies like our friend. But he excelled our friend in many things like games, general smartness, sociability and capacity to make friends, initiative and leadership qualities, etc. As a result of this, the brother was always enjoying a very covetable place among their companions at school and outside. Our friend was backward in most of these things. He often felt very jealous of his brother and he satisfied himself by dreams of very high academic and professional successes which the brother could never reach. Finally, he was having some trouble in his own home life. Family adjustments presented a good many problems to himself and his wife. A first his wife, coming from a family with very high social status, found it difficult to accept all the obligations of their new position. As a result, the husband wanted to prove himself, even to an abnormal extent, to be superior. His trump-card was his intellectual ability and professional success. So here also these two factors came to assume a very high degree of satisfaction value.

The above factors show clearly the abnormal value our friend gave to professional success. Gradually, because of the above psychological causes the ambition took on a very strong abnormal character. The first effect of this

abnormal character was the gradual appearance within himself of a feeling of insufficiency and inability to reach these goals. On account of certain social experiences in his professional life, which of course could not be one of success throughout, a strong fear of failure took hold of him. But he could not afford to face any failure. Nothing less than the highest which he formulated for himself will be satisfactory in view of the abnormal motivational dynamics. Thereafter, it was a battle of wits to find out an acceptable and respectable excuse in advance for a possible failure. Earlier he was an applicant for the Indian Civil Service. He had done well in the various examinations, but was rejected on medical grounds. These experiences, while emphasising his intellectual ability, disturbed his mind seriously with regard to his physical status. Even previously he was not very happy about his physical build because of his short stature. That was working in his mind very seriously. When his candidature for the Civil Service was turned down on medical grounds the consequent intense frustration made him reject his own physical body. He almost became disgusted with his physical structure.

Another situation which threatened a possible failure in the exaggerated ambition desperately called for a solution and readjustment of his life plan. He was unable to face failure,

the only alternative was to give up the struggle under the excuse of sickness. The unconscious part of the mind came readily to the rescue. Neurasthenic symptoms began to appear. These symptoms disturbed him on one side and also gave him a sense of relief on the other. If the symptoms continued, he could not work and must give up his profession. He could always say to himself and others, that but for his symptoms he would have achieved all the greatness that he had aimed at. This in fact, is the typical neurasthenic attitude. Once this state has set in, then a vicious circle is established. Rapidly the conscious mind gets convinced of the seriousness of the symptoms in preventing every bit of work. But in reality they become efficient in protecting the individual from a possible failure.

In all such cases of mental disorders, the actual symptoms will have their own history. Why in one case, a chronic headache is the main symptom and in another a feeling of giddiness, depends on a number of factors in the earlier physical history of the individual. Sometimes past illnesses may get fixed up in the mental system to such an extent, that when a necessity arises, the unconscious may return to that particular ailment. In this particular case also, there were a number of experiences in the past which caused the different symptoms to appear.

Personality Sketch

E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

BY

KASHYAPA



To talk of E. M. S. Namboodiripad today is to be topical. None is more in the news than he, and in a sort of way, the eyes and ears of the world are beamed on him. He is the

pivot around whom a historical event is forming, and his role is significant. The compatibility of a Communist state and a Democratic Union ; or from another angle, the possibility of running a Communist Government "within a capitalistic constitution"—are both to be answered in Kerala shortly and which way the answer will be, depends more on this short, dark skinned, astute Numboodiri, than on any other single person.

When I first met E. M. S. in 1952, he looked very different. Perhaps he was different ! His hair was cropped close, almost shaven. Instinctively one looked in vain, for the knotted tuft. He was dishabille in his attire, and wore loose pajamas with a shirt—home-washed of course—and not with Lux either. The clumsiness of his exterior was a sharp contrast to the cleanliness and keenness of his mind, which struck me as unique. His advice and guidance were constantly sought after by partymen of all cadres on a variety of topics. He listened to all of them with the same seriousness and his advice was given to all equally gently and genuinely. It mattered not to him whether it was a "pink" student approaching him with a minor problem in the class representatives election to the College Union ; or a Politbureau member testing his reaction to an important policy line. E. M. S. attracts by his simplicity of manner. That so important a party comrade should move so freely was remarkable, particularly as some of his colleagues had won a deserved notoriety for snootiness and pride of party position. *Suaviter in modo ; fortiter in re.*

Namboodiripad's sterling worth is not apparent or obvious. His personality is unprepossessing. He has not the handsome profile of Shripat Amrit Dange, or the boyish beauty

of Jyoti Basu. He has not the dignified bearing of P. C. Joshi or the rugged charm of Balachandra Triambak Ranadive. He does not possess the unctuous conversational brilliance of versatile Ramamoorthi. Perhaps for simple lack of lustre of any kind, he is foremost in his party—with the glorious exception of General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh, who is bland, almost like a statue in expression. I have seen Ghosh and Namboodiripad together, and it was a neck to neck race—for the 'least personality' test. Ghosh won. It was a photo finish. And yet those two, between them, perhaps have more Marxist theory running in their veins, than the rest of the party leaders put together. What does not glitter can be gold. What glitters is often tinsel.

Communist Party secrets are rarely known to the outside world—and generally, once they get known, are promptly denied officially. Within these limitations, the press can just hazard rumours, and our opinions can be formed only on the basis of what gets currency. Namboodiripad has been so credited by the Press with the authorship of the Amritsar thesis of the C.P.I. One of Mao-Tse-Tung's "hundred flowers" had blossomed at Amritsar last year—a new challenge to orthodox Marxist conceptions. The C.P.I. had resolved to achieve its goal by the ballot box, through elections, and within the framework of a Constitution wrought by others. E. M. S. is believed to have worked for the adoption of the new thesis. This has not been denied by the party, and one does not know whether to give credence to the rumours or not. But judging from the fact that he has been given the tremendous responsibility of putting the theory into practice at Kerala, the rumour must be correct. Moreover it is only a thorough Marxist that can take liberties with Marxist theory, and stretch a point here or there, to make a new development square with orthodox concepts—and as I have said already, E. M. S. is a thorough theoretician. Therefore I think more is at stake in Kerala today than the fate of the Communist Government. The Amritsar theory is at stake, and Sankaran Namboodiripad's reputation is at stake as well. The Congress party in Kerala seems to overlook

this. If their struggle is victorious and the Government falls, the Communist Party of India would have been rudely shaken in its—what I think was, if not is—sincere attempt to adopt constitutional methods to reach its ideal. If the C.P.I. changes the Amritsar line and goes back, if not actually to Ranadive's left deviation, at least to something more belligerent than the ballot box, the Congress would have made a capital political blunder. The *pradamans* that may flow on the day the Red Government falls in Kerala, may not taste sweet for long. The Congress is an Opposition only in Kerala but the C.P.I. is opposing the Government all over India. I cannot offer more advice, gratuitously. No shrewd political observer can fail to sound a note of warning to the anti-Government agitation in Kerala. They ought not be penny wise, pound foolish.

E. M. S. is a persuasive talker. I would not call him eloquent, but he conveys his ideas clearly and without verbosity. He is cursed with a stammer. That defect in speech is said to be begotten of shyness and self-consciousness. When I come to think of it E. M. S. is certainly shy and self-conscious—not in the way ordinary people are, but in a political sort of way. Price, the famous medical text book writer, also says : "Stammering occurs in naturally left handed people who have been trained to behave as if they were right-handed." I could not help wondering : Is Namboodiripad naturally inclined to some other direction in politics, who is compulsorily behaving as if he were what he is now? If so, if he changes his direction from right to left, as a result of the Kerala affairs, he will be a formidable force against the party in power.

What does the future hold in store for E. M. S? I cannot say. But this is certain : whatever it is, Namboodiripad will take it with equanimity. There is a streak of philosophy in him—perhaps that is why he was called Sankara by someone recently. His parents must have known it half a century ago. They called him Sankaran too.

GLIMPSES OF YESTERDAY

BY
POTHAN JOSEPH

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M. Chalapathi Rau of "National Herald," Lucknow, writes :

'We Fellows of All Souls are *sui generis*', said a Dean of Canterbury. Mr. Pothan Joseph is *sui generis*, without literary predecessors and successors. He has been a writer of distinction for more years than most of us can remember, and in these days of slovenly diction, it is good to preserve even *piecemeal* examples of the art of writing practised unpretentiously but, with an exacting literary conscience. Mr. Joseph's voluminous output is free from jargon, battered epithets, hackneyed phrases; he has a technique but no tricks. He is vivid, even volatile, not like H. G. Wells or somebody else but like himself. He is a master of pointed compression, but the result is not *stilted* and *battery*. Even Maugham grew tired of epigrams, as Empress Massalina had grown tired of adultery. Mr. Joseph's writing is full-blooded with fullness of vocabulary but without *learned* words, lordly Latinities, and those pedantic sonorities which make little *sense* and *sound* like Sanskritized English. His copiousness is not conventional but there is grammatical and rhetorical security in the exuberance of his ideas. Mr. Joseph, who does not seek to be a leader of thought fashions or style fashions, must have established early in his life a genial, relaxed style for himself, and social, economic, or literary change does not find him out of date.

Mr. Joseph's writing is a part of his being, not the sparkle of his celebration. His head and heart seem to work in co-ordination, and there have been intimations of an inner illumination in his more intimate writing. It is possible to be as casual as Mr. Joseph and possess an inner certitude, reflected in the consistency of outlook which he has maintained in editing different newspapers. The autobiographical piece which leads this collection, recording moments of self-revelation, may lead to what should be a book of note, not merely recollections but an authentic self-portrait by a man who has been true to himself. These are not all essays in the light manner; these are also lessons in simple virtues like Christian charity from one free from affectation, modest, generous, sincere, ironic and critical but not censorious. His obituary notices are unexcelled epitaphs. Mr. Joseph, the grand signeur of the profession, is, as I said, *sui generis*. For charm of sentiment, for authenticity of feeling, for genuine humour and constant sunniness, for finely phrased wisdom, he stands alone.

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Re 1

is a conflict as to the very methods to be followed to create a prosperous condition, the former laying emphasis on Socialism while the latter relying more on the individual.

These developments in our political arena would provide the people with an opportunity to do some re-thinking about the prevalent slogans and ideas of Socialism, Democracy, Cooperative Farming, State Trading, etc.

The next General Election is still three years away. That gives ample time for us to examine and evaluate the programmes and ideals of our Political Parties, old and new.

THE POLICE AND THE PRESS

BY

F. V. ARUL, B.A., I.P.

Deputy Inspector-General of Police (C.I.D.)

It is axiomatic to say that the police purpose cannot be achieved without public support and co-operation. In order to secure and maintain good public relations the police must establish satisfactory contacts with the individual citizen and also seek to influence the large majority of the people with whom it may not be possible to come into personal contact. It is the latter function with which we are concerned today, for the only satisfactory way in which the general public can be contacted is through the press. Our subject today therefore is 'The Police and the Press'.

The point arises immediately whether the police force which has the best press relations is the most popular and conversely whether the police force which is popular with the public has achieved that position merely by maintaining good relations with the press. For example, the British Police is without doubt one which enjoys the greatest amount of public support and goodwill. Is this due to the fact that the British Police maintain excellent relations with the press? The answer is yes and no. Good press relations is only part of the answer. Why then is the British Police so popular with the public? A certain official has stated that the excellent relations which always prevailed in England between the police and the community are due in large measure to the fact that the police are drawn from the people and have as their duty to serve the people.

This explanation does not get us very far for it is difficult to see from whom the police could be drawn but from the people and many officials who have as their duty to serve the

people are not popular. A historian has sought to give an explanation by saying that the British Police are popular because they are kind and helpful. It is true that the British Police have a long and splendid tradition of patience and courtesy but the explanation is not completely a satisfactory one because it does not explain how the British Police can afford to be kind.

Popularity of British Police

The truth is that the popularity of the British Police is due to the fact that they enforce laws which are acceptable by and large to the majority of the people. This in turn is due to two causes. Firstly, the laws have been enacted by a democratic process in a country where the common man understands what is being legislated, and, secondly, the police do not enforce unpopular laws such as Fuel and Price Controls, the enforcement of which is undertaken by special officers of the Ministries concerned. The third reason for the popularity of the British Police is that the British people are law abiding with a fairly high sense of social responsibility. Thus it should be clear that good press relations is not the only answer to the matter of popularity. It is at the same time a very important factor because it is the mass medium which can be used to influence the large majority of the public with whom the police may not come into contact. The press has undoubtedly a tremendous capacity for moulding public opinion and it is therefore necessary for the police to cultivate the press consciously and continuously.

I do not wish to convey the impression that Police must maintain relations with the press

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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

On the 15th of August 1959, we would be completing a dozen years of political independence. All these years we have been witnessing experiments at improving our economic and social status. The Congress Party having a great say in the administration of the Country whether on a state or on a national basis has been putting into effect reforms in Socialism. They seem to be convinced that only through Socialism can India strive forward in her march towards self-sufficiency and all-round prosperity. The Five Year Plans launched under the aegis of the Congress directive put greater emphasis on the Public Sector in contrast with the Private Sector since the former is the matrix where the Congress well-wishers hope to generate prosperity for India's millions. Consequently special regard has been attached to experiments at cooperative farming, state trading, and the like.

Apparently there is a considerable Section of the Indian Population which holds the view that the Socialistic policies of the Congress are not the right means for our end, viz. a Prosperous India. They give greater emphasis on individual enterprise and initiative. We find this conflict reflected in the formation of two parties in 1959. They are the Swatantra Party and the Socialist and Democratic Party of Andhra. These two parties mainly stand for the freedom of the individual as against group treatment as it is practised today. The Swatantra Party especially is gaining ground as an All-India Party as is evident from the popularity of its convention recently at Bombay and also by glancing at the great names associated with it. This Party will also be against the expansion of bureaucratic services which involve the bringing into being of 'Statism'.

The Social and Democratic Party which is the result of the merger of the Democratic and the Socialist Parties shares several of the views of the Swatantra Party specially in regard to Freedom of the Individual and Cooperative Farming. A report of the Swatantra Party states that 'we are of the opinion that social justice and welfare can be reached more certainly and properly in other ways than through techniques of so-called Socialism'. They believe that State compulsion with the inevitable accompaniments of expropriation, injustice, and repudiation of obligations should be replaced by the doctrine of trusteeship adumbrated by Gandhiji, for the welfare of the people. Thus there

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promiscuously. The Police are members of a disciplined force and are governed by the Madras Subordinate Police Officers Conduct Rules which has been published as an annexure to the Police Standing Orders. According to Rule 16, no police officer shall except in accordance with any special or general order of the Government or any instructions of the Inspector-General of Police or Commissioner of Police communicate directly or indirectly any official document or information to the press. Rule 17 also lays down that no police officer shall except with and during the continuance of the previous sanction of the Government own in whole or in part or conduct or participate in the editing or management of any newspaper or other periodical publication. I also draw attention to Rule 18 which stipulates that no police officer shall, in any document which he publishes anonymously or in any anonymous communication to the press, criticise the policy or action of Government intemperately or unreasonably, that a police officer shall, in respect of any such publication or communication be subject to the provisions of Rule 16 and that a police officer may not become an accredited correspondent of a newspaper without the permission in writing of the Inspector-General of Police or Commissioner of Police. Rule 19 lays down that no police officer shall have any document published under his own name or in any communication, make to the press under his own name any statement of fact or opinion which is capable of embarrassing (a) the State Government in its relations with the Union Government, (b) the Union Government in its relations with any foreign country.

It is also enjoined on every police officer who intends to publish any document under his own name or to make any communication to the press under his own name containing statements in respect of which any doubt as to the application of the restrictions imposed by Sub-Rule (i) may arise shall submit to the

Inspector-General of Police a copy or draft of the document which he intends to publish in the press and shall thereafter act in accordance with such orders as may be passed by the Inspector-General of Police.

Reporter and the Police

Let us now get down to the subject proper of 'The Police and the Press'. The press in its search for news has its eyes fastened closely on the work of the police. News is the bread and butter of the press. By giving news it attracts the interest of the public, sells its papers and gains circulation. Broader coverage means higher advertising rates and these bring in the really substantial revenue of the press. Nothing is more fascinating to man's curiosity than the stories of human interest uncovered by the police. They are the stories of the plots, incidents, feuds, successes and passions of mankind. Criminal offences occur in all social and economic classes. In their investigations the police lay open the secrets of private lives for the curious and morbid public to feed on. These are the dramatic stories which boost circulation. Every newspaper reader feels he has a right to such stories and it is this thirst for news which has produced the characteristically aggressive and competitive policy of the press.

One therefore finds that press reporters try to establish contact with the police at all levels. The point arises as to the manner in which news of police incidents should be purveyed to the press and how it should be channelled. Should a beat constable or an investigating officer be permitted to answer questions or release information about a police incident? It is felt universally by Police administrators that they are not sufficiently qualified to deal with representatives of the press. *The press for their part are reluctant to accept this point of view for the following reasons:*

- (1) *Such a policy prevents the reporters from obtaining a first-hand account of police incidents.*

- (2) *It prevents the reporter from getting correct answers to all his questions.*
- (3) *It causes the reporter additional work and very often keeps him from getting the story on time.*
- (4) *It often causes the reporter to give the credit for good work to a supervisory officer when actually the credit belongs to a subordinate.*
- (5) *Many good stories of human interest are lost to the press because they are matters of official record and the source of such stories has been blocked.*

Safeguards

The disadvantages to the press may result from the policy of prohibiting the lower ranks from communicating with the press. On the other hand it will result in the policy of the top officers of the Police Department being safeguarded. It will also eliminate the possibility of stories which are derogatory to the police not being printed and circulated.

In this connection I am reminded of a story which was given banner headlines in the local press sometime ago which reflected badly on the police. The news was given by an investigating officer to the press without realising the damage which it may cause to the Department as a whole. The incident related to the escape of a prisoner who had been arrested smartly by the night beat constables with a gunny bag containing stolen properties. The beat constable duly handed over the prisoner with the properties to the Section Head Constable in the Station. The latter failed to register a case immediately and merely handed over the accused to the Station Sentry without making any entry in the Sentry Relief Book. The Station Sentry for his part hand-cuffed the thief to the Sub-Inspector's chair in the Station which had no lock-up. A little later while the Station Sentry was dozing, the culprit got up, carried the Sub-Inspector's chair on his head and walked out of the Station to his

freedom. This was flashed in the local press with such headlines as 'Hand-cuffed Thief walks out of Police Station with Sub-Inspector's chair on his head'. Such a publication naturally caused a lot of embarrassment to the Department as a whole.

It is not my case that wrong acts or mistakes should be hushed up. Any remissness on the part of the police should certainly be taken cognisance of and disciplinary action instituted where necessary but publicity tending to adversely affect the whole department which in turn hampers public relations should be avoided.

Conflict of Interest

You will thus see that in the field of crime investigation there is an inescapable conflict of interest between the police and the press. The sole business of the police is to trace the criminal and bring him to justice. They are not concerned with the popular taste for sensational stories. In fact public interest is in many cases a hindrance rather than a help. The Press Reporter's business on the other hand is to secure stories—the juicier the better. Competition amongst papers and amongst reporters is keen. In the case of a sensational murder the Reporter's very existence depends on his success in presenting the public with a steady supply of information on every aspect of the case. He must watch the movements of the investigating officers. He may sometimes interview relations and friends of the victim and he is sometimes tempted to indulge in a certain amount of investigation on his own account. This inevitably embarrasses the officers engaged on the case who have to expend all their energies and ingenuity in eluding the attentions of the Reporters when they should be concerned solely with their problem.

Another more important point is that a certain degree of secrecy is necessary in many instances as it may be highly undesirable that a criminal who is trying to evade capture should be informed of what line of enquiry the police

are following, what places they have visited and who they have interrogated.

Frankness Pays

How then is this conflict of interests to be resolved? What should be the policy of the police in reference to withholding information from the press and what procedures of news release should the police adopt to implement this policy? *On the whole, the police should adopt an attitude of complete frankness with press representatives. They may however withhold information relating to :*

(1) *Subversive activities.*

(2) *The names of juveniles under any circumstances short of murder.*

(3) *Names of female victims in sex crimes when the victim is not guilty or has had reputation or was not guilty of conduct that provoked the attack.*

(4) *Facts the publication of which would interfere with crime investigation or the apprehension or interrogation of suspects of which would affect the Department as a whole thereby impairing public relations.*

I am sure that if these principles of withholding information are enunciated to the press they will readily agree that it is in the public interest. The press will thereafter co-operate with the police in not publishing such information. In this way one phase of the conflict referred to by me earlier can be resolved. Let it be understood that on the other hand, if the police are secretive without taking the press into their confidence, leakage of information as is bound to happen in human affairs will be capitalised by the press, both to the discomfiture of the victims and to the embarrassment of the police. I therefore reiterate that it is necessary for the top Police administrator in the City or in the Districts to enunciate the aforesaid principles and to secure the approval of the press thereto.

News Release : British Way

We shall now consider the technique of news release. In doing so, it will be profitable to examine what is being done in other advanced countries. It is seen that as early as 1835, only six years after the Metropolitan Police Force in London came into existence, the Commissioners of Police discovered the value of press contacts. We read of their establishing friendly relations with the editors of responsible newspapers and supplying them with facts relating to the many false accusations which were being made at that time against the police. It was however only in 1919 that a Press Service was formed in the development of public relations. It was the result of discussions between the Newspaper Proprietors Association and the Metropolitan Police on the desirability of having some central source where newspapers could check facts and information which had come into their possession. This arrangement was greatly expanded in scope in recent years and in 1945 the post of Public Information Officer was created. The emphasis in the aforesaid designation is on the word 'information' in order to emphasize that the object of the new appointment was the distribution of information and to avoid the criticism levelled at Public Relations Officers that their sole job is to praise or excuse their departments. The Press Bureau in the Metropolitan Police now comprises under the Public Information Officer a Press Officer, four Assistant Press Officers and two Clerical Officers.

Liaison with the Press

The function of the Public Information Officer, which post was filled up by a journalist of mature experience, is to advise the Commissioner of Police on matters relating to publicity as also to supervise the Press Bureau at Scotland Yard, cultivate personal relations with Newspaper Editors, News Editors, News-reel Executives and with officials of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Liaison with the

press is maintained largely through the Press Bureau. A room near the Bureau is set aside for Reporters and is open normally from 8-30 a.m. to 11 p.m. National Daily Papers, London Evening Papers and two News Agencies are usually represented there. After 11 p.m. urgent information is dealt with by an Inspector of Police on duty in the Commissioner's Office who, when necessary, contacts the Public Information Officer by telephone at his residence. Police messages about crime, accidents and other similar matters are sent to the Press Bureau by teleprinter and telephone from all the 23 Divisions and 176 Police Stations in the Metropolitan Police District and after being edited are given to the pressmen on duty in the adjacent room. The press officers working in the Press Bureau are always available to answer individual enquiries from newspapers, to arrange interviews with police personnel and also to arrange visits by press and photographic agencies, newsreels, broadcasters and authors to various police establishments.

Press Bureau

The Press Bureau is also responsible for police advertisements in the National and Provincial press. It is also responsible for the issue of Police Identification Cards to press and radio reporters and to photographers which carry a request to any officer to whom they are presented to give the holder any reasonable assistance. In this way the Press Bureau of the Metropolitan Police has been able to build up goodwill between the police, the press and the public to a very marked degree.

In Madras

You will thus be able to appreciate that the technique of news release in London is very advanced. We in Madras State have a great deal to learn from these procedures. Let us at the same time remember that, whatever procedures are adopted, inaccuracies will inevitably appear in the press from time to time.

It is well known that newspapers work under great pressure. There is a continual fight against time and therefore it may be too much to expect them to check every item for publication. A mere inaccuracy, however gross, is of no consequence to anybody except the paper and unless it could be shown that damage was done to the police themselves or to the course of justice or in some other important way there does not appear to be any occasion for further action. In recapitulation, I would say that the best procedure of news release is to set up a central source of information instead of news being given to the press at all levels in the Police Department. This central source would have the help of all Stations and units of the police force and also the advice of the top administrator whose policies would be subserved by the aforesaid central source of information.

Eliminate Petty Differences

It will thus be seen that the police and the press are vital to each other and there should never be a rift between the two. Of course the path to be traversed by us both will not be smooth always. By the very nature of our respective functions there is too much emotion and fighting against time to expect perfect relationship. But by constant vigilance we can develop better relations between the police and the press and eliminate many of the petty differences that sometimes lead to dangerous discord. In these circumstances it would be better to adopt a single code of ethics by both the police and the press. This common code may consist of the following points :

(1) *Be tolerant, patient and understanding of each other's problems. Weigh every factor carefully before jumping to a conclusion.*

(2) *Be honest in imparting news to the press and when forced to withhold information in the public interest, take the Editor and Reporter into your confidence and ask for their support.*

and understanding. But do not overplay this practice and resort to it only when essential.

(3) Never ridicule the police. It is the quickest way to tear down public confidence. Be careful in handling light-hearted stories and do not unnecessarily hold up the police to public scorn and ridicule.

(4) Both the police and the press should build a solid bridge through personal relationship and fair treatment.

In other words, the common ethical code could be boiled down to a few simple words—justice, fair play, integrity and understanding.

STATE MONOPOLIES AND THE CITIZEN

BY

V. K. NARASIMHAN

(Asst Editor, 'The Hindu')

I propose to examine the question how far the promotion and maintenance of State Monopolies in the production of goods or the operation of services is compatible with the rights of citizens in a democracy to operate similar enterprises.

I was attracted to this subject in 1956 when by an ordinance the Life Insurance Companies in India were taken over by the Government and subsequently they were nationalised and a completely state-owned monopolistic Life Insurance Corporation was brought into existence. I shall discuss later the merits and demerits of the state operation of monopolies but what struck me most at the time was whether it was proper for the state to take over businesses which were well run and which, to all intents and purposes, satisfied the needs of the customers whom they served. It seemed to me that where a business was being run according to the law of the land and where apparently it was carrying on a perfectly legitimate and socially useful activity a democratic state had morally no right to take over such a business.

The question then intrigued me how there was no protest at all from any quarter against what seemed to be a palpable invasion of the right of the citizens in a democracy to come together and operate any kind of legitimate business or industrial activity. I then discovered that the power to extinguish the citizens' rights in this regard had been taken by an amendment to the Constitution in 1951. Probing further into this amendment, I discovered an astonishing failure on the part of democratic-minded public men to realise the

danger implicit in this amendment and the need to correct the situation created by the amendment if we are not to let ourselves in for the complete regimentation of economic life in this country by the State.

To explain my point, I shall go in detail into the history of this constitutional provision. The wise makers of our Constitution provided in the Fundamental Rights clause of the Constitution a provision which declared :

Article 19 (1) (g) : All citizens shall have the right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

To this clause there was a proviso in Article 19 (6) which stated : " Nothing in sub-clause (g) of the said clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business."

This was the original provision. It conferred a right to carry on any profession, trade, occupation or business subject to reasonable restrictions in the interests of the general public and subject to the power of the State to fix professional or technical qualifications. Shortly after the Constitution came into force, the U.P. Government decided to take over the

extent of their loss due to such displacement."

As I mentioned earlier, according to the official proceedings (column 9878 of Parliamentary Debates dated 1st June 1951) Shri Shyam Nandan Sahaya's amendment is stated to have been adopted. Considering the sweeping character of the official amendment, I should have thought that the adoption of Shri Shyam Nandan Sahaya's amendment was the barest minimum that Parliament could have thought of as a safeguard or protection for those citizens whose interests might be adversely affected by the creation of State monopolies. I am still unable to discover how this misprint occurred when the report scrupulously records how hundreds of other amendments to the official Bill were negatived. I shall leave it to members of Parliament and to interested persons to probe into this mystery and ascertain what really happened.

I may mention in this connection that several other amendments to this provision were moved by other members which were all negatived. One of those amendments was a very salutary provision suggested by Prof. K. T. Shah that where a State-sponsored enterprise functions side by side with a private enterprise in the same field, no discrimination should be made by the State in the conditions for carrying on the trade or business in favour of the State enterprise. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee had suggested that a law passed under the amended Article 19 (6) by any State Legislature shall be reserved for the consideration of the President. Considering the present situation in Kerala, where a Government ideologically inimical to private enterprise exists, it seems a pity that even this safeguard was not incorporated in the Constitution (First Amendment) Act.

The position today as a result of the Constitutional amendment of 1951 is this : The State has an unrestricted right to create monopolies

in "any trade, business, trade or service". Where such monopolies are created, as in the case of the nationalisation of life insurance companies, by the taking over of existing enterprises compensation will no doubt be given to the owners of the businesses taken over. Under the amended Article 31 such compensation need not be necessarily adequate compensation for the full value of the assets taken over. But nationalisation is not the only means by which a new state monopoly can be brought into existence. As we have seen in the case of the State excluding private motor transport services from operating in certain areas and in the manner in which the State Trading Corporation has acquired a monopoly of the export or import trade in certain commodities, it is clear that by the mere process of refusing to renew licence or by specific legislation in this behalf, the State can extinguish existing private business in any field and bring a state monopoly into existence.

The question I am concerned with is not whether under the amended provision the State may do something absurd or not, but whether it should have a power which is liable to abuse. In discussing this matter we must proceed on some fundamental assumptions. The democratic system, I take it, is based on the principle that the State exists for the citizens and that there are some fundamental rights which the State cannot infringe except under clearly laid down conditions. It is implicit in this concept that the citizens of a democratic state shall have the right, individually or in concert, to pursue any trade, business or industry so long as they do not work against the public interest or violate the laws of the land. Implicit in this right is the principle that whenever the citizen is excluded, partially or otherwise, from a business, trade or vocation, it shall be for reasons demonstrably in the public interest and also on demonstrable grounds that the

State can serve the public interest better than the citizens concerned. From this it follows that there ought to be, in every case of the creation of a State enterprise or monopoly, a prior enquiry into the operation of private enterprise in the particular field and an opportunity given to citizens engaged in it whether or not they have served the public interest.

There would be no case for the State enterprise in unless it is proved that the private enterprise in question has failed to promote the public interest or that a public enterprise would promote public interests better than private enterprise.

(To be Concluded)

of certain bus services and in pursuance of this decision did not renew the licences of certain private bus operations after the expiry of licences. The Allahabad High Court held that the denial of licences on the ground that the State intended to take over the services was *ultra vires*. The High Court was right in drawing a distinction between restrictions on the exercise of a right and exclusion. To impose conditions in the public interest for operating any services or industry is one thing ; to say that no citizen shall operate a particular service is entirely different.

That this judgment should have alarmed the Government, which had its own programme of nationalisation and extending the public sector, was understandable. To meet the situation created by the Allahabad judgment, an amendment was incorporated in the comprehensive Bill embodying the First Amendment to the Constitution which made a sweeping provision for the creation of State monopolies which potentially negated the right given under Article 19 (1) (g). This amendment added to the original proviso to Article 19 (6) an additional clause, viz. "Nothing in the said sub-clause, shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to,—the carrying on by the State or by a corporation owned and controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise." Judged by any test, this is an astonishing provision. It seems to me that this clause is of such a sweeping character that there is no business, trade, industry or service which the State cannot take over at any time if it so chose. The mischief of this provision is so far-reaching that unless this provision is repealed or a fresh constitutional safeguard is added to it, it looks as if no form of private enterprise, however innocuous and however legitimate it may be, is safe from the unholy hands of the State. As you all know,

the "State", under the Constitution, may refer to any public authority from a Panchayat to Parliament and as the Constitution stands there is nothing to prevent, say, the Communist Government of Kerala from passing a law enabling panchayats in that State to operate all businesses and industries in their areas and thereby completely destroy any form of private enterprise.

I do not want to be alarmistic. Having seen how the power under the provision has been actually utilised in the past eight years for the incursion of the State into various forms of business from life insurance to the export of iron and manganese ore on a monopolistic basis, I feel that it would be extremely dangerous to let the amended constitutional provision remain unchallenged and unqualified.

It is a great pity that at the time this provision was being incorporated in the Constitution, public attention was so much diverted to other amendments and provisions of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill—particularly the amendment relating to freedom of speech and expression—that little or no attention was paid to this far-reaching and, in my opinion, utterly anti-democratic provision of the amending Bill. Out of curiosity to see whether and how many members had cared to study the provision of the amending Bill and to draw the attention of Parliament to the mischief of this provision, I went through the Parliamentary debates on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill and I was surprised to make two discoveries. The first was that except two gallant members who spoke on this particular provision and showed some realisation of its dangerous potentialities, few other members realised its implications. The second discovery was that an amendment to this provision moved by Mr. Shyam Nandan Sahaya with a view to providing some safeguard to citizens who may be adversely affected by an Act of the State in excluding them from a business or trade was printed in the official

records as having been adopted but which, to my surprise, I found had not been incorporated in the final Act. When I pursued this matter with the Speaker of the Lok Sabha I was told there was a misprint in the official proceedings and that where it was stated that Mr. Shyam Nandan Sahaya's amendment had been "adopted", it should read that it had been "negated". It is extraordinary that on a vital matter like this there should have been such a major printer's error which had not been corrected in any subsequent issues of the official proceedings.

I mentioned earlier that only two members had referred to this clause during the debates on the Constitution Amendment Bill. One was Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru. Pandit Kunzru argued that, contrary to the Law Minister's view that the Allahabad judgment necessitated the amendment to Article 19 (6), there was no need for such an amendment at all on this particular ground. Pandit Kunzru went on to refer to the more serious implications of the amendment and stated :

"There is another point, too, that I should like the House to consider. For, though clause (6) of Article 19 has not received the attention that it deserves in view of its importance, it relates to a very important matter. The amendment of the latter part of clause (6) provides for any restrictions that the State may place on trade, business, industry or service in order to carry it on itself or have it carried on by a corporation owned or controlled by it. These provisions do not really mean nationalisation so much as the creation of a State monopoly. Suppose Government start a cotton textile mill of their own in Delhi and they issue an order to the Delhi Cloth Mill to cease working. I suppose such an order would, if the necessary legislation were passed, be

valid. And, as the Government would not, merely by issuing the order, be acquiring a property, their action, I suppose, would not fall under Article 31 of the Constitution. I should like to know from the Prime Minister what is the exact intention of the Government in respect of this matter. How do they propose to use the amendment to the latter part of clause (6) of Article 19? I am sure the House will agree that if it is used in such a way as to give no compensation to people whose property is rendered valueless, then, although they might not come under the operation of Article 31, they would nevertheless be committing a grave injustice. I do not want that this amendment should be used to circumvent Article 31 in respect of trade and industry in the same way as the proposed Articles 31A and 31B would be used in respect of agricultural estates. I hope that my Hon'ble friend the Prime Minister would be able to throw light on this matter and to assure us that Government want to do nothing contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and have no intention of setting at naught in an indirect way the provisions of Article 31 in respect of trade and industry."

There is nothing in the subsequent proceedings to suggest that the Prime Minister recognised the importance of this issue or cared to answer the points raised by Pandit Kunzru.

I now come to Shri Shyam Nandan Sahaya's intervention in this affair. He moved an amendment to the effect :

"Provided, however, that where such exclusion results in the displacement of citizens or otherwise from pursuing their normal avocation, the State shall either take over their property affected by such exclusion or shall compensate them to the

REMARKS ON THE 'MASTER PLAN'

BY

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

The General Town Planning Scheme ('Master Plan') for Madras City, as prepared by the Corporation of Madras and approved by the Corporation Council at its meeting on 1st May 1958, has been sent to me recently, at my request, for being placed before the Trust Board for its views. I have studied the Report in detail, assisted by the technical staff of the Trust with whom I conferred four times. I place the following remarks before the City Improvement Trust Board, to be forwarded to Government as required in G.O. No. 245, P.H., of 26th January 1948, along with the views of the Trustees.

A distinguished predecessor of mine, Sri M. B. Chablani, requested Government twelve years ago in his letter dated 1st April 1947, that the C.I.T. may be entrusted with the work of the preparation of the City's 'Master Plan', but Government issued orders in its G.O., dated 26th January 1948, that the Corporation may continue to prepare the Master Plan as it had already collected some data, and that it should be completed quickly, within two years in any event, i.e., by 1950. The G.O. also stressed the desirability of joint consultations with the C.I.T., before finalising the plan, during its various stages. Thereupon Sri Chablani assured the Government of the Trust's utmost co-operation with the Corporation.

The Master Plan has been finalised by the Corporation, after some discussions with the Joint Director of Town Planning. Now, only in the final stage, the Master Plan has been received by me to be placed before the Trust Board. The Plan consists of narrative portions, and a set of five plans received by me later

on 11th February 1959. On my request a lecture on the salient features of the Scheme was arranged by the Corporation Engineer, when our Trust Engineers were also able to see some of the plans prepared by the Corporation. The Report should have been submitted to Government originally by 31st of March 1934, and the Commissioner has now asked for further extension of time till 30th June 1959. The Corporation has taken about fifteen years, and special staff was appointed only in 1950, the year when the Plan should have been completed. Under any system of preparing a Master Plan, this is a long period which will vitiate the very purpose of the Plan, because, any City will develop beyond recognition in fifteen years, and the data on which the Plan is prepared will become obsolete.

Before saying anything about the Plan and the proposals contained in the Report, it may be recalled that 'City Planning' means the controlled use of land to the highest advantage and welfare of the Community. This is a process by which a community takes some decisions about its pattern, shape, and organisation in the future. The general or 'Master Plan' as it is called should consist of maps, diagrams, charts, and descriptive material, and should be a comprehensive and long-term plan for physical development. Any such planning begins with research, and with the compilation of data relating to the physical, social, economic, cultural, and political trends in a community. The City is an organism which grows steadily, and the growth should be controlled with proper diagnosis in line with the well-known maxim 'Survey before Plan' enunciated by Sir Patric Geddes.

Coming to the report of the Corporation on its Master Plan proper, as sent to this Trust, the Preface and the Introduction discuss the conception of a Master Plan, and how the present plan has been prepared. The need for the Plan could have been better explained by depicting the existing conditions by charts and diagrams pictorially, instead of through words. The report itself does not make any reference to any drawing or studies made, in the absence of which it is difficult to appreciate the real conditions existing, and the solutions proposed. It would have been more instructive if available statistics had also been published. The existing land-use has not been discussed to throw light on the various uses to which the land has been put to, and to show the percentages of the different uses. One would have indeed liked to know more about the proposed land-use pattern, in order to compare with other cities in India and in other advanced countries. No mention has been made about the utilities and services, which are far from adequate at present. The omission from the Plan report of even skeleton proposals for augmenting the City's water supply, and for improving the disposal of the City's sewage (at present very unsatisfactory), is a serious one. The future set-up of power distribution and power consumption have not been dealt with at all. The effect of the southward expansion of the Harbour does not find a place in the Report. The possibility of trade and commerce of the City losing importance thereby needs investigation.

The various chapters of the Report are dealt with below, in the same order as given in the Report :

I. Population

The population cannot be 'controlled' to the limit of fifteen lakhs, and confined in the same area, while the present population itself is reported to be about twenty lakhs. The intention expressed in the Plan to peg it down

to fifteen lakhs is perhaps more easily said than done ; it may also go against the Constitution of India.

Population projection has been dispensed with, treating it as mere statistical exercises which may produce erroneous forecasts. This appears to be in contradiction with the routine principles of a Master Plan which provide for the gradual, expected increase in population, which can be gradually slowed down by establishing 'satellite' towns, and dispersal of population and decentralisation. There is a real need to study the rate of growth of population, and to project the population for a period of at least twenty years or more. To attempt to limit the same population, in the same area of about fifty square miles, may not only be impossible, but may also amount to uneconomical planning which is bound to create fresh problems.

II. Housing

Though it is the accepted principle in modern town planning to have 'vertical development' to minimise cost of amenities and to reduce transport problems, the Master Plan says that the reasons for suggesting 'horizontal expansion' are :

(1) Increased cost of amenities for flats; (2) non-suitability to family life; and (3) possibility of expanding horizontally. The reason about costs seems fallacious and needs further investigation, as it has been held repeatedly that vertical development is definitely cheaper. The likes and dislikes of persons have to be ascertained before condemning 'flat-system' of living. The increasing demand in Madras for them shows that flats are becoming popular, as seen in other Metropolitan Cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. After all, eminent contemporary Town Planners like Le Corbusier favour the adoption of a vertical City. The capacity to expand horizontally should not be the only criterion. It has been accepted that central areas will naturally

REMARKS ON THE Critical development appears to be the only remedy at least in this sector.

In this connection, attention is invited to the Report of the Building Projects Team, set up by the Union Government on multi-storeyed buildings. The Report submitted on 10th December 1958 says: "A stage has been reached in all big cities in India when multi-storeyed construction is to be the order of the day." It might also be recalled that Sri K. C. Reddy, Union Minister for Works, Housing, and Supply, while initiating discussions on a two-day symposium on multi-storeyed buildings on 20th December 1958 in Bombay, emphasised the need for multi-storeyed buildings which have become rather inescapable, and desired that a rational study should be made of the construction techniques, with a view to lay down guiding principles for the future.

The present stock of houses, the present and future demands, and the rate of supply of new houses, have not been indicated. Information about housing the different classes, and the different types is wanting. Generally, housing studies, to enable one to have a general appraisal of the situation, are lacking. The need to single out one particular area in Vyasarpadi tank, for housing a vast population of 80,000 is not clear. The Corporation's proposal to adopt a policy similar to that recommended by the Uthwatt Commission in England, for dealing with central areas, is to be commended as it is found to yield good results in the long run.

III. Industry and Commerce

The proposal in the Master Plan to ban all new industries in the City, may not strangle the growth of the City economically, but is not to be desired. The Plan suggests that 2,500 acres should be set apart for industries, while the present area occupied by industries is only about 800 acres. Perhaps the acreage is expected to increase with the expansion of the existing industries. A suggestion has

been made to convert a place near Ambattur into a Satellite Industrial Town. But the possibility of having other satellite towns such as Sriperumbudur, Poonamallee, Avadi, etc., and of making them bigger, has also to be considered. The idea of new self-sufficient 'Neighbourhoods' on the model of T.Nagar has been suggested by the Corporation, and has been taken up by the Housing Board and the Government separately. The suggestion about shopping precincts is commendable. No suggestion however has been made to give up road-side shopping in favour of shopping precincts.

IV. Communications

Neither the data on which the road system has been evolved are available, nor is their alignment discussed. The immediate abolition of slow-moving vehicles cannot be accepted in the present democratic set-up of Government, and, so long as the national economy is not stepped up appreciably, there is bound to be mixed traffic, for which a solution has to be necessarily found. The proposals about residential roads, service roads, and access to shops, etc., are no solutions in themselves, if the over-all road pattern is defective. At best they will serve only as interim relief. The proposal to shift the Central Station to the Salt Cotaurs does not seem attractive, as it is likely to create more traffic problems in an already congested part of the City. A multi-gauge Railway Station is a necessity, but its location should be selected with care, and it should be connected by radial roads to help quick movement of traffic. The two 'fly-overs' recommended appear to be superfluous, and perhaps not quite necessary, especially when an overbridge is to be constructed shortly near the High Court level-crossing. The need for the fly-overs has to be substantiated by traffic data. The recommendations about the waterways, and the proposed improvements to the bridges, are worth noting. No particulars

are given about Public Transit, Mass Transportation, and Parking and its problems.

V. Open Spaces

Ideal 'targets' have no doubt been discussed, but it would have been useful if attention had been paid to the existing things, and those proposed specifically in the different areas. The Marina is said to make up for all the deficiencies in the interior, but a thinking citizen will question this. Requirements of the interior for open spaces cannot be satisfied by vast open spaces at extreme ends. The proposal to improve the banks of the rivers Cooum and Adyar is worth noting, and has to be put through in stages which have to be drawn up. Since the writing of the Report, the expansion of the Harbour on the south by the Port Trust has had an effect on the open spaces, and has to be mentioned. The five hundred tenements under construction by the C.I.T. on the foreshore in San Thome, will open up shortly new areas as open spaces on the beach as the four ugly slums there will be cleared, and about a mile more of free sea front will be available for the public.

VI. Realisation

It has been suggested in the Master Plan Report that the Corporation itself should carry out the implementation of the Master Plan, with the help of a separate Town Planning Branch of the Corporation which should be vested with necessary powers by legislation if need be. The only reason for this unusual suggestion seems to be that the Corporation has prepared the Master Plan. The C.I.T. Board must dissociate itself emphatically from this recommendation. The drawing up of the Plan itself has taken 10 or 15 years. (Implementation of the Plan, with a wholly democratic body as the Corporation, with 100 Councilors with various views and ideas, will be totally impossible, and such a step will end in woeful failure. It has also not been done anywhere.) It is desirable to have a separate statutory

body for implementing the Plan and to work out the details, instead of burdening the Corporation, which is already groaning under innumerable civic responsibilities. A separate Town Planning wing of the proposed Statutory Housing Board may perhaps be entrusted with the implementation of the City's Master Plan. This can be on the lines of the Town Planning Organisation, New Delhi, which has been entrusted with the task of preparation and execution of Delhi's Master Plan, so that it will be without fear or favour, especially with respect to 'zoning' over which vested interests will wage battles royal. Even in America the implementing agency is separate, and the Civic Body is not burdened with this task. Of course some of its members are co-opted for guidance and help. In this connection, it will be of interest to reproduce the recommendations of the Town Planning Seminar held in Jaipur in October 1958— "The methodology that is being adopted by the Town Planning Organisation in Delhi, in tackling the Greater Delhi Plan, should be of great interest and value to other cities and towns in India, in evolving methods for similar surveys which they will carry out, and the analysis that they would undertake. It would, therefore, be desirable if the methodology adopted by the Town Planning Organisation of the Union Ministry of Health could be prepared as short reports, and made available to all local bodies through the courtesy of the Institute of Town Planners, India."

Conclusion

It is regretted that the Plan itself does not make specific proposals for slum clearance and improvement. The recent Reports to the Union Government by Messrs Sen & Patil focussed attention on the urgent need for slum clearance and improvement. Similarly, last year's report of Sri R. A. Gopalaswamy, I.C.S., to the State Government, contains valuable suggestions in this regard which are being incorporated in a

new Bill drafted recently by Sri R. V. Raman, I.A.S. At a time when the Union and State Governments are actively sponsoring such schemes, no mention has been made about the slums, and the 'blighted' areas and their improvement where re-building of sub-standard houses is of urgent necessity.

The plan should have priorities and a phased programme. Though mention has been made about the priorities, specific proposals are lacking regarding the time factor. The inexplicable omission seems to be the rough cost of the Plan, and how it is proposed to meet it. Finally, one is led to the conclusion that the Plan itself has to be prepared afresh, taking into consideration all the shortfalls, and the current data and statistics to be gathered specifically and quickly for the purpose. This preparation should be expeditious, so as not to make the data collected obsolete as in the present Plan. It is suggested that a City Development Committee may be constituted for the preparation of the Master Plan (as in Bangalore, where it took two years), with instructions to prepare the Plan as early as possible. Expert advice from specialists should also be sought during the preparation of the Plan. The Ford Foundation and other agencies would only be too willing to offer advice and

guidance in the matter, as has been done in the case of New Delhi, whose Master Plan was got prepared in four years or so, and which should be seen and studied by the authors of the Madras Plan. After the Plan is prepared, it should be given wide publicity to elicit public opinion from all sections of the people. This can be done by exhibiting the drawings, charts, etc., in a common place for a period of at least three months, where all citizens of Madras can see them, and knowledgeable persons can offer their remarks. In the U.S.A., publicity for such plans is usually done for about a year with models and charts, and if need be through a special Exhibition. In Philadelphia, a Citizen's Committee spent 250,000 dollars in 1957 on the mere preparation of a Master Plan in a year !

In short, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Madras Plan, as prepared by the Corporation during the last decade or more, is inadequate, and will not serve any useful purpose even as a mere skeleton of a Plan. Any agency however efficient and experienced, neutral and independent, cannot implement even a part of it, because there are no concrete proposals that lend themselves to implementation.

THE HILLS AROUND GLENCREE

BY

EVELYN WHITE

How often in my dreamy moods
My thoughts go back to days gone by
To morning rambles in the woods
When first her beauty caught my eye
I saw her in that moment
In memory I can see her now
With her beautiful blue eyes shining
Beneath the pine tree bough
To see her was to love her
And I loved but her alone
So sweet of face and with such grace
I wanted to call her my own.

Then we drifted far apart
And I was ne'r to hear again
Her pleasant laugh like silver bells
Go ringing through the happy glen
If I was wrong it's too late now
To meet another day
Fair and fragile as a lovely flower
Like one she passed away
The memory of my love long dead
Will ever return to me
When we laughed and loved and courted
In the hills around Glencree.

NEW DRY MIXES

T. SURYANARAYANA RAO, M.A.

20

Thirdly, the problems confronting the world are in essence such as would not be settled by the States as such. For, the Governments are tied down to the traditional pacts, blocs, war machineries, the so-called sovereignties and above all, ideological enmities. The international community at large is not inhibited by these elements. For the universal community Berlins or Burmas, Algerias and Hungarys

August 1959

Yes, that is the heart of the matter : the universal man has to rise on the world horizon. He will embrace both sides of the political world with his twin limbs of universal movement of peace and political ideology of freedom

influence the individual governments to restrict the field of military groups and break the curtains, iron or bamboo. He will seek to extend the boundaries of uniform Human Rights and cultural and commercial relations.

The next step would be to clear the deck of the UNO of thorns of group rivalry. This is a measure which requires statesmanship and patience of a high order. The Panch Sheel union should for the present represent the wills of the non-Big Power members of the UN. Latin America and Europe should be approached for allies in the Panch Sheel plan for a stable world peace. Further the Panch Sheel circle should voice the aims of the universal citizens; to be specific, it should be the instrument of what we might call the Congress of Universal Citizens. Then will the UN be in its rightful place to tackle problems of international peace and progress.

A UN thus reinforced by the world popular will on the one hand and majority of peace-loving nations on the other can confidently lead the Summit Meeting to a successful close. If the Big Powers agree among themselves, they will have working arrangements. Otherwise there will be the United Nations Organization to take care of common cause. This is the climate which is conducive to the success of a Summit gathering. And this is the Summit to which we should all be pilgrims.

Since we had written the above, the second series of meetings of the Big Four Foreign

Ministers started as scheduled on July 13. The recess (from June 20 to July 13) did not help much in the direction of a solution of the problems on the Conference table. The Russians were strong with their hop-step-and-jump theory. First hop into one Berlin, then step into Two Sovereign Germanys and then jump over to one Re-united Germany. The West on the other hand were working the Trusteeship argument. Start with two Berlins and work out for one Germany under the care of the Foreign Ministers. The two German representatives would 'assist' the Trustees in their historic task of German Reunification.

As regards the Summit Meeting there are at least three views: the Russian view that the Summit must meet as the very next step; the American insistence that the Geneva weather must line-clear such a step; and the British advice that they must see that the Heads of States meet. At the moment no one knows about the future meeting of the Heads.

The name of the United Nations has just once been mentioned. This was in connection with care-taking of the proposed agreement to keep Berlin safe for both the groups. On the specific question of the City of Berlin, one wonders whether Berlin should continue to be divided city of an otherwise undivided East Germany. One could understand two Germanys but not two Berlins!

Otherwise, the conclusions arrived at in the earlier part of this article stand well on their ground.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

(A Geopolitical Analysis)

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

Canning, the distinguished nineteenth century British Statesman, told the House of Commons that he had "called in the New World to redress the balance of the old". And President Monroe announced his famous doctrine to the American Congress which was in the nature of a warning that no fresh European colonies would be tolerated on American soil. It is true, however, that to a considerable extent, it was the British fleet which guarded the South American continent from European invasion; the point to be grasped is the fact that the growing strength of America herself lay in the changing geopolitical scene, although America was a weak country, from a purely military standpoint. It is interesting to argue on similar lines that the geopolitical forces of the present mid-twentieth century have created a new neutral world to redress the balance of a bi-polarized world. Indeed, it is possible to view the basic approach of India's foreign policy as a possible 'Nehru Doctrine' to preserve the 'neutrality' of India, either from the 'East' or the 'West'.

In order to understand India's position in international affairs, it is necessary to stress on the geographical factors, since they have a direct bearing on the country's foreign policy. The real and complete unification of India cannot be achieved until all the 'foreign' pockets have merged with India. The peaceful transfer of the possessions of what was once known as 'French India' has initiated the process which awaits completion. Goa, Daman and Diu are still to be merged with India. The story of India's unification is similar to the story of Italian unity. These foreign

pockets on Indian soil, which may be termed 'Indian Irredenta' or 'Unredeemed India' (similar to 'Italia Irredenta') illustrate the connection between Indian national unity and international politics.

Soon after India achieved Independence, the Indian Government had established friendly relations with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. This policy was not only in accord with India's cultural ties and historical associations with the Himalayan States, but was a direct result of her sense of security around her borders. Pandit Nehru's recent trip to Nepal must be viewed in this background. Indeed, Mr. Nehru's reiteration of India's solidarity with Nepal is an indication of India's sense of political awareness; similarly, the Kosi and Gandak irrigation and power projects are examples of geo-economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Himalayan boundary has acquired a new significance in the contemporary international setting. Mr. K. M. Panikkar, formerly India's Ambassador to Peking, observed in his 'Geographical factors in Indian History': "The Himalayan range has not been penetrated not because there are no passes which open out to India, but because the Tibetan plateau was never in the past organised as a great military State. The fact that the Chinese were unable in the past to organise a strong military area in Tibet should not blind us to such possibilities in the future." The Tibetan plateau, as a projection of Communist China has to be viewed with cautious concern. Some of the latest events in recent affairs are not calculated to allay genuine fears—the latest

which included 30,000 square miles of Indian territory covering parts of North-East Frontier Agency and Ladakh in defiance of the McMahon line of 1904 which demarcated boundaries between India, Tibet, Nepal and China and which must be seen in the background of a few communist soldiers who have advanced to Hoti in Almora district of Uttar Pradesh in India, China's planned policy of destructive dumping which is making India lose her hold in the market of South-East Asia and Communist China's criticism of Mr. Nehru, who has maintained peaceful relations between the two countries in spite of extreme provocation. In clear and polite language, Mr. Nehru explained the attitude of India towards the Tibet situation. "We have received the Dalai Lama and Party. Subsequently we have received some thousands of refugees. We have given them asylum and it is admitted that as a sovereign country we have every right to do so and no one else can be a judge of that except ourselves. Is it suggested that we should have refused to give asylum to the Dalai Lama when he asked for it? If it is suggested by someone outside India I can tell them that I do not know about all—but of 400 million people I doubt if even a few thousands would have agreed with that policy... of course, we are charged with having connived at Kalimpong being a commanding centre of the revolution in Tibet. Now it is said, that the commanding centre has shifted to Mussoorie... I find it very difficult to deal with these charges. Why has the commanding centre gone to Mussoorie? Because the Dalai Lama is there and because a brother of the Dalai Lama who lives in Darjeeling went there, met him and afterwards went back to Darjeeling or Kalimpong."

Indian nationalism is one of the greatest forces of the mid-twentieth century. Curiously enough, Indian nationalism has been inspired by European nationalism. "On the political

side," observed Lajpat Rai, "Indian nationalism has been inspired and strengthened by the forces of European nationalism... The nationalist calendar of war heroes followed by Young India contains names such as those of Washington, Cavour, Mazzini, Bismarck, Kossuth, Emmet and Parnell, by the side of Partap, Ramdas, Guru Govind Singh, Sivaji, Tipu Sultan and the Rani of Jhansi." The current of Asian nationalism that is sweeping over the continent is an extension of Indian nationalism. Asian nationalism in its turn has developed into the Afro-Asian awakening of the present century. Nationalism is the expression of the aspirations of millions of people, wishing to throw off the foreign yoke. It can be a very dangerous weapon (undoubtedly double-edged) and cannot be used by the Great powers for their purposes. Russia and China have appreciated the impact of nationalism as a force directed against 'Western dominance'. When nationalism got mixed up with Communism as in Indo-China, America felt unhappy over the affair. Likewise, Yugoslavia's nationalism which triumphed over Communism was assailed by Russia. The recent ferment in Eastern Europe, which had strong roots in nationalism was viewed with hostility by Russia. Sometime ago, India came into conflict with America on the Indo-Chinese situation, much to the joy of Russia. India's stand on the Suez issue was certainly pleasing to Russia and China. But the tables were turned in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Hungary and the Chinese intervention in Tibet, the net result of which was to isolate themselves from the 'nationalist world' of which India is the champion.

India has so far opposed military pacts and nuclear tests consistently. The chain of pacts is directly linked to a military system. Indeed, the NATO countries are linked by the bases of Malta, Libya and Cyprus to the Baghdad Pact countries, the right flank of this set-up being the Eastern wing of Pakistan

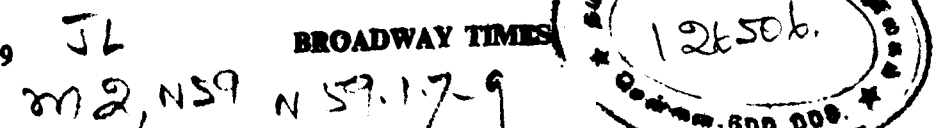
which is a member of SEATO. This flank has been further extended through the outposts of Singapore and Hongkong, Australia and New Zealand so that it reaches out to the Pacific Ocean, whose mistress is the U.S. Russia, dominating as she does, Eastern Europe and China (commanding the Eurasian 'Heartland') is interested in getting a foothold in the Middle East, to form a Russian bridgehead, sponsored by a possible Russia-Egyptian alliance, so as to bring the Indian Ocean into the orbit of the Black Sea. However, Russia has suffered a set-back in this direction, as is evident from the recent speeches of President Nasser of Egypt.

It is fashionable to assert that we live no longer in the age of Admiral Mahan with the increasing importance of air-power. During the Second World War, although sea-power played an outstanding part, the decisive importance today of air-power and the atom bombs cannot be denied. But even in the atomic age, sea-power continues to hold an important place, especially in the context of the present nuclear stalemate.

The views of Halford J. Mackinder which influenced Haushofer's thinking so greatly have been criticised. Mackinder could gaze at the geopolitical world only in terms of the 'heartland' and the 'world-island'. The most important geopolitical reality of the mid-twentieth century (following Mackinder's thesis) is the Russian control of the 'heartland'. And yet she is unable to control either the 'world-island' or the world. The current international scene has confirmed the theoretical flaws in Mackinder's thesis. In these days of long-distance bombers and hydrogen bombs, one is inclined to compare the possession of the 'heartland' in relation to Russian defence with the role of the Maginot line in the defence of France during the Second World War. The only importance of the 'heartland' to Russia consists in this, that her Siberian frontier is not now vulnerable to an attack from a

Japanese base (the position was ~~lost~~ during the Second World War) due to the presence of a friendly China.

Thucydides, the great Athenian historian, observed more than two thousand years ago that "we both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs, the question of justice only enters where the pressure of necessity is equal and that the powerful exact what they can and the weak grant what they must". India seeks peace based on justice in her quest for a real balance of power. America, Britain, Russia and China have all alike made mistakes in assessing the currents of Asian, Arab, East European and Tibetan nationalism. These Big Powers must come to terms with the Asian (including Tibet) Arab and East European countries. The schism developed in the spirit of Europe, thanks to the two world wars and its conflict with the Asian temperament in the era of the cold war have resulted in a split of the human spirit itself. George F. Kennan, in his illuminating analysis of American diplomacy has a brilliant comment on the American attitude towards Russia. "We will get nowhere with an attitude of emotional indignation directed towards an entire people. Let us rise above these easy and childish reactions to view the tragedy of Russia as partly our own tragedy and the people of Russia as our comrades in the long hard battle for a happier system of man's co-existence with himself and with nature on this troubled planet." The present malaise is something more than a political crisis. It is a philosophical crisis. It is not a question of one 'bloc' winning over the other 'bloc', but the nobler elements of the human spirit triumphing over the baser impulses of man. It is not enough to formulate certain ideals in one's foreign policy; it is necessary to translate those ideals into positive action, in the process of what is described as the 'communication' of a country's foreign policy.



THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The total circulation of the daily newspapers of India in the year 1957 was 31½ lakhs. Of this, English dailies were read by 10 lakhs. Readers of Hindi papers come next, but far behind, being less than 4 lakhs of readers, much less than half the number that read the English dailies. Next to Hindi come the readers of Tamil dailies serving nearly three lakhs. The other languages came behind this, each with between one and two and half lakhs of readers.

If the circulation of the daily press is a realistic index of what is the efficient 'interlingua' of India, English holds that position beyond doubt. Any other view is wishful thinking unrelated to actual facts. The daily press barometer ought to moderate the impudence of the Hindi agitators. If the explanation of widespread illiteracy in Upper India is given for this low place taken by Hindi papers, the answer is that the language issue concerns only the literates not those who cannot read any language.

Some good people wonder why I busy myself so greatly to keep this language issue going. In the simplicity of their hearts many believe that if I kept quiet, Chacha Nehru, who is a just man, would see to it that injustice is not practised. It is a pity that these people do not have the imagination to see what is likely to happen if we do not fight hard putting forth all our energy. The Hindi people do not know our difficulties. They think Hindi will give them great advantages and self-interest blinds them to the rights of others. Officials are loyal and there is so little courage available these days to enable them to stand up to their political masters. They see the injustice clearly enough but they think it

useful to conspire with the Hindi faction.

We have had many assurances of 'no imposition' and the like, but the practice is contrary to assurance as has been proved by complaints from those affected.

Linguism has split the country and has led to a tendency to erect solid walls isolating States from one another. Every State Government is determined to intimidate and overrule university opinion and insist on universities being run each in its own regional language. As a result of the intimate connection between higher education and the permanent services, the mobility of officials as well as of students seeking higher education will soon totally disappear.

The only way to meet this disaster is to get the colleges and the offices everywhere to accept English and continue the *status quo*. All change is not reform. To make this country into an archipelago of linguistic islands educationally and administratively is not a desirable thing. Linguism threatens to become a galloping disease which must be tackled by maintaining intact the vital circulating system of the body politic of India. The part that the English Press actually plays today in spite of all the talk about Hindi is a highly relevant fact. Invaluable as the local service of language papers may be, the All-India inter-state service of the English papers is incomparably great. Hindi cannot claim anything like what the English papers are doing. None but those who refuse to see can be blind to the inference flowing from this incontestable fact as to what the all-India official medium ought to be.

A loyal member of the Indian diplomatic corps has written an article beginning with the following remark: "It would have pleased Macaulay's heart to hear what these elder statesmen are saying about English."

And what if it pleased Macaulay? How would it be wrong if it pleased him and what would it prove? Nothing. It is sad to see this puerile hatred still masquerading as patriotism. Who was Macaulay? Read Thackeray's *Round About Papers* and you will see what a good and noble person he was. Macaulay was not the anti-Indian of the crude imagination of ill-informed patriots. He was one who foresaw with satisfaction today's freedom of India.

Our own languages and particularly Sanskrit offer the best literature for cultural and spiritual requirements. But for balance and for the vast and growing volume of modern knowledge, we must have the window of English kept wide open.

The importance of English in our life is unquestioned. We would be foolish if we threw away our asset in that field. It has struck root in administration, in law and in education. We cannot ignore the issues of justice and inconvenience, and all that issues from the fact of two hundred years history and throw out English just because it is a foreign language. Hindi is not far from foreign to those to whom it is not a mother-tongue and these are not a negligible number.

De Tocqueville in his great book on Democracy in America, foresaw the possibility of a State which without practising any bloody oppression would reduce people to "nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals of which the Government is the shepherd that would undertake to spare its subjects all the cares of thinking and all the trouble of living". It seems we are in danger of illustrating this possibility.

THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

A loyal member of the Indian diplomatic

The importance of English in

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BROADWAY TIMES

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF OPPOSITION

BY

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

With regard to opposition as with regard to most political institutions the principles for its conduct are derived largely from practice. First comes the practice dictated by circumstances or events and then comes the theory to give a rationale for it. That was how Party, of which Opposition, is a corollary arose and developed. It arose in England where most political institutions and practices began. It began when the members of the English Parliament became during the Civil War divided into two groups—the Cavaliers (supporters of the King) and Roundheads (supporters of the Parliament). They later took the names of Tories and Whigs after the Revolution of 1688. And after they had been opposing each other in Parliament and outside standing for different political principles, the Tories for the prerogatives of the King and the Whigs for the privileges of Parliament and then came Edmund Burke to give the party system a philosophy.

Party, said Burke, is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavour the national interest upon some political principles in which they are all agreed. And the necessity of party he attributed to the natural instinct of man to join with those with whom he thinks and feels alike in order to achieve a common purpose. And achievement in politics can be done only by getting into power, that is, into Government. And English practice has also shown that the party system operates best when there are only two parties—the one forming the Government of the day and the other consisting of the people opposed to it. And thus we have the Opposition. And the practice of the Opposition in England for the

past 250 years has given us the principles of its conduct.

The first business of the Opposition has been to oppose the Government of the day. It is not the only business of the Opposition as Sir William Hancourt's assertion, absolutely as it is put, when he said, "the function of an Opposition is to oppose," would have it. It criticises the Government of the day inside and outside Parliament, pointing out the defects and deficiencies of its policy and programmes, probing into faults of omission and commission in its administration, making full use of the Question Hour every day of the sitting of Parliament for this purpose. But opposition for opposition's sake is not the whole or sole duty of a good Opposition. Many proposals of Government in England are not opposed because there is general agreement. Details are criticised in a legislative proposal, or a Bill, as it is called, for it may be good in principle but weak in details. Often criticism is offered by the Opposition without opposing the Government when the time for decision comes. And if a proposal is opposed by the Opposition it does not follow that every part of it must be opposed. Opposition for the sake of opposition is factious opposition—not political—the opposition of a faction not of a party. Mere obstruction for the sake of obstruction would condemn an Opposition in Parliament and outside. For as Opposition as a result of these centuries of practice in England has come to be recognized as a part of the Government. The Opposition in England is called His or Her Majesty's Opposition. The Opposition's function of criticism is considered as important as the work of the

Government. Its leader in England is paid a salary and accommodation is provided for its Whips and meetings in the precincts of Parliament. The Opposition is not treated as an enemy of the Government. Its leaders are consulted on important occasions—like the settlement of important matters, say of foreign policy, the regulation of the course of business in Parliament—their representatives find place in all Government and Parliamentary Committees. Consultations between leaders of Government and of the Opposition behind the Speaker's Chair have long been a recognized practice in the English Parliament.

A good Opposition indulges in mere factiousness. On questions that do not involve fundamental principles the Opposition lets the Government have its way. It is patriotic enough to stand with the Government on the larger issues of foreign policy. Good Opposition leaders like Mr. Disraeli in England have always distinguished themselves by their self-restraint and conscientiousness. The utility of an Opposition is not exhausted within the four walls of Parliament. It has to carry the Opposition to the Government in the country, among the people, the electorate. A main duty of Opposition is to educate public opinion on the policies and programmes of the Government. In fact as the people are the ultimate rulers and makers of Government it is they that must be persuaded that the Opposition's opposition to Government is justified. It must hold frequent meetings to inform the people on the legislative and administrative activities of the Government from day to day. Not only meetings and speeches but pamphlets, articles in newspapers, radio talks as other means of enlightening public opinion are used. An Opposition without a newspaper goes on with a handicap. Its organization must be as strong as that of the party in power—if it is to make an impression on the people with a view to electoral success. Registration of its supporters as voters is an important duty of

its organization. An important objective of an Opposition is to see the next elections and offer an alternative Government.

Not only in organization and mechanical equipment must an Opposition be strong. It has to be strong also in political equipment. Its leaders must be able to lead the people towards the formation of a new Government, presumably more worthy of the country and of the people than the one it is opposing. It must have a band of experts to advise it on the questions of the day—economic, financial and political. Political parties in England like the Conservatives have schools of political instruction for the benefit of members and candidates of the party. It must have a large panel of speakers and debaters who would go all over the country instructing the people on the policies and programmes of the Government—their implications, their mischief, their dangers. They must also be able to offer something as an alternative—the alternative policy and programmes of the Opposition, and argue on behalf of them so as to obtain the people's support at the next elections. They must even be ready with a Shadow Cabinet—ministereriables—men of ministerial timber that could step into the shoes of the men in office once the elections are won.

All this is not so easy. The ways of an Opposition are hard. It has to fight against odds—against a Government in power. To be in possession of power is considered good enough reason for continuing to be in power. It is difficult to dislodge a party entrenched in governmental power. It must either have thoroughly discredited itself or the Opposition must make a good case for proving its superiority. Especially hard is the way of a new Opposition. There is, advised Burke to a member of the National Assembly in France in 1797, "the dilemma in which every Opposition to a successful party must in the nature of things be liable, for if you lie still you are

condemned as an accomplice in the measures in which you silently acquiesce; if you resist, you are accused of provoking irreconcilable power to new excesses; the conduct of a losing party never appears right, at best it can never possess the only infallible criterion of wisdom to vulgar judgment—success." But a new Opposition may derive comfort and courage from Cato's exhortation

"Tis not in mortals to command success.

But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.

And a new Opposition party will deserve success, though it may not command it immediately or shortly, if it offers to the people something other and better than that offered by the party in power. There must be a definite and decisive difference in principles in the policy, and programmes offered by the Opposition. It must be a real alternative to that offered by the party in power. Socialism must be opposed by Individualism and not by varying pink shades of Socialism. Private enterprise as a rule must be offered as an alternative to State enterprise in growing extent and measure. Making people moral by legislation must be given up in favour of the influence of Religion and Society. State participation in business must be influenced by State control of Business. Progress through Freedom must be offered as an alternative for Progress at any price. And in electoral promises the new opposition need not offer the moon—it should not make promises right and left just in order to get votes. For electoral promises must be redeemed soon after the

elections. As Bagehot warns, Opposition on coming into power is often like a speculative merchant whose bills become due. If he does not honour the bills he has to go hat in hand to his creditors or petition the Bankruptcy court. The fate of political parties that have promised things they could not perform ought to be a warning to an Opposition which tries to compete in promise-making.

And it is all so unnecessary. Provided it has the necessary organization reaching down from the headquarters to the electoral constituency, well articulated and well-financed, its propaganda methods are modern, the modesty of its electoral programmes may be a recommendation in itself. For the electorate may be tired of promises unfulfilled, made to the ear and broken to the heart. After such betrayal they seek refuge in a party which promises less and may be expected to perform more. They may prefer solid substantial food to a long course of Turkish delights.

The creation of such an Opposition is a duty patriotic citizens owe to the country. For all experience shows that a well-organised, well-equipped, alert, competent Opposition is essential to parliamentary government. It is necessary to keep Government up to the mark of its duty. It is necessary for the very existence of a parliamentary government. For no Government, said Disraeli, no mean practitioner of the art of parliamentary government whether in office or in opposition can be long secure without a formidable opposition.

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

Twelve years back, from an aisle seat at Karachi, the then capital of Sind which was later to become the seat of the Government of Pakistan, I witnessed the birth of a dominion. It was the realisation of the dream of one man, possibly the shrewdest politician in the matrix of present-day history. That man was none other than Mahomed Ali Jinnah, a thin, wizened figure; tall, monocled with an iron determination and a single-track mentality, unknown before and unfollowed since.

By the sheer power of his lung and his uncompromising attitude, without sacrificing the crease of his trousers, Jinnah carved out a State for his co-religionists, with a population of 78 millions and an area of 3,65,000 square miles.

Jinnah, born at Karachi, the son of a merchant, lacked the saintliness of Gandhiji nor had he the glamour and the box-office attraction of Jawaharlal but he was as hard as steel, with the determination to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

He started life as a nationalist, under the inspiration of Gokhale and wore the Congress label for some time. At the tender age of 14, he made his friends living in an unpretentious lane near the main market, Karachi, abandon their game of marbles in the streets, because playing in the dust made their hands dirty. He made them stand up and play cricket instead. This was typical of how his way of life was to be moulded.

"Failure," he once told an English journalist, "is a word unknown to me."...In this proud boast of his lay the inflexible resolve with which he forced the Balkanisation of India so that

his own Muslim people could enjoy their separate homeland and be free.

Jinnah's private life was a saga of frustration. He lost his first wife quite early and married a Bombay Parsi millionaire's daughter. He later separated from her and remained for the major portion of his life a celibate and an isolated man, whose sole friend and companion was his unmarried sister.

He was the best dressed man in Asia who wore suits finer than those of Anthony Eden.

Many of his friends criticised his lack of orthodoxy. But, by the creation of Pakistan, he did more than any other Muslim of his times to further the spread of Islam.

His private honesty and political integrity were so pronounced as to seem almost egocentric. Unlike his political opponents, he was a realist and no apostle of frenzy.

The strength of purpose of Jinnah was tested during the last years of his life when he was dying of tuberculosis. It was his sheer will power that made both the British Government and Sardar Patel bow before him to concede Pakistan.

Once an attempt was made on his life at his Malabar Hill residence, but he grappled with his assailant and saved his life.

Jinnah's only pastime was politics but he used to play billiards in his palatial residence at Karachi.

C. R. launches anti-Nehru Party

June 4 will go down as a Red Letter Day in our national calendar. On that day, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, whose political pinions grew under the shadow of Mahatma Gandhi,

the biggest challenge to the monolithic Congress party regime under the leadership of Gandhiji's political heir, Jawaharlal Nehru.

The 80-year-old elder statesman, who walks supported with a stick and wears smoked glasses, told a public meeting in his parish town, Madras, that the new party, known as 'Swatantra Party' was being formed to create public opinion against the policies of the present Government so that Prime Minister Nehru would come down and bow to the pressure of public opinion.

Nehru's reaction was that the new party was nothing else than a "political projection of the *Forum of Free Enterprise*", supported by the reactionary money bags of Bombay.

Rajaji went to India's commercial capital, Bombay, where he addressed two meetings. Earlier, he presided at a private meeting of about fifty prominent people from different parts of India who said they favoured the formation of a broad-based opposition party.

C.R. underlined the broad tenets of the party, that it would stand for freedom of man, freedom of the farm and family and against the attack by totalitarianism on the freedom of everybody.

Rajaji, who started his life as a lawyer at Salem and relinquished his practice to follow the Mahatma was a member of the Congress ever since 1906 and was jailed five times. He was the advocate of several unpopular causes and was in a minority in the higher hierarchy of the Congress.

He succeeded Lord Mountbatten as India's first Indian Governor-General and introduced austerity at Rashtrapati Bhavan. After quitting the job, he was in virtual retirement but was prevailed upon to accept the Chief Ministership of Madras. His antagonism to Kamaraj, "the King maker of Tamil Nad Congress", cost him his job.

Power is the breath of his nostrils to C.R. Power to him is not a nicely balanced calculus

of self-abnegation but a force for the making and unmaking of personalities.

John Gunther called him the Savanorala of Indian politics, while Pattabhi Seetharamayya dubbed him as the Mahant of the Mahatma.

What the fate of the new party would be no one knows, but the elder statesman, has again winged his way to Bombay to be present at a mammoth Swatantra Party Convention.

Munshi's return to Politics

If India had been a free country five decades back, Mr. K. M. Munshi would have been an outstanding figure in our literary firmament. As it was, like many others who were sucked into the vortex of politics, the pattern of his life took a new turn.

The precocious lad who after taking his Arts and Law degrees settled down in a tiny apartment on Malabar Hill to practice and later took as his partner in life, a woman who dabbled in Gujarati literature was destined to streak across many horizons. Jinnah and Bhulabhai Desai groomed him for stardom as a lawyer. But his main forte is literature, and he has scaled the summit in his mother-tongue, Gujarati. As a dramatist and novelist in that language, he has no equal in India today.

Like many other emotional young men, he was drawn to Mahatma Gandhi and followed in his footsteps for quarter of a century. When the Congress party formed the Ministry in Bombay, he was entrusted with the portfolio of law and order and made a grand job of it. Later, he played the game of diplomacy in the tricky wicket of Hyderabad. Before Sardar Patel pressed the button, Munshi's life was in danger. After the Nizam's banner was lowered, Munshi went over to Delhi and became the Food Minister in the Central Cabinet. He dramatised his portfolio by initiating *Vana-mahotsava*. Then came Governorship of Uttar Pradesh. But the greatest work of his life is the creation of *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, the

miniature University at Chowpati where instruction is imparted on unique lines.

Restless by temperament, the Munshis have roamed the world. K.M. chronicles his impressions of men and things in the now famous 'Kulapathi Letters' which appear regularly in *Bhavan's Journal*.

At Ahmedabad the other day Munshi hinted about the possibility of his return to active politics. In spite of the weight of seventy years, there is still a lot of kick in him and the next phase of his career would be watched with interest by friends, foes and admirers alike.

End of a Mission

Nostalgia for her motherland and desire to participate in the thrust and parry of Indian politics will shortly bring to an end the London assignment of Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit. A scion of the illustrious family and sister of our great Prime Minister, she has been the most arresting figure in the feminine landscape of our country. Her charm and vivacity were equalled only by the colourful Srimati Sarojini Naidu.

Self-educated, Vijayalakshmi who went to prison three times and functioned for a spell as Minister in Uttar Pradesh has been a career diplomat. She has represented our country in more than one meeting of the United Nations of which she became President for a while. As Indian Ambassador in the United States, Russia, and Great Britain she has established innumerable contacts and is definitely the most well-informed person in foreign affairs.

In the twin spheres of conversation and entertainment, there is none who can come within hailing distance of her. She has also a couple of books to her credit. One of her pet ambitions is to write a book for children.

She is being tipped as our next Congress President. That uncoveted post will test all her powers of diplomacy. But with her iron

determination, she will cut through the troubles and bring about harmony and understanding in a sphere that is rent with dissension now.

India's Precise Spokesman

A few days back, a radio panelist asked India's Ambassador in the United States what he thought of the race for the conquest of outer space. The Ambassador shot back: "I wish there was a race for the conquest of inner man."

This remark is typical of M. C. Chagla who combines the perceptive vision of a philosopher with the quick wit of a barrister, specialising in repartees. Mr. Chagla, despite his few months' sojourn in the U.S. has already become a speaker much in demand before Universities, business and international relations groups. Chubby, vigorous, vivacious, he was apprenticed under Jinnah but parted company from him with the creation of Pakistan. He has a firm jaw and eyes that are penetrating but not unkindly.

From law and a high court judgeship, Chagla went over to diplomacy. He wants to build up Indo-American understanding. He was with Vijayalakshmi, a member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations.

Chagla is full to the brim with his faith in India's role in upholding democracy in Asia. This could not be achieved he says through military alliances with western powers or with the Communist bloc. He told a newsman in New York that the success of the economic experiment in India meant the success of democracy in Asia and its failure meant democracy's failure too.

The Travelling Philosopher

Back home after a triumphant tour round half the world is Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, our Vice-President. Unlike Nehru who was baptized into politics while quite young, Radhakrishnan strode into it late in life. But even today, he retains all the quality of a philosopher.

...son by birth and a thinker by training, he has worked in several spheres of activity and added lustre to them all.

Banaras and Oxford have known him ; Joad and Huxley are among his friends.

His eloquence can bring a bird from a tree. As a diplomat he made history in Moscow where he met Stalin twice.

Radhakrishnan has been the best salesman of Indian culture. He has travelled all over the world. He combines in his frail body, the alacrity of the west with the illumination of the east.

Recently, the town of Frankfurt honoured him by presenting him with Goethe Plaque, a medal awarded for distinguished literary men. He is the first Indian to receive it. Previous recipients were Herman Hesse, Thomas Mann and Albert Schweitzer.

Mrinalini on a dance tour

Europe has been bitten by the Bharat Natyam craze. First Padmini, next Vyjayanthi and now comes news that Srimati Mrinalini Sarabhai, one of the finest exponents of that intricate art, who had her schooling at Poet Tagore's Shantiniketan and later picked up Bharat Natyam and Kathakali, is packing her up kit for another dance tour. She teamed up with maestro Ram

Gopal for a while ; currently, her partner is Chatunni Panicker.

In the realm of dance, Mrinalini holds a universally recognised position. Her art transcends mere technical perfection. With its main stress on creative interpretation of traditional forms, and its exploration of the spiritual core of Indian myth, it acts as a bridge between the ancient cultural heritage of India and its modern manifestations.

Mrinalini's emphasis on purity of tradition made her launch out of her own. While once holidaying in Java, she had the opportunity of studying with Prine Tedjoekoescmo, a teacher of the most ancient school of Javanese dancing. From Java she went to New York and studied acting and stage technique at the American Academy of Dramatic Art. On her return to India she was tutored by that veteran, Kunju Kurup and increased her command over Kathakali.

She has started a school of dancing at Ahmedabad, known as 'Darpana'. At the peak of her career today, she is the first Asian to receive the medal and diploma of the French Archives Internationales de la Danse—a rare honour. She was recently awarded the title of 'Natyakala Shikamani' in Madras, in recognition of her artistic eminence.

PROBING THE MIND—ANXIETY NEUROSES

BY

DR G. D. BOAZ

Prof. of Psychology, University of Madras

[This is the Second Instalment in this Series of Six Articles by the Author.—ED.]

Difficulties and conflicts come in the way of everyone. The process of growth and development itself involves lot of conflicts, many of them being common to all mankind. Besides, each individual has his or her own special difficulties and conflicts pertaining to the particular environment. People develop various techniques for overcoming their difficulties. Conflicts can be resolved in various ways. Some of these techniques and methods may be normal and helpful in the sense that a particular individual finds it possible to go ahead without any undue effects on having faced a difficult problem. The general sense of well-being and the normal efficiency level are kept up. But in some cases, the conflicts may be so baffling and so severe that the individual is not able to find any solution or to make any satisfactory adjustment. Situations like these can lead to psychological breakdown.

When an individual is faced with a real baffling conflict there is a blocking of mental energy. There is no way of liquidating that energy. But this pent up emotional energy must be expressed in some way or the other. In other words, there must be some kind of response to a situation like that. One possible reaction to such a situation is what we call a 'state of anxiety' itself. It is a very unpleasant emotional experience. It is characterised by a sense of helplessness, frustration and uncertainty. It is something like the ordinary worries that we all have, but more invalidating. What is technically called 'anxiety' may range from a simple and specific worry to a state of diffused and generalised anxiety in which the entire personality is involved. Sometimes the symp-

toms of an anxiety state may resemble those of neurasthenia considered in the first article in this series. A consideration of the theoretical and technical details relating to the classification of psychological disorders is beyond the scope of this article.

An anxiety state often gives rise to certain consequential phenomena. The diffused emotional tension which in itself is an intensely unpleasant emotional experience, disturbs the normal functioning of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system. This sympathetic division is responsible for the various visceral functions of the body. Hence, the disturbance of this sympathetic division affects processes like appetite, digestion, heartbeat, blood circulation, respiration, etc. This in turn, produces feelings of discomfort and fatigue. A vicious circle sets in. Another well-defined secondary phenomenon, is the disturbance in motor-activity. The anxiety state often produces an apparent lack of motor-control. Motor activity becomes diffused and the individual seems to be always in a state of readiness to make various motor-responses. Biting nails, constantly drumming with the fingers, ticks, etc. are all symptoms of some degree of anxiety.

Invariably, the mechanism of substitute satisfaction is at work in all cases of psychological symptoms. When an intense conflict sets in, there is unpleasantness simply because of the situation itself. This is because of our inability to meet the demands of the issues which have produced the conflict. This means we are aware of the contents of the situation and the issues concerned. This feeling of

unpleasantness is relieved to some extent by a psychological mechanism called 'repression' by which the psychological factors relating to the situation are removed from our consciousness. We are no longer aware of these factors, but such repressions are often not very complete and perfect. Hence, a feeling of unpleasantness still persists and gets attached to the various visceral changes that have been referred to in an earlier paragraph. This means that the individual is now concerned not with the original subject of conflict, but with the various disturbances that have set in within the organism of the body. A wide variety of bodily symptoms arise out of anxiety states; cardiac neuroses, ticks and tremor, stammering, sex frigidity and impotence, akosams or buzzing noises in the ears, hypochondria, etc. are all indicative of anxiety states. We will now consider two actual cases illustrating some of the mechanisms mentioned above.

A boy aged 20 was brought by a brother who is a medical practitioner. This brother had earlier given a long story about the boy. His attention was focussed on a period of about two years in the recent past during which this boy was staying with him. There were a lot of unpleasant experiences since the boy had to stay with his brother and his wife who were not very happy about that arrangement. The symptoms with which the boy was brought concerned with physical disabilities and a sense of weakness. The boy was not carrying on a normal life, all the time complaining that he was too weak to do anything. He was undergoing medical treatment which mostly consisted in a course of nervine tonics. Since it was expected that there might be psychological disturbances also, he was brought to me.

During several interviews the boy would only repeat that he was suffering from severe physical weakness. He simply could not get out of the house to do any normal work. He insisted that everything else was all right. Often when questions were put regarding his past

troubles, he would reply with all sincerity that everything was all right. According to him nothing was wrong in his relationship with his brother and his wife. This was his persistent answer to a large number of direct and indirect questions bearing on the story given by the brother. During the time he was brought to me his relationship with the brother was also quite cordial and normal for all practical purposes. The only trouble was that this brother should always accompany him whenever the latter had to go out. After a number of interviews which were directed towards helping the boy to realize his original real troubles, the resistance gradually broke down. He began to blurt out that he should have been treated better by his people during the past. When he was persuaded to explain this statement, he himself began to narrate the story. As a boy in the High School classes he was quite normal, nothing particular or peculiar. He was just above the average in class work and in games. He did not have many friends, nor did he develop any strong attachment to the members of the family. When he finished his High School, the father retired from his work and in a view of possible financial difficulties, this boy was not sent for higher collegiate education. The family was living in a mofussil town. It was decided that the boy should be sent to Madras where his brother was just starting life as a medical practitioner. The boy perceived this as an easy method by which the parents could get rid of their responsibilities. The Doctor brother has just then recently married and for various reasons, important and unimportant, this boy was not welcome to the wife. The fact was not concealed. So, they openly expressed their dislike in various ways. The boy naturally felt very bad at this state of affairs. The father was informed and the brother expressed his inability to keep him any longer. The parents somehow persuaded the Doctor to keep the boy for some more time since by then,

he was admitted to the Polytechnic School. This gave added strength to the conviction and belief of the boy that the parents did not care for him and that they naturally wanted to shift their responsibility. The second part of his stay with the brother was full of quarrels and bitterness which naturally rose from the fact that neither the boy nor the lady of the house was in favour of such an arrangement. Such a situation produced serious conflicts in the mind of the boy. A state of anxiety set in. Soon the boy found himself with a feeling of physical inability to do things. The bitterness and hostility had been forgotten. A certain amount of natural love and affection remained in the conscious mind. Hence, there was no conflict. Instead, a serious concern about his bodily functions had set in. To his mind, he had become a sick man who needed all attention and care from the members of the family. This is a good example of how anxiety neurosis and conflict arise. This also shows how there is a shifting of attention from the original conflict to physical disabilities. The physical disabilities would have had their origin because of the primary disturbances of the visceral functions.

The next case refers to an elderly man of about 50 years old. He came in with complaints of rapid heart-beat, vague pains in the body, etc. He had to rush up often to doctors to examine his heart. But in spite of repeated assurances that his heart was absolutely normal, those 'attacks' would come often and almost paralyse him with fear. When there was no perceptible disturbances in the functioning of the heart for a period of a few days, other parts of the body began to pain. This trouble mostly developed in the forenoons when just he was about to go to his office. He was working in the technical section of a big business concern.

The days of his youth were spent in a very carefree manner. He did not attain success

as he was expected to either in studies or in any profession. His attempt to become a medical doctor proved to be unsuccessful. He had some skill in the artistic line as a painter, but he never made any good of it. In fact, he never worked hard towards his self-fulfilment and self-development. When he got this job he was fairly happy but soon fell out with one of his immediate superiors. He developed a belief that this officer was against him and that he had prejudiced the management very strongly against him. When some future occasions arose and he did not get the expected promotions, he developed these symptoms. Side by side, he had developed a pessimism and a cynical attitude towards everything. He had severe conflicts with regard to a few areas of life. He was wanting to throw the job away (in fact, he had done so for a short period and had to come back again) and at the same time could not see any definite alternative. Thus he was forced to carry on with it though he hated the whole atmosphere. His faith in people was severely pessimistic. Side by side, the hatred and antagonism to his officer was also seriously disturbing his visceral functions. Just about that time, a brother-in-law of his against whom he had a deep grudge died of a heart attack. This presented new problems to him and consequent new conflicts. A number of difficulties arose within the family situation. To add to these, his wife also developed some psychological troubles. The happiness and peace of the home was severely threatened. Though he could not satisfactorily solve these problems because of the intensity and number, a state of anxiety set in. Partly because of the natural course of anxiety states in general and partly because of the fact that one of his strong conflicts was relating to the brother-in-law who died of heart failure, apparent symptoms of heart-trouble were developed by this individual.

PROPAGANDA

BY

S. KANNAN, M.A.

Lexicographers opine that Propaganda is the means of influencing opinion. Adopted by any individual or organized group it is of use in spreading special doctrines, information, ideas, beliefs, etc. From the point of view of a Social Psychologist "Propaganda is the more or less deliberately planned and systemic use of symbols, chiefly through suggestion and related psychological techniques with a view first to altering and controlling opinions, ideas and values and ultimately changing overt actions along predetermined lines." So propaganda is simply preaching with a view to getting converts.

Any special interest group would like to make a propaganda in its opposition to another or in relation to a wider political, religious or consumer public. Governmental agencies use propaganda in the name of promotion of domestic-political or economic plans. During peace time and war it is useful as a phase of psychological warfare between nations. It has always a setting within a Socio-Cultural framework.

Propaganda has become one of the most striking features of the modern world. With the increase in group conflicts and diversity propaganda tends to increase enormously. Large scale production depends on wider distribution, and interest groups on mass action. Political ideologies were not so varied as they are now. Tantalizing phrases become the fashion among the politicians in their manipulation of public opinion. So many economic doctrines are competing and there is a phantasmagoria of conflicting values in every field of our life. Rapid and cheap communication and transportation like the Newspaper Chains,

Radio and other services fuel the fire of world-wide unrest and thus propaganda is made a challenging problem. Naturally the special pleader wishes to fish in the troubled waters of contemporary cultural diversity. Propaganda has the patronage of almost all the groups that agree to differ or that oppose each other. As a result we have tens of thousands of propaganda units, created mainly for the purpose of moulding public opinion.

As the basic desires of man are all emotionally conditioned, the propagandist makes copious use of love, anger, fear, hope and all sorts of feelings, emotions and sentiments in view of the purpose at hand. The wishes of man become intense when frustrated and the propagandist makes ample use of this opportune moment to induce man's desires by means of suggestion techniques. Propaganda is an appeal to the heart with a touch of sweetness and persuasion and it is not an appeal to the head.

Professor Clyde R. Miller, the Director of an Institute of Propaganda in the United States, has classified some of the most current devices in Propaganda. According to Prof. Miller there are seven important devices, namely, the name calling device, the glittering generalities device, the transfer device, the testimonial device, the plain folks device, the card stacking device, and the band wagon device.

The name calling device : The propagandist in this device closely connects the person or campaign that he is trying to depreciate or decry with something bad or socially disapproved. In other words this device is more or less an adoption of the old trick of 'giving a dog a bad name'. 'Have not the Congress

quidnuncs cavilled at the Swantantra Party saying that it has no future and that it consists of retired men?' The words conservative, rightist, traditional, orthodox, etc., are used as condemnatory in themselves. The opposers of the formation of this new party have adopted this device in their propaganda.

The glittering generalities device : Mr. Stuart Chase has described this device as "the tyranny of words". Sentiments like honour, truth, generosity, etc., are associated with the programme in the hope of making it appear dignified and noble. By so doing the expert tries to get the social approval for his special interest. He relies on the magic of phrases, slogans and stereotypes. The following are some of the examples : 'We seek to serve and not to compete—Therefore you vote in our favour'; 'The people's plan for the people's Welfare'; 'Balance your diet . . . and your budget with . . . vanaspathi'; 'Handloom fabrics are woven with care and worn with pride'.

The transfer device : In this category the propagandist associates his policies with some socially accepted symbols like God, and Flag, National Leaders, and so on. He thus increases the prestige value of his plans. The Americans may say, 'We have immense belief in our Religion which is derived from God—In God we trust—Hence we are not Communists and Communism is our arch-enemy'.

The testimonial device : This device is most frequently used in commercial advertisements. The approval of persons of great popularity among the public are exploited in this method. Often the testimonial is in the form of a direct speech in praise of some person or thing. The following is a statement supposed to have been given by a film star in support of a soap. The actual statement follows a tribute to the film star concerned. "Lovely film stars like . . . know that a woman's loveliness depends on a flawless

complexion. . . . says 'I use pure, white . . . soap to keep my complexion soft and clean; Why not fragrant . . . for your complexion? And remember . . . is such a pleasure at bath time.'

The plain folks device : This device is 'an effort to appear extremely democratic, devoid of snobbery and in tune with the mass'. Ministers have been photographed talking to tribal people, farmers, labourers, and so on. Perhaps the best example would be the baby kissing and garland throwing antics of some of our politicians once in a while and also during some campaigns and social functions.

The card stacking device : The special pleader deliberately uses faulty logic or suppresses facts while attempting to canvass for his own cause. He may try to shift the argument from the main problem to issues of secondary importance. He won't mind confusing or misleading the public. It will be very easy to pile up the alleged virtues and other activities relating to their personal life of politicians or the film stars and using them in a campaign against them.

The band wagon or the universality device : Man by his very nature is inclined to support any cause that is bound to win in his estimation. To oppose such a cause would make him unpopular and hopeless. The device undermines this fact. In order to get the approval of a person or programme the propagandist appeals to the individual 'that everybody is doing it and so you can also join the mass'. Naturally the fellow follows the crowd and accepts what all he is told.

Professor Miller has well observed "In all these devices our emotion is the stuff with which propagandists work. Without it they are helpless; with it, harnessing to their purposes, they can make us glow with pride or burn with hatred, they can make us zealots in behalf of the programme they espouse."

~~condemned as~~
 Propaganda is not fruitful always, i.e., the reception and effects in modifying ideas, attitudes and values especially actions are not guaranteed every time a propaganda is made. Only under certain conditions propaganda proves fruitful: (1) When the people towards whom the propaganda is directed have a predisposition so that they accept it. 'The man who digs a well in a dry land digs in vain' so goes the saying. If there is not the predisposition in the audience about the fact concerned the propaganda may not succeed. (2) Propaganda is successful only when it arouses a wish to act and achieve the object. (3) When the propagandist makes a strong appeal. The material or symbol content, the particular suggestion and other psychological techniques adopted. Great orators have much influence over the minds of the public as for instance on the eve of elections. (4) Success depends on the mental and social background

of the public, i.e., it should not challenge or decry any of the deep-seated loyalties or the cultural background of the society. (5) It is successful when it is highly emotional with full of promises and satisfaction. (6) When it is persistent but repetition too often is likely to blunt the desire to act.

Propaganda is a double-edged weapon. It can be used for constructive purposes like propagation of doctrines of social value, for individual and social education and for keeping up the morale of the public. It can also be used for destructive purposes like misinforming the public, for spreading class and communal hatred so that a few could exploit many. As a form of power and social control propaganda is distinct from physical coercion and organized violence. While the purposes of propaganda are concealed, it is generally viewed as an organized special pleading.

Personality Sketch

R. KRISHNAN

BY

KASHYAPA

The dismal performance of the Indian cricketers in England this year had cast a gloom over Indian sport, and it was not until Baig emerged last month as a potential Harvey that some warmth was injected into out veins. Similarly in every game, it has been our unenviable lot to peg all our hopes and aspirations on the shoulders of some solitary individual. A Manna for our soccer, a Dhyan Chand for our hockey, a Dara Singh for our wrestling, a Mankad (or now perhaps a Baig or an Umrigar) for our cricket—this has been our predicament. In tennis, this paucity of world class representatives from this sub-continent is still more poignant and we have only young Ramanatha Krishnan to show to all the world. But what a Krishnan!

It was given to me many years ago—I think it was 1950—to see Krishnan walk away with the trophies in the Loyola College tournament, and Krishnan participated as a schoolboy from the Ramakrishna Mission High School. And I can take the credit for having predicted then that this youngster was going to see Wimbledon's centre court before long as India's representative. The dauntless scribe or scribbler as I was, I hazarded that prediction and more knowledgeable critics smiled indulgently at my enthusiastic but exaggerated accounts of Krishnan's future, as they saw it. One or two 'experts' drew me gently aside and said: You should not be so rash with your predictions. After all, Krishnan may be a schoolboy freak, but that does not mean he is set to be the national champion. Have you seen his weak service? Have you noticed his heavy move-



ments on the court? etc. I did not reply but wrote a stronger article reiterating my opinions.

But the opinion of the other critics had set me thinking. When I came to think of it, Krishnan's service was quite scandalous—in 1950. It was accurate, and there was no fault and never a double fault. But there was no punch in it. It was impuissant and nominal. We had to close our eyes in dread of the powerful return which the striker could administer to such a plaintive service. Sure enough, the return was vicious and vigorous. But the lad was unruffled. He moved quietly across and tentatively placed his racquet across the line of the ball. And behold, it was a lovely drop shot that overwhelmed the brawny opponent. Point to server. Fifteen—Love. And so on till it was game. And so I discounted his service weakness. He got the points all right and what matters in tennis is that.

The undisputed master of the game in India at the time of Krishnan's emergence, was Sumant Misra. And the two were so very different from each other that it was difficult to think Krishnan was to be the national champion. And still Kashyapa persisted in his views. Sumant Misra was a towering figure; Krishnan was a stalwart among South Indian Brahmins—but that is not saying much. (He has since put on height and weight, after a physical culture course that was both strenuous and steady.) Misra was famous for his "cannon ball" service aces; Krishnan was notorious for his poor service. Misra dazzled by his brilliance at times; Krishnan's was a duller but steadier game. But values in tennis were changing rapidly and today's style is obsolete tomorrow. Krishnan plays a game which was in vogue many years ago. The "serve—run to the net—and smash" game is losing its adherents

gradually. Both the players and the spectators have shown a distinct aptitude to relish longer volleys and subtler court craft. Krishnan excels in this type of play and that is why his future is brighter still, with the further popularity of the New Style (which is only the Old Style back again).

Krishnan has in his doting daddie Ramanathan, an able guide and a sincere helper. The former Madras champion has tennis in his blood all the 24 hours. He was set to make a hero of Krishnan and he has done so. Not many fathers have had that experience, T. K. Ramanathan groomed his son's game from its earliest stages, and even today Krishnan takes many a useful tip from his father. As some are greater teachers than practitioners, Ramanathan is a greater coach than a player, though even as a player he had reached State class. To this day Ramanathan practises every morning with his son, apart from the numerous other young players whom he is training. Ramanathan loves Krishnan much; but who can gainsay that he loves tennis even more!

This is not a daily newspaper and it would be both uninteresting and irrelevant to detail statistics of Krishnan's victories. Suffice to say that he has within the few years of his active tennis life, reached the highest places of the game. It is a question of time before he finds himself at least in the last four of the Wimbledon championships. He has brought off many a spectacular win, and vanquished top seeded stars. He may do it again and again.

It is the duty of Indian sporting circles to give this great player every encouragement, and particularly prevent his getting disheartened or dejected as he has got recently, owing to the last minute changes of his partner player from India. There must be sport in politics. But there should never be politics in sport.

SPORTS REVIEW

BY

S. D. CHOPDE

Principal, Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education

It is a pleasure to begin this sports' review on a happy note because of Ramanathan Krishnan's grand series of victories in annexing the London lawn tennis championship at Queen's Club—a tournament that is traditionally considered as the curtain-raiser for the more famous Wimbledon Championship. To my mind, nothing so exciting has ever happened to India in international sports before, and I would include even our hockey title here, as Krishnan's victories over the first two Wimbledon top-seeds in Alex Olmedo and Neale Fraser. Earlier Krishnan had defeated K. Nielson, the 7th seeded player. These convincing wins over the leading amateur players of this year have put Krishnan in the run for the world's most coveted tennis title; namely the Wimbledon Championship. With his irresistible form, the relaxed and confident manner in which he plays now, Krishnan would indeed be hard to beat. Here is wishing Krishnan all the best in his struggle to get at the summit.

Since Krishnan has touched peak form, one begins to cast eyes even on the Davis Cup, a monopoly of the Australians and the Americans for countless years. It is a pity that Naresh Kumar had to withdraw from the Wimbledon and return home to be near his ailing father; which has broken our doubles partnership and thus robbed them of tournament play and experience prior to the playing of the Davis Cup ties. Let us hope that Kumar will be able to make it, so that our chances of tilting for the Davis Cup are not marred.

With so many upsets in the Wimbledon seedings already taking place, one is forced to compare the standards of amateur players of today to that of say even four or five years ago,

when the last 8 in the men's championship had such notable names as Hoad, Trabert, Drobny, Seixas, Rosewall, Rose, Hartwig, and Patty. Half of them are now professionals while the remaining have faded away due to age. It is true to state that today the best tennis players are in the professional ranks, and that the amateur tennis may soon be eclipsed from the standpoint of spectator interest and therefore financial support. This raises an interesting problem for the administrators of the amateur tennis which has been plaguing them for some time, and that is whether or not to permit an 'open' tournament in which the professionals and amateurs could take part. It seems to me that the Wimbledon championship of this year, which is one of the most open one in recent years, may serve to hasten the day when such 'open tournaments' will be staged. I feel that like other games, tennis will stand to benefit with such tournaments.

Coming to Cricket, one is disappointed by the performance of our team now touring England. We have lost more games, including two tests than the number played so far, by large margins. However, what is more distressing is the tone and volume of criticism that has been lashed against us by the British press, for the team's indifference in fielding and the painfully slow rate of our scoring. Having sent the youngest team ever to tour a foreign country, one would have expected the players to acquit themselves creditably in fielding. But apparently, they seem to be unwilling to chase the ball, as so much of bother. One of the delights of watching cricket is the alertness and artistry of fielders. To me this defect can be remedied only by improving physical fitness

KERALA, THE 'COMMUNIST' STATE

BY S. C. JOSEPH, M.A., M.LITT. (OXON.)

Publishers : THE MADRAS PREMIER CO, 33 BROADWAY, MADRAS 1

The Mail reports :

(Price Rs 3)

'This book analyses the Kerala situation in social, economic and political spheres. The author, who has no affiliations with any political party, takes an objective view in the treatment of his subject. Though written during the last three months of 1958, basic conditions in Kerala have not materially altered since then to make the analysis less valid now. He attributes rightly the failure of the Congress in Kerala to that party's leadership. He says that Congress Ministries were set up and thrown out for the satisfaction of a moment's fancy, personal ambition, communal bias, on partisan domination. He holds the view that the Congress Party in Kerala is not united in itself, and its leadership as an alternative to the Communist Party leadership is neither inspiring nor encouraging. Observers of current events in Kerala are apt to point out that this situation is fast changing. The author, however, feels that the Avadi resolution of the Socialistic goal is capable of exciting mass enthusiasm, and if only the party is prepared to implement this, he asserts, it can come back to power in Kerala. What requires to be made clear about Kerala, as the author himself has observed, is that it has not yet become a Communist State but the Communist-led Ministry is anxious to create a Communist State at the earliest. If any proof is required for this the present agitation, which Mr Nehru and other leaders term as mass upsurge, is more than enough. The author believes that a scientific attitude of a rational approach, tempered by spiritual values, should guide us in the pursuit of our aims in a political society. The book is topical, and is well worth a study in the context of the present situation in Kerala.'

OUR SEPTEMBER ISSUE

- DR G. D. BOAZ continues
his series on — PROBING THE MIND
THIRD INSTALMENT
- POTHAN JOSEPH — PRESIDENT AND PREMIER
- C. H. V. PATHY — MEN AND MATTERS
- KASHYAPA'S Personality Sketch— C. SUBRAMANIAM
- Prof. K. VASUDEVAN — APPROACH TO THE
THIRD PLAN
- SPORTS ARTICLE — INDIAN TOUR OF
ENGLAND
- V. K. NARASIMHAN concludes his article,
STATE MONOPOLIES AND THE CITIZEN

FROM OUR SEPTEMBER ISSUE ONWARDS 'BROADWAY TIMES'
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through proper training, something like the South Africans or Australians do. It is unimaginable to think of a fit and young person to take things easily on the field. Our players need to apply themselves more to their fitness, which in turn will go a long way in improving their concentration and therefore skill and the will to win. It seemed that the long overdue test victory over England at Lords, the home of Cricket, could have been achieved with such qualities. Fact is, we have been satisfied too long with just getting the meagre praise of having done well, but not good enough. This complacency must go, if we wish to participate in international cricket, or for that matter in any other game. The other glaring weakness of our cricketers has been the inability of our better known stroke players to push the score along. One of the striking features of county cricket championship matches in England this season has been the rapid rate of scoring—this has been proven even by the Counties that have played against our team on this tour. The poor attendance at the matches is also due to unenterprising batting of our players. The defeat of India in the tests within 3 days time may seem to be pathetic, but the cricket that was witnessed at Lords was nevertheless entertaining. To liven up the game, perhaps Norman Yardley's suggestion to curtail all test matches to three or four days is commendable. A decision can be reached in the tests of shorter duration, if the approach to the game is right and proper. One word about DeMello's appeal to get Mankad and Ramchand in the side at this stage seems to be unwise. Whatever the politics or genuine reasons that prompted the non-inclusion of these two fine players, it is no use raking up these questions in and through the Press. This kite-flying will serve no other purpose except demoralising the team now in England. I think they will do better during the remainder of their tour, as the team seems to be gaining in confidence and will undoubtedly

ly profit by their recent experiences. All is not lost yet.

It is good to know that the Hockey Federation has sent a team to tour East Africa, under the captainship of Uddham Singh and with K. D. Babu, former India Captain, as the Coach. It is none too early to start our preparation for the defence of our world title. The accent in our training should be on the development of superb physical fitness and more opportunity for tournament play. Planning a good programme on these lines even in the country would pay big dividends in this only game we excel in.

The Rome Olympics are only 14 months away. Judging by the nature of training required for success in modern Olympics, the time available from now until the opening of the Games is inadequate for teams and competitors who would like to distinguish themselves. The leading countries in Europe and America have been going through their carefully planned programmes of national and international competitions. In athletics the U.S. athletes are creating new marks even in events in which they were not so formidable before. What is more significant is the gate crashing by youngsters like John Thomas in high jump, Long in shot put, and sprinters like Norton; who are dethroning some of their more famous compatriots like Dumas, O'Brien, Bob Morrow and others. The return visit to the U.S. by the athletes of Soviet Russia will mark another milestone in the battle for supremacy between these two giants.

The third Pan American Games to be held in Chicago in August will be another sports pageant, which will compare with a miniature Olympic Games. All such meets serve to provide incentive to competitors and help them to better their performances. We in Asia will have to organize more of such competitions between neighbouring countries to produce world standards in sports.

The I.O.C. has awarded the 1964 Olympic Games to Tokyo; the first Asian country, literally the city, to be so honoured. No better choice could have been made for the holding of the Games from amongst the Asian countries, for the Japanese have proved through their conduct of the 3rd Asian Games that they are capable of shouldering this heavy responsibility. The enthusiastic manner in which they celebrated the announcement of this news all over Japan surely indicates the manner in which they will receive the sportsmen of the world in 1964.

The I.O.C.'s meeting held in Munich voted to disaffiliate K.M.T. China as a member on the grounds that representation from two Chinas cannot be granted. However, they have permitted K.M.T. China to affiliate under a different name such as Formosa for example. A storm seems to be brewing over this matter. The State Department of the U.S. has already attacked the I.O.C.'s decision as motivated by political reasons. The A.A.U. has also censured the I.O.C. Unless there is a solution to this problem, one extreme outcome could be the withdrawal of the U.S. teams from Olympic Games. Personally, I believe the I.O.C.'s decision to be just.

The world basketball championship saw Soviet Russia forfeiting all her points in spite of the fact that their team won all the matches in their pool because they refused to play their tie against K.M.T. China. Such incidents in international competitions defeat the purpose of sports and its role in uniting sportsmen.

The policy of South Africa in pursuing racial segregation in selecting national teams and refusing to permit mixed teams to tour their country, is a matter on which it is to be seen how South Africa will attempt to satisfy the I.O.C. Perhaps the time is not far off, when the more enlightened nations would be justified in segregating the nations that follow racial segregation. Sports is one of

the few activities that can help to cut across differences and barriers between peoples.

The world table tennis championships proved once again the supremacy of the Japanese in both the men's and women's team events. The world's singles title was however won by a player from the Republic of China. However, the long awaited axe has fallen on the sponge bat. The performance of the Japanese players and others who use the sponge bat will now be watched with interest. Perhaps they will be just as good as before.

In concluding this sports review, I would like to say a word or two about the proposed national coaching centre to be started by the All India Council of Sports. It is envisaged that the training of coaches would be for a period of two to three years and that the coaches who will be in charge of training would be imported from foreign countries. A big capital outlay in starting such a centre is also budgeted for. It is hoped that outstanding players will opt to undergo training and then serve as coaches. There is no doubt that India needs large number of expert coaches. But it is doubtful whether the proposed scheme will really be effective unless its training programme is more broad-based. A basic foundation of education and physical education is absolutely necessary before trying to build the superstructure of specialist coaches. At least that is the practice in the U.K., the Continent and the U.S. I don't suppose we can afford to experiment with our meagre resources, completely discarding the experiences of other countries in this regard. Besides, such a coaching centre or centres could be started at some of the existing training colleges, provided they have separate facilities. This will result in saving some money in the initial stages at least. As and when the success of the scheme is ensured, and the trained coaches find suitable employments, then perhaps it may be justifiable to start such a coaching centre. There is no doubt that better trained coaches will help to improve our sports standards and thus help to enrich our cultural heritage.

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(MONTHLY)



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Editorial

THIS MAGAZINE IS MAINLY
DEVOTED TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

The plantation industry of India employs nearly a million workers. It feeds a greater number of mouths than any one single Indian industry, jute, textiles, or mining. The share of export earnings of the plantation industry comes to nearly one-third of our total income from foreign sources. Besides, it contributes large sums towards the public revenues. Thus from the employment angle, from its contributions to both public revenues and export earnings, the plantation industry plays a vital role in our national economy.

Our plantation industry is comprised mainly of tea, coffee, and rubber. Let us take the case of tea. The major difficulties in the expansion of Indian teas are the high cost of production due to the implementation of the Plantation Labour Act, increased wages, high export duty, and heavy burden of taxation by the Central and State Governments. Greater competition from Africa and China is increasingly being affected by our tea trade.

Secondly, in the field of Coffee cultivation we have recently reached unprecedented targets of production. The larger the exportable surplus, the greater the loss the Indian producer will have to bear or the higher the price the Indian consumer will have to pay to protect the grower from that loss. If the Indian Consumer has to pay a higher price, the resistance to consumption might only tend to produce greater surplus resulting in bigger losses on exports. The traders and producers of Coffee should promote 'aggressive' salesmanship in addition to the Coffee Board's sales drive at home and abroad.

Thirdly, we have problems in the field of rubber plantations too. But these are quite different from those of the Coffee plantations. The Rubber manufacturing industry of India demands over 30,000 tons of rubber more than the actual supply by the rubber planters. With the result the Government has to spend about Rs. 10 Crores in foreign exchange to cover the shortage by imports. The Rubber Board is considering proposals for increased production and has submitted several of their suggestions to the Government. The Rubber planters should start on a greater expansion scheme to cover the present shortage.

It is now fairly well understood that if we are to industrialise and develop our economy we shall have to buy the goods and services required for it by paying for it with our exports. In this sphere, our plantation industry has an important role since it earns a considerable portion of our much needed foreign exchange. Hence all possible efforts must be done in encouraging this industry as a necessary adjunct of our much talked about export drive.

In this year's presidential address of the United Planters' Association of South India, it is strongly urged that there should be tax relief sufficient to strengthen the resources of the plantation industry to face the challenge in India's export markets, and the future under the pressure of a developing economy. Both in tea and rubber there are ample avenues to be developed and greater emphasis must be given to propaganda work especially in foreign markets. Coffee plantations face the difficult problem of over production. The Coffee Board should revise their policy of marketing by effecting greater cooperation between producers and consumers so that the burden is not too much on any one section alone.

The plantations have the promise from the Finance Minister of India that it was the policy of the Government not to impose 'harassing taxation' without taking into consideration the capacity of the plantation industry to pay. Mr Moraji Desai in his inaugural address to the UPASI said that there had always been a tug-of-war between the tax payers and the tax gatherers. The former felt that they were being overtaxed while the latter had the feeling that they were not receiving sufficiently. In the case of the plantation industry, an important foreign exchange earner, it will be wiser for the tax gatherers to lose in the 'fight' a little in the short run so that over a period they can be greater beneficiaries on the healthy expansion and prosperity of our plantation industry at home and abroad.

PRESIDENT AND PREMIER

BY

POTHAN JOSEPH

In recent controversy, the Prime Minister has been sensitive about certain subjects being "dragged into" discussion. He objects to the interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's mind in relation to the Nagpur resolution when he is there himself to testify without people like C.R. butting in with their views. The main lesson of Gandhian politics according to Jawaharlal is to match pure methods with immaculate aims, although in the Kerala agitation the aim was sordid in terms of power-politics and the means adopted a rather sorry parody of Gandhism. However much a politician might talk of exalted idealism, he cannot quite escape squalid methodology, and the less we speak of moral superiority the more convincing we may have a chance of proving India's high spirituality. Another theme which the Prime Minister does not want to be dragged into public debates is the status of the President of India in political manoeuvres and the formulation of radical policy even if they tend to bear down the provisos of the Constitution.

It will be remembered that in the elaboration of the radical changes like village-aggregation in farming, land-ceiling, and State-trading, President Rajendra Prasad had sent a seventeen-page distress-signal to the impetuous reformer—a news-leak not denied by Mr. Nehru. The Prime Minister did not like it. In the second place when the Kerala crisis rose to a climax and the President of the Congress, Indira Gandhi supported by U. N. Dhebar, called on Dr. Rajendra Prasad and demanded Central intervention, her father the Prime Minister more than hinted that the President of India occupied a decorative position, bound in detail by the advice of the party and the Ministry in

power. Here also when the theory of a puppet-President was propounded, there were criticisms which Mr. Nehru resented. In Indonesia Dr. Sukarno is defined as the President-Prime Minister exercising dictatorial powers, but in our democracy the two officers are separate, and it is claimed that the President is not an absolute figure-head but has a role defined by the Founding Fathers of the Indian Constitution which the Prime Minister cannot circumvent by any *ipse dixit* from Flag Staff House. On whose advice should the President make up his mind about President's rule in any of the fourteen States of India?

The problem was set before Sir Jamsetji Kanga, and Mr. M. P. Amin, eminent counsels of Bombay, both having formerly functioned as Advocate-Generals. Mr. K. M. Munshi had stated the case of Kerala to the President before the two jurists. They gave it out that under Article 356 of the Constitution, the President could intervene at his own discretion provided he is "subjectively satisfied" that emergency in Kerala justified the course. Now, if we recall the sequences, President Rajendra Prasad did not act until a direct report from Governor Ramakrishna Rao had been received by him. It is well known there is fortnightly correspondence between the President and the State Governors evaluating local situation just as there is a weekly exchange of communications between the Prime Minister of India and the State-Premiers at their level. When at last the President received the Governor's evaluation of affairs, he put his foot down, and the Communist Ministry was dismissed, a decision which no doubt tallied with the majority-opinion within the Central Cabinet.

meanwhile Dr. Rajendra Prasad had been overwhelmed with advice, one piece being from Congress President Indira Gandhi to the effect that the Constitution might as well be amended to suit the solution proffered by the High Command. The President is said to have been staggered largely because of his self-esteem as the President of India with an identity of his own, not to mention the existence of his own soul.

On August 6 when the Prime Minister held his press-conference, he was avoiding the question of a ministerial mandate to the President; indeed, on the other hand, he explained the procedure meticulously in these words:

"Having considered the report of the Governor of Kerala, the President came to the decision that he should issue the Proclamation."

It is not as if the President could be content with a cipher-status when a Constitution expects more of him at a crisis as long as the Constitution remains unabrogated as in Indo-

nesia or Pakistan. A Republic is no dumb-show.

We must certainly respect the convention that the President's name should not be bandied but when there are fundamental disputes discussion by the Press about which Mr. Nehru spoke with scorn becomes inescapable. On the whole, the Press recognises that certain functionaries of the States should be kept out of controversy; for example the Speaker, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, the members of the Public Services Commission and the Auditor-General. I would like to know at least a couple of instances where editorial writers offended in this respect—journalists rather superciliously described by the Prime Minister as a class possibly induced by "financial backing". It is for him to say whether he has not for his part gone occasionally off the rails to speak in derogation of his critics, not excluding those who belong to the categories of immunity which I have mentioned, let alone editorial writers. The more things change, the more they repeat themselves.

APPROACH TO THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

BY

PROF. K. VASUDEVAN

'On with the Plan', has become the slogan of the ruling party and today there are very few indeed who will oppose the need for a Plan. On the other hand all political parties have on their party programmes some type of plan or other and today the Plan in action has provided some ammunition for the opposition parties to criticise the objectives and the achievements of the Plan. This atmosphere has made every one Plan conscious and at present there is a good deal of discussion on the objectives and the shape of the Plan to come.

The First Plan and the Second Plan which is running its course, have certainly created some 'kinks' in our economy. These have appeared in the form of many problems associated with the Plan. It is therefore better we discuss the Third Five Year Plan in terms of certain problems. These can be classified as follows: (1) Problem of the objectives of the Plan, (2) Problem of the size of the Plan, (3) Problem of resources for the Plan, (4) Problem of organising the Plan.

Many will be wondering whether there is any problem at all relating to the objectives of the Plan, now that the Plan will be, in another two years' entering the third lap of the journey. But the truth is the objectives of the Plan must be made plain to the public at large so that they can appreciate the part they have to play. At present the planners have unnecessarily raised a haze in discussing the objectives of the Plan in terms of 'Socialist Pattern of Society'. This has led to sterile controversy both on the part of those who accept Socialism for India and those who oppose this approach

more from the political angle, when they point out that Socialism will ultimately land us in a totalitarian regime. Generally, people who discuss the need for socialistic approach, have done so, purely from the angle of pious hopes. For example Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao after pointing out that there is no authoritative interpretation or connotation of the expression 'Socialist Pattern of Society' 'remarks' 'it is because there is no other way of dealing with India's economic problem, i.e., of accelerating the rate of economic growth and removing the poverty of her masses that there is such universal acceptance in India of a socialist society. Any significant rise in the rate of saving and investment in India...requires an appreciable contribution from the masses of the people either by way of taxes or of loans.' Dr. Rao's approach is question begging. The iteration of the need for Socialism periodically has made some people think that solution for all ills of the Indian economy is at hand and if we only possess the necessary grit to put through a socialist programme we can achieve the best possible world. It is better that we know what some of the present writers on Socialism think about it. For example, Mr. C. A. R. Crosland in his book on the *Future of Socialism* writes as follows: 'A collectivist economy with no private owners is no less characterized by the alienation of control than a capitalist economy...the once popular equation of State-ownership and classless society rested either on a tautological proof or on the assumption that when the State expropriated the industry, no one class would control the State'. It is good, if we remind ourselves that by merely adhering to certain labels like Socialism we

cannot quicken the pace of economic progress. By frequently repeating that Socialism is our goal and our Planning must adhere to the Socialist pattern, we may or may not achieve desirable results, but we can be sure of creating a bureaucracy which will surely take the place of erstwhile 'exploiters'. If we subscribe to the above view what matters in the context of planning is not its ideological background, but certain clear objectives which are capable of being demonstrated. A working objective may be to achieve steady economic growth without inflation, whose details can be filled in as we proceed. Economic progress depends on the part of the people's willingness to undergo some sacrifice now so that they will have a great future and its pace depends on our own internal strength.

Coming to the problem of the size of the Third Plan somehow or other the estimated figure of Rs. 10,000 crores is frequently mentioned. We have to note that many people who feel that this figure is sacrosanct, end up by saying that the estimate is conjectural. One can therefore agree with the view expressed by Dr. B. K. Madan who in the course of his talk on the Third Plan observed as follows : 'As regards the size of the Plan this should perhaps be a matter to be decided at a relatively late stage of the formulation of the Plan, when the content of the Plan in its several sectors has been considered bearing on effectiveness of investment and therefore in turn on the size of the Plan. And so the size should really emerge as a result of some scrutiny of detailed plans sector-wise and state-wise.' One thing which emerges from the experience during the Second Plan period is that pruning of the Plan should be done before it is put through and not as we proceed encountering one crisis after another. Further any estimate now made, may be outmoded thanks to the inflationary pressure to which the Indian economy is exposed. Though the monetary supply may be strictly controlled the present inflation

which is a phenomenon relating to the behaviour of the social groups, is always round the corner. Hence any estimate in monetary terms of the size of the Plan now will prove a 'guestimate'.

Now we come to the most crucial problem, i.e., the problem of the resources. We can divide the resources for the Plan broadly into foreign resources and resources that can be mobilised internally. It has become more or less axiomatic to say that to achieve a fast rate of economic growth in the case of underdeveloped countries like India, foreign aid is absolutely essential. The problem is how to get at the foreign aid. There are many obstacles in the way. In the case of a country like India, it has been said that countries which contemplate giving some help to her have been scared away by the policy of the Indian Government which stress on the enlargement of the public sector and nationalisation. It is therefore urged that it is up to the Indian Government to create a 'climate' favourable to the flow of foreign aid into the country. Whether foreign aid will come to India, if the government gives some assurance to satisfy the parties it will be difficult to say. One view which is voiced by Prof. Paul A. Baran is as follows : 'Matters are still worse when it comes to economic development in underdeveloped countries. There a maze of pretense, hypocrisy, and makebelieve confuse the discussion, and a major effort is required to penetrate the smoke screen obscuring the main issue. What is decisive is that economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced capitalist countries. Supplying many important raw materials to the industrialized countries, providing their corporations with vast profits and investment outlets the backward world has always represented the indispensable hinterland of the highly developed capitalist West.' The writer of these lines is an American professor of economics and perhaps some may hold that this statement is unduly harsh. The

same view is put forth in a different way which holds that some help is flowing from advanced countries to the underdeveloped countries, but the investment has been selective for a major share is invested in extractive industries like mines and petroleum and it is also reluctant to make its appearance. Mr. Tibor Mende, the French Journalist and an expert on Asian affairs in an address delivered under the auspices of the International House of Japan, in Japan on February 1959 observed as follows : 'This Five Year Plan alone would cost India about fourteen billion dollars investment. According to the latest statistics all private American investments in the world at the moment amount to something like thirty-seven billion dollars all over the globe. But of this thirty-seven billion dollars two-thirds are invested on the American continent, that means Canada and Latin America. But if you look up the figures in any statistical publication, even that one-third, which is about only 12 billion dollars is invested to the extent of four-fifths in what is called extractive industries, which in less elegant language means mines and petroleum. In other words once you eliminate all this, there remains one-fifth of one-third, roughly two billion American dollars which are invested at the moment all over the globe in various enterprises which are not necessarily industries because very often they are plantations ; anyway only a small fraction of it, is in what corresponds if I may say so to this emotional desire of industrialization in Asian countries.'

Sometimes our urge to industrialise the country as a quick method to raise ourselves from poverty is discouraged by pointing out the spectre of perpetual food deficit. In a review article on the Ford Team Report on the Food 'Crisis' which appeared in the *Economic Weekly*, Special Number July 1959 Mr. Daniel Thorner wrote as follows : 'The team are particularly emphatic that investment in agriculture is on many scores a better economic proposition than investment in

industry. Heavy industry they state is innately, requires vast capital, takes a long time in the building and gives smaller returns. In effect the Ford Team have called upon India to renounce the industrial emphasis of the Second Plan and to restore to agriculture forthwith... the function of the Ford Team's statistically contrived food crisis is to shatter public confidence.' The above few lines will enable us to conclude that though foreign aid is an important factor in the economic development of a country like India it is not forthcoming in proper measure and even if it comes trickling they find shelter in extractive industries and thus serves no purpose in industrialising the country in the right sense of the term. To sum up we can quote Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao who observes as follows : 'Taking all these factors into consideration it must be firmly recognised that even if foreign loans and credits are available on top, there is a definite economic and political limit beyond which they cannot and should not be used and that therefore foreign aid offers no escape from the hard problem that mobilisation of domestic resources on the scale required presents to those in charge of the Third Plan.'

It is urged since foreign aid is fighting shy of the Indian Government, we can meet with better success, if we only allow Indian entrepreneurs to invite foreign capitalists to co-operate with them. To a certain extent this is true because the foreign investors will understand the language of Indian businessmen whose objective will be to make the venture a success and pay the foreigner a good return. But the problem is not a simple one. The State in India should have to give some sort of assurance about the safety of the foreign investment. Periodically the repatriation of profits earned on foreign investment will create the 'transfer problem'. It is also possible that misunderstanding between the private foreign investor and the Indian businessman, may create tension between India and

the country of the foreign investor. So even in the case of private foreign aid, we are faced with quite a number of problems which should not be ignored.

We are now left with the internal resources which can be mobilised. It is customary to discuss the size of the resources in monetary terms though what counts in actual planning is the real resources which are available within the country. When we adopt the yardstick of money, such items as taxes, loans and savings, and profits from Government enterprises, are considered. With regard to taxes there is a feeling which is true that there are limits beyond which it is not possible to raise additional money by taxation. Direct taxes have reached their limit of 'squeezability'. There is the problem of evasion and people who are in the know of things and who are not given to exaggeration put it at 40%. How to coax this refugee capital to come out of its shell, is a problem which bears no easy solution. Perhaps an appeal on sentimental grounds to parties who are the owners of this money may bring about some good results. The quarrel need not centre round the size of evasion or whether it is due to the high pitched tax policy of the State. People who have played commendable patriotism during the days of freedom struggle, will respond to an appeal made by a Government which is embarked on a big plan. Since it is not possible to make much leeway with the direct taxes, attention has been focussed on our rural economy. It is said that as a result of development expenditure incurred under the two plans, during the last eight years, national income has gone up appreciably in the rural sector. Therefore it is argued that the increment in the agri-incomes should be utilised for the implementation of the Plan. A comparison of incidence of taxation is made between the urban sector and the rural sector in our economy. It is pointed out that per capita incidence of taxation is still five times higher in

the urban sector than in rural sector. Based on the above reasoning it has been suggested that there must be greater spread of indirect taxes. We can subscribe to this view, but at the same time we must take note of the fact that planning which aims at improved standard of living for rural people, should allow for increased consumption, if some incentive is to be preserved for the rural population to continue their efforts in achieving greater productivity in their sector. What is important today is a Plan which while throwing some more burden on the rural sector of the economy, pays some attention to the incentive aspect in the Plan. To argue since the rural area has improved its economy, it must contribute its share in financing the Plan should not ignore the fact that people living in that area should feel that they can enjoy the fruits of their labours. Attention has also been paid to the possibility of earning more profits from State enterprises. Whether State enterprises should be run on a no profit no loss basis or whether they should be run on strictly commercial lines is a moot question and in the context of the paucity of resources it is but legitimate that these undertakings should strive to make profit which will be canalised for the use of the Plan. But care should be taken that the State should not abuse its monopoly position.

Loans and savings are bound to play a very important role during the period of the Third Plan. A lot of progress has to be made with regard to small savings. It is true inflation has raised the cost of living and any increase in the income of especially middle income group is utilised to close the gap. But in spite of the inflationary position, if saving is promoted through institutional approach, the small savings will succeed. In passing we can note that in serious discussion on finding resources for the Plan, deficit financing as a method of helping the Plan, do not figure at all in the present day. It is all to the good of the Plan

that deficit financing is dropped from the list of the resources available though it used to occupy the last place in the list. Whether this method of financing has produced acute inflationary pressure in the past need not be discussed at all for deficit financing in India will always be inflationary and in the absence of foreign assets, will be disastrous.

Prof. Dantwala has drawn attention to what can be termed as 'organizational' approach to the Third Plan which deserves greater attention. He points out that the discussion on the Plan is usually conducted in terms of production targets, financial outlay and financial savings available for this purpose. While this approach is important from the point of view of the formulation of the Plan, it ignores certain other aspects which are important. For example the Plan quite naturally stresses the importance of capital formation and for this purpose the creation of additional assets. But this omits the problem of fuller and better utilisation of the existing resources. Prof. Dantwala points out that 'it is common knowledge that while new wells are being built up, the old ones fall into disuse: new schools are built, while the standards of teaching in the existing ones go on deteriorating'. Further the monetary approach has under-estimated the economy's resources-potential. The possibility of direct investment of labour for purpose of development has no doubt been considered, but it has been done from the point of view of surplus labour and its transfer to

more gainful employment rather than improving the productivity of labour, in its present occupation. Several instances have been pointed out as illustrations of the weakness of organizational effort at present. For example it is well known that there has not been full utilization of the irrigational potential already created. To sum up the Third Plan must pay more attention to better utilization of existing assets as is paid to building up of additional assets. A more efficient use of the existing resources may itself need additional assets, but a small amount, of new investment will improve the yield of the existing assets to a very great extent.

We have referred above only to economic factors which will influence the shaping of the Third Plan. But there is one crucial factor that of public cooperation. Public cooperation is not at present forthcoming to the desirable extent because all our energy is being spent in political sniping. There are too many political parties indulging in petty mud slinging completely forgetting that the Plan is a National Plan and it requires total effort. Perhaps the ruling party must accept its share of the blame for the present situation and it will be a red letter day when the leaders in power take the initiative in forming a national Government or call it an all party Government to successfully implement the Plan. The party in power should not treat the Plan as its own invention and expect a bouquet from the people of this country.

NEW WAYS IN TELUGU LITERATURE

BY

HON'BLE SRI JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

Though there is an unbroken continuity in the development of Telugu literature from about the 10th Century A.D., there was very little diversity of literary form till the last decades of the 19th Century. There was first the Puranic era, when poets of the first rank were engaged in writing Telugu versions of the Sanskrit Puranas including the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. None of them ever attempted a literal translation. Hence it is we find manifestations of creative talent in the Telugu version of the Mahabharata, for instance, particularly in the work of Thikkana. Then came the Prabhandha era, when great poets wrote romantic poems, though the themes were mostly taken from the Puranas, or from well-known legends. Apart from these full length poetical works, there are several Satakas. A Sataka, as the name denotes, is a collection of hundred verses. Almost invariably each verse had a Makuta, generally the favourite deity of the writer. The subject matter of these Satakas was either devotion or ethics. Occasionally we find examples of satire and even invective. There was very little of prose literature and that too very late in the day. Though every Telugu poet of the ancient and medieval times was a Sanskrit scholar, curiously none of them ever wrote a single play modelled on the great plays in Sanskrit. We find very little change in the metrical forms of Telugu works and the prose was very stereotyped, often artificial.

Undoubtedly contact with English literature was the real inspiration for modern Telugu literature. Late K. Veerasalingam Pantulu has been often described as the Father of Modern Telugu Literature. He was not only a profound Sanskrit and Telugu scholar; he was

also well-acquainted with English Literature. He was a pioneer in many ways. He wrote practically the first Telugu novel, short play, autobiography and essay. His works cover several bulky tomes. Though he wrote verse, his greatest contribution to modern Telugu Literature is his prose work. He wrote a simple, flexible and attractive style. He made translations from Sanskrit as well as English.

In this short paper there is no space to mention the names of other pioneers. In poetry and drama the two poets, who came to be known all over the Telugu country as Tirupathi Venkateswara Kavulu, may be mentioned. Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham was a prolific writer of novels and essays. Vedam Venkatārāya Sastri, a great scholar, was a versatile genius. He translated several Sanskrit plays and wrote one of the greatest plays in Telugu "Pratapa Rudriyam", which I consider to be one of the greatest plays of the world. This is a historical play. Equally great is the other play of contemporary life "Kanya Sulkam" whose author was Gurzada Appa Rao and whose influence is more potent even today than any of the other early masters. It was he who showed to the Telugu literary world the necessity to write a living natural prose and not a mechanical and artificial prose, which is to be found in the early classics. Appa Rao's play can also claim to rank among the greatest plays of the world. The characters which he created are familiar figures everywhere Telugu is spoken. He also made experiments in Telugu metre, which were a departure from the old classical metres.

Rayaprolu Subba Rao is another great name in modern Telugu Literature. He wrote

exquisite lyrics and romances in verse, which were related to contemporary life. Even today he is producing masterpieces. As a lyricist D. V. Krishna Sastri has a permanent place in modern Telugu Literature. A poet of great promise, but prematurely taken away from this world, was Duvvuri Rami Reddi. No one has written such beautiful pastoral poetry. His literary criticism is also of a very high order. Basavaraju Appa Rao was another poet whose life was cut away in the prime, but who has left lyrics of haunting simplicity. Nanduri Subba Rao, who was with us till recently, created the famous characters Yenki and her husband Nayudu bava and has left songs which to this day are universal favourites.

The literary group known as Sahiti Samiti comprised poets of a high order, like its President Sivasankara Sastri, Nayani Subba Rao and others. Viswanatha Satyanarayana is unique in several respects. He has handled every kind of literary form with amazing success—verse, drama, novel, essay. His novels are amongst the finest in Telugu. The other novelist of his age is the late Adavi Bapi Raju. A prominent member of the Sahiti Samiti, Nori Narasimha Sastri has written, apart from poems and plays, a trilogy of novels covering the period from the poet Nannayya to the poet Errapragada.

The names which I have so far mentioned, are more or less in the classical line. The harbinger of revolution in Telugu poetry is Srirangam Srinivasa Rao, familiarly known as "Sri Sri". There can be no two opinions that he is a poetical genius, but he had to encounter violent criticism like every revolutionary, not only in literature, but in all branches of human activity. "Sri Sri" was not only largely influenced by the latest literary forms in English and other western languages, he was also deeply moved by Marxist doctrines. He belonged to the group, who came to be known as "progressive writers". There are several

among his followers who have gone farther than he ever expected to go, particularly in experiments in language and metrical forms. Some of them are ardent admirers of Surrealism. But alongside the work of this "extremist" group there is also being produced a volume of Telugu poetry in a more traditional style. The names of the two Telengana poets Dasarathi and Narayana Reddi deserve particular mention.

Historical and pseudo-romantic novels of the earlier period have given way to novels of contemporary life with stress on a realistic approach. One of the best of such novels is "Chivariki Migiledi" of Buchi Babu. Short stories are being written and published by hundreds, if not thousands. All of them are not of equal merit, but sometimes we find masterpieces like, for instance, the short story "Cyclone" of Padma Raju, which obtained a prize in an International Short Story Contest.

There has always been intense dramatic activity in the Telugu country, but it cannot be said that there are many plays of a high literary value. Recently there has been a tendency to write powerful plays with a distinct propaganda flavour dealing with contemporary social, economic and political problems. Some of them have been highly successful. One-Act Plays too are becoming increasingly popular. Narla's name must be mentioned in this connection.

There is still a paucity in the category of essay. Either we have heavy theses or humorous sketches. But there are very few light essays as in English.

The unrest which we meet with in every sphere of national life is also reflected in recent Telugu Literature, but that is inevitable. What is of real significance is that Modern Telugu Writers have made a distinct and valuable contribution to the Literature of Modern India.

Parliament has endorsed the action taken by the Central Government.

Permutations and combinations and electoral alliances are being formed now to fight the elections. An All-party offensive against the Communists is in the offing. If such a pact can stand the testing time of Ministry-making, Kerala will have a stable coalition Ministry, and the present alarms and excursions would subside. The eyes of India and the world are once again turned on Kerala.

Twelve Years of Freedom

Anniversaries are usually occasions for stock taking. Twelve years have passed since India attained her freedom. While we have cause to congratulate ourselves that both in the sphere of internal and external politics, we have a creditable record to look back upon there is at the moment, cause for anxiety because of what amounts to Chinese aggression into our Himalayan Wall. Internally too, in spite of the harvest of the first Five-Year Plan, we are faced with food shortage and mounting inflation. The majority of the Indian population is still illiterate and poverty-stricken. They live in a Hindu tradition which is archaic.

There are also danger signals on the horizon. Those who believe that the wave of the future must carry Communism irresistibly all over Asia see in our country, conditions which may make Communist revolution fairly easy to bring about. For, behind the facade of the constitutional institutions, the intelligentsia can work upon the poverty and despair of the masses: Kerala is an instance.

The principal threat to our edifice of freedom lies in our own country's past—the past of arbitrary Government and convulsive violence which once was the characteristic of the politics of our country, and which may reassert itself. The testing time when the sense of purpose falters, and when leadership no longer speaks the mind of most of the country.

We are lucky in having as the pilot at the helm, a statesman of international repute Prime Minister Nehru, but today, his policy is being vigorously challenged and uncharitably assailed by the spokesman of the Swatantra Party.

Republican Day had its customary ritual. Nehru addressed as usual from the Red Fort. President Prasad took the salute from Hyderabad and in every capital, there was the ceremony of Governors taking the salute.

Ike-Khrushchev Meeting

When the ineffable pair of Russian top politics Bulganin and Khrushchev visited this country in 1956, they created a verle sensation. They chummed up with Nehru, saw the Taj, sampled our food, visited our fields and factories and even paid Rs. 100 for a haircut to a barber in Ootacamund. It was the same story in Great Britain.

Bulganin is now in eclipse but his counterpart is on the top of the international world. He is a garrulous father figure upon whose every word a headline is made. Though Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister who recently visited Russia tried to cut Khrushchev into size, the Oracle of the Steppe does not show any diminution in stature. He is possibly the only politician in the world who knows how to exploit the fantastic apparatus of Public Relations offered by the Western Powers today. He is a great monologist, none greater. But even an incessant talker needs a foil. The foil has to be presented to the audience and explained.

News of Ike-Khrushchev meeting in the United States in the Ides of September stirred Moscow and the world at large as nothing else had done since the Sputnik was launched. Moscow sees in the big event the most important political development since the farewell to arms after the second world war.

In the recent Nixon-Khrushchev meet at Moscow, we had an exhibition of hug-thug-

hug technique perfected by the Dictator of Russia. We also witnessed the birth of what may we called "kitchen diplomacy."

The curtain raiser for the forthcoming important parleys at Washington has already taken place in the visit paid by Eisenhower to Europe where today he is grappling with the complicated issue of the future of Germany on which depends the peace of Europe.

Another Royal Romance

At a time when the wedding of Crown Prince Akhihito of Japan to Michiko Shoda is very much in the public mind in that country, another young lady of great charm is quietly giving some thought to marriage. She is Princess Suga, youngest daughter of the Emperor. Just turned 20 in March last, the pretty Princess sported a sleek hairdo and tiny ear-rings when a picture of her was taken for publication recently, and she sat by the side of a record player for a spell of relaxation in her favourite hobby—music.

At a Press Conference before coming of age, she skilfully parried a barrage of questions by pressmen about her matrimonial aspirations. She also indicated, in the spirit of the new era in Japan that she would pick her own husband.

Princess Suga has won public affection because of her gentle character and her good taste, especially in clothes. Like her brother, the Crown Prince, she is fond of tennis. It was in a tennis court that she first met Miss Michiko Shoda, her future sister-in-law.

Ike's Peace Quest

The twentieth anniversary of the start of the second World War finds Eisenhower in Europe. It is a historic mission that he has undertaken and what is more, this is the first time that an United States' President has visited Great Britain, the last one to do so being Woodrow Wilson's journey through London was strewn with roses. The waving and cheering that greeted Ike both

at Bonn and in London must no doubt give him satisfaction but his real task is to find out a solution for the German problem.

He will be seeing not only West Europe's Big Three but Premier Segni of Italy and Nato's Secretary General, Paul Henry and perhaps Spain's Castiella. He has already had talks with Harold Macmillan of Great Britain. Will Ike be able to convince tough Khrushchev that the West will not abandon Berlin even at the risk of war? Adenauer feels that this is the only possible ground for progress at the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting.

Police Centenary

August 30 marked the centenary of the enactment of the Madras Police Act. It evolves many memories. Our State's Police force has been and is one of the most efficient and loyal in the whole of India. That is why the crime graph shows a low figure. The work of our Police in the detection and prevention of crime has won encomiums from many quarters. Not only the rank and file but the officers holding key positions in the department have acquitted themselves with credit. For many years, English officers held the key positions in the State's Police set-up, but after the attainment of freedom, these posts have been Indianised and we had men of merit such as Mr. Parthasarathi and Mr. Arul as Commissioners of Police. Our present Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Shetty is one of the youngest officers in India to have risen to the present height, and the way he keeps peace and order of the city and looks after V.I.Ps. who visit the State deserve special mention. Everyone who feels that security is the most essential thing in an ordered society would salute the Police force on the centenary occasion.

The police centenary was celebrated in the city and the State with pomp and pageantry and a number of functions were held all over Madras, which drew enormous crowds.

MEN AND MATTERS

BY

C. H. V. PATHY

Death has reaped a heavy harvest in the month under review. The Governor of an Indian State, a sculptor of international renown and a great industrialist and philanthropist of Kerala were among its victims.

Free India sustained many losses of Governors. Girja Shankar Bajpai, that one time Admirable Crichton of the Indian Civil Service died in harness as Governor of Bombay, then came the turn of that bard of Indian Nationalism, Srimati Sarojini Naidu, thereafter we had to lose Dr. Mukherjee, Governor of Bengal and in our own State we parted with saintly A. J. John. Now comes news from distant Assam about the end of Saiyid Fazl Ali. He shared with the late Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Asaf Ali, the distinction of being a nationalist Muslim. He was an eminent jurist who proved himself to be a skilful administrator.

Law was not a mere profession but a tradition in his family. His father and grandfather were both lawyers. At the end of a distinguished career as a lawyer and as a judge, Fazl Ali was called upon to preside over the States Reorganization Commission whose labours led to the establishment of the present States in the country.

The Government of India selected him when it needed a man of outstanding ability to grapple with the problem of Nagas. It was he who pressed the Government for a political approach to the Naga problem instead of treating it merely as a question of law and order.

He was in indifferent health for a few weeks before his passing. A warning came in the early hours of July 3 when he had a severe heart attack. Subsequent recovery encouraged

cautious optimism that though 73, he might pull through. But the end came all of a sudden.

In every heart that feels even a glimmering of the spark of patriotism, his death will evoke sad feelings. He will be missed in the many spheres where his activities lay over a long period. Assam's grief will be shared by Bihar where he had been Chief Justice and Uttar Pradesh where he was born. Orissa too will come into the picture as he acted as its Governor for a spell. It was his intense love of India that survived partition and other tests.

Master Sculptor

Epstein was born in New York in 1880. He has Russian-Polish parents and was a Jew. That is why he was most sympathetic in dealing with compatriots. He managed to give a Semitic character to Gentile subjects, and a good deal of what aroused hostility in his creations was due to his racial preference in physical types.

In 1902, he migrated to Paris, where he worked for a short time at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, but found more to his profit in the sculpture collections of the Louvre and other museums. From Paris he went to London and his first important commission was for eighteen figures on the new building of the British Medical Association at the corner of Agar Street and the Strand. His figures carved directly in the building blocks aroused a storm of abuse, on the score of their alleged ugliness and indecency, but were stoutly defended by competent judges of many professions as the first serious attempt in Britain since the Gothic period at a true relationship between sculpture and architecture.

His next commission in 1909 was the monument to Oscar Wilde in the cemetery of Pere Lachaise, Paris. It is an impressive sphinx-like figure on Assyrian lines, carved directly out of a block of marble but overcharged with symbolism of a literary kind. His memorial to W. H. Hudson for the bird sanctuary in Hyde Park evoked another storm of controversy.

Epstein has carved his name in the niche of fame, his bronzes being outstanding. His head of our Prime Minister is acknowledged as a masterpiece.

He collapsed the other day in his London bedroom, being 79 at the time of his death.

Great Philanthropist

A shining luminary in the Syrian Christian community of Travancore has also shuffled off his mortal coil. He is none other than the illustrious business magnate, Mr. A. V. George of Kottayam. He was an important landmark in both its social and political landscape. From banking to plantation, from civic affairs to social welfare, there was no sphere of activity in which he was not interested. He piled up a huge fortune but was a prince of philanthropists. Among thousands who enjoyed his great hospitality were the Prime Minister and his talented daughter, Srimati Indira Gandhi.

The present writer had the privilege of enjoying his sweet hospitality when a bunch of All-India Editors paid a fleeting visit to Kottayam in May this year.

"You are sitting in the same chair where a few hours before Indira Gandhi sat," he told me smilingly. His table was groaning beneath the weight of delicacies. Himself being a newspaper proprietor, he knew the value of Oscar Wilde's dictum that in order to be popular, one must feed people, shock them or amuse them.

Dressed in immaculate style, he was a picture of health when we were there and none of us even dreamt that we were seeing this great man and gentleman for the last time. As Chairman of the Kottayam Municipality, he enjoyed a deserved reputation.

He had no touch of communalism. Had Fate not snatched him so prematurely, he would have played a great part in the politics of India's problem State.

Kerala Crisis is over

After a crisis-laden spell of twenty-eight months, the Communist dominated Kerala Ministry has been jettisoned, and that land of charms and palms is once again under Presidential rule. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the action taken by the Central Government, the recent mass upsurge in that problem State was an eloquent indication of the fact that the Ministry did not command the support of a large section of the public.

Mr. E. M. S. Nambudiripad, who was more sinned against than sinning, and his Pretorian cohorts are renting the welkin with the cry that democracy has been "stabbed" and provincial autonomy short-circuited. Most of these postmortem speeches are vote-catching devices for the mid-term elections which may come off at the beginning of the next year. The Communists got only 35 per cent of the votes in the last general elections but since they formed the largest single party in the Assembly, their leader was called upon to form the Ministry. By and large, the E.M.S. Ministry was the only one which enjoyed such a lengthy spell of power. Had only the Chief Minister been more cautious and had not made a firm stand in the controversial Education Bill, he could have continued in office. The Prime Minister advised him to go before the electorate once again, but that advice was not heeded. Hence, the only course left open for the centre was to take over the State, as otherwise, a civil war would have broken out.

State Industries Exhibition

Four major cities in India were selected as venues for the exhibition of United States' small industries. Madras comes third in the list. The sprawling expanse of the Island Ground has been rightly selected as the site for the exhibition. It commenced on September 1st.

American industrial and business firms have taken meticulous care to see that what is on view here is suited for our conditions. In the context of our Five-Year Plans, industries are bound to play a great part in the adventure of building new India.

The major part of the exhibits pertain to automotive, welding sheet metal, proto-type and precision machine tools and others of a

similar pattern. They are housed in an artistic geodesic dome erected at the centre of the display area. The outer periphery of this dome constitutes a transport maintenance shop, in which motor vehicle servicing and repairing are carried out. Engine rebuilding is the prime attraction of the transport maintenance shops. In the centre of the dome there is a complete furniture making shop. In the middle of the inner ring is a tool crib.

There can be no doubt that the lay visitor as well as the high powered industrialist would benefit by a visit to the exhibition. Japan has demonstrated what can be done by small scale industries in the domestic sphere. Our country can emulate her example with profit.

STATE MONOPOLIES AND THE CITIZEN

BY

V. K. NARASIMHAN

(Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*)

In the case of the nationalisation of the life insurance companies, for instance, arguments in defence of nationalisation were advanced after the country had been presented with a *fait accompli*. Except for some articles in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*,—the author of which is no longer connected with the journal, the country was given no indication that anything was seriously wrong with the Life Insurance Companies as a whole though as in every industry, public or private, there may be some black sheep. The nationalisation of life insurance came, in fact, after a year in which record business had been done by the insurance companies and it looked as if they were well set for further striking progress. No case was made out for setting up a monolithic corporation unknown in any other democratic country in the world. What justification could there be for nationalising companies which were well-managed and whose record was unimpeachable? Why should co-operative and mutual insurance societies which were well run and financially sound be nationalised? What canon of public interest or social justice demanded that no citizen or combination of citizens shall have anything to do with life insurance as a business? In other countries there are life insurance businesses run by private managements to which no State operated insurance concern can hold a candle. We were told that once the 200 odd competing companies were eliminated, there would be a great economy in operation and that life insurance premia would be reduced and insurance would be made accessible to the masses. I do not know whether the expenses of the Life Insurance Corporation

are less than what the combined companies were spending before nationalisation. I agree that in strict theory there is a case for a monopolistic operation of social insurance because in insurance the larger the number of people over whom risks are spread the cheaper the costs of insurance. But in the life insurance business which the Government took over, it was not merely a minimum social insurance for everybody that was involved, but life insurance of all kinds from policies running into lakhs of rupees to so-called Janata policies. I cannot understand why a State, wedded to a socialistic pattern, should care to insure anybody for very large sums in a State enterprise.

From the experience of the working of the Life Insurance Corporation in the past three years we can see most of the evils of a State monopoly in operation. The organisation tends to be bureaucratic. The absence of competition makes for complacency and indifference to the consumer at every level. The dangers of misuse of large public funds passing through a single agency are enormously increased. Above all freedom of choice for the consumer and the employee, which are very real advantages under conditions in which there are a number of competing enterprises in a particular industry, is completely destroyed under a monopoly. What this means can be seen, for instance, in the opportunities for employment open to capable insurance organisers or actuaries under the L.I.C. as a sole employer. Any one who is not satisfied with conditions of service in the Corporation has no option but to give up life insurance as a career altogether and turn to some other enterprise in which he

cannot be equally interested or for which he cannot be equally qualified.

Another fundamental question which arises in connection with the starting of State monopolies is whether it is proper on the part of the State, just because it feels that it can improve its financial resources, to take over any existing well-conducted private enterprise. Under the United States Constitution, State incursion into business is virtually impossible except under severely limited conditions. In India we may concede that the State has to play a more positive role and there is considerable room for public enterprise of various kinds to be started. Of course, where large investments are involved out of public funds, whatever the source from which they may be raised, there is constant need to see that the utmost economy is practised and to ensure that the public enterprises are run efficiently and economically. Subject to this essential safeguard, we may concede that there is room for extension of public enterprises.

But if we accept the democratic basis of our system and consider that the citizen has a fundamental right to pursue any legitimate business, trade, profession or industry, it must be laid down that no citizen shall be excluded from any business or industry he has built up except on grounds of overwhelming public interest. This implies that any citizen who may be adversely affected by the extension of the public sector shall have a right to see a judicial remedy, not only to prevent the State from excluding him from the business which he has been carrying on, but also to seek compensation for any loss he might suffer as a result of such exclusion if the Court holds that the exclusion was justified in terms of the larger public interest but the citizen in question had suffered a loss thereby for no fault of his and, therefore, deserved to be compensated.

Senior Members of Parliament who were in the Constituent Assembly at the time when

the First Amendment was being discussed have told me that when the amendment to Article 19 (6) was included in the Bill they had imagined that it was only intended to cover cases of nationalisation like the taking over of bus transport and public utilities. They also told me that they never expected that this power would be utilized for extending State activity in fields like trading in ores. If State monopolies had been thought of in this limited sense, there would be some justification for the Constitutional amendment. Although all monopolies, whether public or private, lend themselves to abuse in one way or other and therefore have to be checked by some regulatory device, we know that in certain types of activity monopolistic operation is inherent in the nature of the service if economy and efficiency are to be ensured. Operation of a tramway or the distribution of electricity in a particular area or the running of a telephone system, to give only a few examples, necessarily call for operation by a single agency. All over the world recognised methods have been evolved to see that such monopolistic operators are governed by regulations which ensure the public interest in regard to efficiency of operation and the rates charged to users. If State monopolies are limited to this category of public utilities there would be no serious grievance, provided the safeguards which consumers will have in the case of private monopolies are maintained even when they are operated by the State. The mischief of the amended Article 19 (6) would have been considerably reduced if the scope of State monopolies had been limited to essential public services like transport, electric lighting, etc., and had not been omnivorously extended to cover "any trade, business, industry or service."

But for this omnibus provision it would have been inconceivable that persons in authority would have light-heartedly thought of creating State trading monopolies to handle foodgrains

and other products. Public opinion must be vigorously educated to realise that whenever a monopoly is created, whether in the public or private field, there is an inherent and grave danger to the public interest. Even when the public interest demands that prices should be controlled by regulating movement and sale of goods, it is always wiser to keep, as far as possible, competing agencies in operation instead of eliminating them. Here is an example of how unthinking intervention by the State with the mechanism of trade and distribution can create incalculable hardship and misery. I quote from the report of the Gauhati correspondent of The Statesman on State Trading in foodgrains which "is running a chequered career in the Nowgong District of Assam": "I made a sample study of the State trading operation round about Hojai, the district's rice bowl, and had discussions with people connected with and affected by State trading early this week..... State trading had thrown out of gear the district's 30 rice mills, which for decades had been carrying on the procurement, storing, milling and distribution of food through the network of their organisation. Dealer's licences held by rice millers had been abruptly cancelled, and the millers' traditional machinery for procurement and distribution indirectly employing 4,000 personnel in the district-replaced overnight by those of the co-operatives.

"This has given rise to new problems for the rice milling industry, which had not been forewarned about this changeover. As a result, the district's milling industry, having a stake of Rs. 1.54 crores in block and working capital and about 2,200 employees on the permanent payroll, is faced with the question, to be or not to be. In the present scheme of things the mills are not allowed to procure paddy by themselves. Secondly, there is no guarantee by the Government to keep the mills going by supplying paddy according to the capacity of each mill. Thirdly, milling

charge per maund of paddy has been fixed at 75 nP. against the actual cost of Rs. 1.35 nP. as quoted by millers in Assam, and Rs. 1.50 nP. milling charge fixed by the West Bengal Government in North Bengal.

"What is most lacking is popular enthusiasm and co-operation, an essential pre-requisite of the scheme. On the contrary, an impression has got currency that the primary co-operatives, are not real producers' co-operatives, and that these have been hastily drawn up more or less on the basis of existing Mandal Congress Committees with Mandal Congress presidents and secretaries as chairmen of the co-operatives thus indirectly lending a political colour to the whole scheme. Even Leftist political parties, who had once been the more steadfast supporters of State trading, are today among its bittermost critics."

This tragic story, which had been more or less repeated in other parts of the country where similar rude intervention with the existing machinery of distribution has produced more or less similar consequences, should be a warning to the general public as to what is in store whenever a multiplicity of buying or selling agencies is replaced by a monopolistic agency. The growth of bureaucracy or corruption and a widespread black-market have been the inevitable results each time State intervention in trade has taken the form of substituting monopoly procurement and monopoly distribution for the channels of competitive private trade. Whatever may be the justification for such monopolistic controls during a grave emergency like war or during a very severe food crisis, it would be an unmitigated disaster to envisage such monopolistic State trading as a normal appurtenance of peace time.

I should like to sum up my broad conclusions on the subject of State monopolies and the citizen as follows :

1. It is implicit in the basic conceptions of the democratic system that all citizens shall have the amplest freedom to engage in any form of economic activity that is not demonstrably against the public interest, without their being subject to threats, actual or potential, of their exclusion from such activities by the intervention of the State.

2. There must be a more precise and narrower definition of the area in which the State would be entitled to set up monopolies than is envisaged under the existing provisions of the Constitution. (It is significant that in Britain, where the Labour Party has long been an advocate of nationalisation, there has been in recent years a complete change in opinion in regard to the advantages of nationalisation and a radical change in attitude towards well-managed private enterprises. Not only is there no enthusiasm for re-nationalising the steel industry but there is a recognition that "under increasingly professional management, large firms are as a whole serving the nation well." The Labour Party now admit that no intervention by the State will take place "where any firm is doing a good job." Moreover, opinion in the Labour Party is veering to the view that where private companies are "failing down" on their job, it is preferable to control them instead of nationalising them.)

3. No State monopoly should be brought into existence without a prior enquiry into the operations of the private sector in that field

and without a full opportunity being given to those engaged in that industry to vindicate themselves.

4. In no circumstance should an enterprise conducted by citizens on sound lines—except in the limited field of public utilities—be taken over by the State or be prevented from operation by the setting up of a State monopoly. (If such a safeguard had been in existence before 1956 some at least of the Life Insurance Companies which were nationalised could not have been taken over by the State.)

5. When any particular existing enterprise suffers a loss as a result of the creation of a State monopoly there should be provision for compensation to the extent of such loss by the State.

6. In addition to purely Parliamentary bodies like the Public Accounts Committee or the Estimates Committee, which may periodically go into the working of State-run enterprises, there must be an impartial and quasi-judicial body like the Tariff Commission in India, or the Monopolies Commission in England, to review the operations of State monopolistic enterprises to hear complaints from the public and from private concerns that may suffer in one way or other and to make recommendations for the better functioning of these enterprises to prevent abuses.

(Concluded)

THE ROMANCE OF INDIAN SHIPPING— AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

BY

A. RANGANATHAN

"This is the price we pay for our luxuries and for our women;" so wrote Pliny that celebrated Roman historian who found that India had depleted the Roman Empire of its foreign exchange! The story of Indian Shipping, however, is something more than the economic relations between India and various countries. The impact of foreign civilisations on ancient India and her own impact on other civilizations are also directly linked with Indian shipping. Indeed, ancient India became a part of our history to such an extent that it has been enshrined in our art and literature. In this essay, an attempt will be made to trace the story of Indian shipping, from the earliest times to our own era since Indian shipping with its glorious tradition is also associated with the future prospects of our economic prosperity.

The earliest evidence has been found in the archaeological remains of Mohenjodaro. However, some more investigations are necessary before we recover the lost pages of this phase of our history. One finds more tangible evidence in the Vedic period, as may be illustrated from a hymn in the Atharva Veda Samhita which stated that the boats rode "well on the waves" and were "broad in beam and spacious, comfortable, resplendent, with strong rudders and faultless in construction" And the Rig-Veda itself contains the famous invocation, "Do thou convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare." That celebrated Pali Text, 'Rajavallia' records the fact that the ship in which Prince Vijaya had left the shores of India for Ceylon had accommodated 700 passengers.

It is well known that cordial relations had existed between Hellas and India even before the time of Alexander. The 'Arikkamedu' excavations have definitely established the fact that commercial contacts in the First Century A.D. had taken place between the Roman Empire and South India. Ancient Tamil poetry contains vivid pictures of the foreign ships which used to visit the South Indian ports such as 'Muchiri' and 'Puhar.' Thayankannanar, an ancient Tamil poet has a beautiful description of the Seaport of Muchiri—"The thriving town of Muchiri where the beautiful large ships of the 'Yavanas' (Greeks and Romans were known as Yavanas) bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar river which belongs to the Cherala and return laden with pepper." There is yet another description in a Tamil classic of the first century A.D. that "the sun shone over the open terraces, over the warehouses near the harbour and over the turrets with windows like the eyes of deer. In different places of puhar the on-looker's attention was arrested by the sight of the abode of the Yavana whose prosperity never waned." Poetry was the instrument through which the aspirations of our sailors become transformed into inspiring music. In the 'Periplus of the Erythraen sea' which is a classic of the first century A.D. on Oriental Commerce, a brilliant account of the trade of the Tamils is given. Centuries later, the Tamils had carried on a successful trade with the people of the islands of the East Indies, Polynesia, Malaya and China and spread the message of India in those countries. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the

had made a discovery of an Indian Colony, dating to 200 A.D. As early as 526 A.D. Buddhidharma, a Tamil prince, known to the Chinese as Ta-no and celebrated in history as the high priest of Indian Buddhism in China reached Canton (Pan-Yu) by sea. A seventh century Tamil inscription in Siam is yet another clear proof of the triumphs of our sea-faring ancestors. And the saga of magnificent Indian sculptures of Borobudur in Java gives us glimpses of the fascinating period of medieval Indian shipping.

Indian shipping has not only been immortalized in our literature but represented in Indian Art and sculpture as well. Sanchi sculptures which belong to the second century B.C., the Kanheri sculptures of the Second Century A.D. which are found in Salsette (near Bombay), a temple at Bhudaeshwara and the famous Ajanta Paintings contain some of the most beautiful representations of ships and boats. Three types of cabins were known to our ancients—the 'sarva-mandira' which was the name given to the type of the cabin which was capacious and extending from one end to another and mainly used for the transport of military troops, cattle and royal treasures, the 'madhyamandira' which had placed the cabin in the middle so that it could be used for pleasure trips and the 'agramandira' which had inclined the cabin towards the prow. The boat of the 'madhyamandira' type is depicted in the Sanchi sculptures; similarly the Ajanta Murals also contain the depiction of the boat of the 'madyamandira' type, as it was fashionable among the royalty.

Indians were famous for their knowledge of ship-building. The Yukti-Kalpataru, which is most probably a 11th century treatise compiled by Bhoja Narapathi tells us how to construct, decorate and furnish different kinds of ships. The Indians were so highly advanced

in their technique that they had invented a compass which was an 'iron-fish' (Matsya-yantra) that floated in a vessel of oil and always pointed to the North. This unique mariner's compass is one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of inventions. And the tradition of shipping was continued even during the Mughal period. Even though the Mughal empire was essentially a landpower, the importance of shipping was not overlooked by the Mughals. Abul Fazl's 'Ayeen-i-Akbari' contains useful information of the shipping industry and ports of Sindh, apart from being a source-book of Akbar's admiralty. The different types of ships used were represented in some fine Mughal paintings. And during the 17th century, Indian shipping had a brief period of glory under the Maharatas before India came under the influence of British control.

Modern India's effort in ship-building was an aspect of the freedom movement. The shipping ventures of many Indian patriots like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and Tata were not able to face the unequal struggle with British shipping interests. Mahatma Gandhi's cryptic verdict was that "Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish." In spite of various difficulties, the Scindia Steamship company was established on the 27th March, 1919, a landmark in the history of Indian shipping. "In a sense, the earlier history of modern shipping in India is the history of the Scindias" states a brochure entitled "Our Merchant Navy" published by the Government of India. But the struggle did not stop at this stage. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee was set up by the then Government in response to Indian public opinion which was crystallized in a historic resolution passed in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1912. Later popular pressure, strengthened by the forces of nationalism had forced the British Government to reserve coastal trade for Indian shipping. In his

message on the occasion of the opening ceremony of Scindia Pandit Nehru declared in his characteristic vein that "I am impatient to see Indian ships carrying the flag of India across the distant seas to far away countries." Nearly eight years later, India achieved Independence.

After India had achieved Independence, the Government had adopted several rapid measures to develop Indian shipping. The taking over of the Visakhapatnam shipyard originally belonging to the Scindias by the Government of India in 1952 was the first important event in the history of Indian shipping since Independence. This is now known as Hindusthan Shipyard Ltd. It is to the credit of the Scindias that they were able to launch the first modern ship known as Jalausha. Another important event is the announcement of the Government that they have decided to institute a shipping development fund to provide the much needed reserves for financing the further purchase of tonnage, required by the country. The location and successful

construction of the "proposed" second shipyard will constitute an event of major importance. Another problem which is closely connected with Indian shipping and successfully tackled by the Government is the establishment of the port of Kandla on the West Coast to serve the purpose of Karachi which was lost to us after the partition of India.

With the passing away of the da Gama age after 450 years, Britain's seapower in the Indian Ocean has almost vanished from the scene. It is necessary for us to view the importance of the Indian Ocean in its proper geopolitical perspective. The neglect of this problem led to a situation when the eastern part of the Indian Ocean was lost to Japan in 1942. We can afford to neglect our oceanic interests only at our peril. Just as the growth of Indian shipping led to the commerce of trade and ideas in the past, it is possible to work for greater triumphs in the future, if we are able to appreciate the problem in its economic significance as well as in its strategic setting.

WHY DO WE LAUGH?

(Contributed)

Did you laugh as your eye caught the heading of this article, or did you ever laugh when somebody slipped on a plantain skin? If you did, then a little reflection will suffice to show that mirth alone is not the sole motif power behind a laugh. I am, by no means, labouring to put forward some reasons for a thing that on the surface seems so obviously clear. At first, it may appear that any statement of the reasons why we laugh would be a mere platitude. But, I ask, are the reasons really so simple as many people have made out? I assure you, gentle reader, that it is a pretty cute problem, and a wee shade funny too!

The act of laughing, itself, consists of certain nerve-centres being stimulated, resulting in the contraction of certain facial muscles and the expulsion of the breath in gusts. If the emotion and its expression be very violent, the muscles of the whole body will go into interrupted spasms. Haven't you seen some laugh, and laugh, and laugh until their ribs hit one against another, and others again, till the ends of their lips touched the tips of their ears? I may be indulging in hyperbole, but if you get my point, you know that our sides do split with ha! ha!! ha!!!

The mental stimulus may be objective or subjective. That is, there may be an object outside the individual occasioning the laugh, or the laugh may be from the point of view of the individual himself. Perhaps I could make my point clearer by furnishing examples. Well, as an example of external stimulus, I would refer to somebody tickling our sides (opposite sex especially!), or when somebody says or does something funny. As an instance of internal stimulus, I would mention alcohol. Its abuse causes 'delirium tremens'. The mind is in an excited condition. The indi-

vidual imagines that he hears noises and sees strange objects. He thinks, talks, behaves in an abnormal way, and laughs after consuming the bracer. And also when a person is in a mood for laughter, a 'fit' of laughter, he laughs for no 'rhyme or reason', as the saying goes. The laugh is quite unaccountable for; why, even at the raising of a finger, or at the slightest provocation, there he is—laughing away!

To laugh is natural. Everyone laughs. No one has to learn to laugh. There is one qualification I must make to my last statement. It is that there is a canon in polite society that teaches the rudeness of the loud laugh. But of this, more anon. What I am trying to stress at the present is, that one reason why we do laugh is because we are born with the instinct of laughter.

There is one more point that I must mention in order to cover my preamble. And it is this. Though laughter is a primitive action in man and though the sensation remains the same, the manifestations in the act by which the sensation is expressed undergo modifications, owing to the psychological development and the social training of the individual. That's how we find that the more intellectually developed the society a person lives in, the less obvious his reactions to pleasure sensations are, so that in such a person we would not always be certain whether it is Mirth or something else that is producing the laugh.

We express our amusement, sense of the familiar, our sympathy, scorn, revenge, satisfaction, or hide our true feelings by laughing.

Sometimes, especially at a social gathering or at the Talkies, one laughs as soon as he understands that a laugh is expected of him.

He might have been a bit inattentive to the conversation or might not have seen what funny thing was done, but yet he joins in the laughter, just because not to laugh would be the wrong thing at that moment. It is true that we follow the crowd. One catches the contagion. This is mass psychology. It is one way in which we see the truth of the aphorism 'Laugh, and the world laughs with you'. This I call the 'Society Laugh', because it involves the Social Will.

Then there is the 'Understanding Laugh' which we make use of when we give expression to our approval or consent of another's action or comment.

We laugh when a person always relates the same old story whenever he stops to chat with us. He forgets how often he has told us of it. We are at great pains to give him the impression that we are hearing the story for the first time and pretend to be interested in what he is saying. But with the knowledge that 'Stale news stinks', we try to cover the smile that is beginning to form on our face. You've had this experience, and you remember his asking, 'What are you laughing for?'

There is what I would term the 'Camouflage Laugh'. On occasion, we hide from others our true inner feelings of pain, disappointment, and sorrow, by putting on a bright look and laughing, thus misleading others to believe that all's well. This is an example of the control of an emotion and its expression.

At times we laugh, because we know that a laugh would act as a weapon to hurt somebody's feelings. It's a kind of rejoicing over another's adverse circumstances. It expresses

that 'I'm not in your shoes' feeling, or 'You got it bad that time, my enemy!' This is the 'Scornful Laugh'.

Often we laugh when it suddenly dawns on us that we have committed a blunder which was not detected by another noted for his strictness or cuteness, or when through another's mistake we managed to escape certain just consequences.

For some unknown reason or other, we laugh at times with a sense of humour that really covers a great unrealized yearning and longing.

Then there is what I would call the 'Precursor Laugh', portending evil. Would that some philanthropist come to the fore. More power to those who study omens! As for me, I am at a loss to throw any light on this dark subject. Suffice it to say that bad news or trouble follows hard on the heels of this kind of laugh.

There is the 'conqueror feeling' that makes us laugh. I call this the 'Conqueror's Laugh'. Having finished some work, having accomplished something which we think amounts to cutting the gordian knot, we seem more pleased with ourselves than usual, and laugh. Who does not know that 'he who laughs last, laughs longest'?

And now let us consider the loud, hearty laugh of amusement. We must remember that it takes an artist or an orator to raise a laugh. Irony, repartee, a mimic, a farce, a disguise, the cracking of bright jokes—these all make us feel as gay as a lark.

Why do we laugh? There is one more reason which I would like to mention. And it is this: 'It's a poor heart that never rejoices!'

PROBING THE MIND—OBSESSIONS

BY

G. D. BOAZ

Professor of Psychology, University of Madras—(This is the third instalment in this Series—Ed.)

The previous article in this series dealt with the common psychological disorder called neurasthenia. There are several other kinds of psychological disorders also. Obsession is one such. Though it is not as common as neurasthenia, quite a few people do suffer from this also. As a disorder, this is equally irksome and disturbing. Obsession is a common English word which even the layman uses when somebody is always harping on one and the same thing for a long time. It is a common experience for children to go on repeating certain ideas which they get. Almost all of us would have experienced such a thing when a line from a poem or song keeps on coming to our mind almost to the point of disturbing our work. Such experiences are called obsessions by the layman. But when the term is used in a technical sense to mean the particular psychoneurosis under consideration, it has a more definite and slightly different import.

To be classified under this disorder, the obsession must have certain characteristics. It must be compulsive—much more than the element of compulsion involved in the experience mentioned above. In the case of real obsession, no amount of reasoning or efforts at distraction will be of any use. We will not be able to get out of it at all. Hence, the compulsion will be so intense that it will disturb the normal work on hand at that time. This of course affects our efficiency considerably. Another important characteristic of obsession as a psychoneuroses, consists in the tension that works up against the obsession itself. When obsession sets in, at once an intensely unpleasant tension works up. There

is a feeling of utter helplessness which along with the tension makes the whole experience definitely and seriously abnormal. In the case of ordinary obsessional thoughts which most of us get, the contents of these thoughts may not be anything particularly unpleasant. It may be just the first two lines of a song. There is nothing disturbing in that by itself. But in the case of psychoneurotic obsession, the idea or thought concerned will also be something unpleasant by itself and very disturbing to the individual. Thus the normal phenomenon becomes a serious psychological disorder when it exceeds certain limits and assumes certain particular characteristics. The following case will make these points clear.

This particular victim of this trouble was a young lady of about 25 years. During her first visit she was accompanied by her parents and her husband. The father first gave a detailed account of her complaint. Then the patient was taken inside and encouraged to tell her story. At first, she was very unhelpful. She actually took a very defensive attitude. She simply went on repeating that she was not so bad after all. Without any rhyme or reason and without any proper context she began to swear that she was very loyal and faithful to her husband (actually there was no need for this since the father had not mentioned anything pertaining to this aspect). After some leading questions she simply said, she could not understand why she should get such thoughts. Only after patient and repeated encouragement she began describing the actual thoughts. Even then she had to be gently told that her observations about them were

not necessary. She related that several times during the day she would get an idea that she would run after and embrace any man who happened to be near. Such thoughts occurred relating even to men who were talking on the road in front of her house. Gradually, these thoughts became so compulsive that her whole self was disturbed very badly. The compulsive nature and the content of these thoughts were both disturbing her. She would often tremble under the tensions that mounted up to a very high pitch. After some time, for no apparent reason, there would be some temporary relief. During these obsessional attacks she was not able to do any work at all.

As she consciously perceived the situation that disturbed most, was the content of these thoughts. They were so incongruous with her moral beliefs and conduct. It was this fact that made her repeat that she was a good woman and a faithful and loyal wife. She could not understand how of all people, she could ever entertain such immoral thoughts! It was also this moral conflict that made it very difficult for her to describe even in detail her complaint regarding these obsessional thoughts. Whenever leading questions were put, she would always avoid the question and only repeat that she was good and that it was wrong for people to form a bad opinion about her. Her worry was that there was some problem for her. She was worried as to how other people would view her.

The following are some of the relevant facts in the history of this case. This lady was married about 3 years prior to her visit to the Clinic. Her parents were fairly well-to-do business people, living in a mofussil town. In spite of their serious efforts, the marriage of this girl could not be arranged at the time they wished it to take place. After finishing her High School education, she was just living in the house. They could not get any offers from suitable youngmen. The difficulty was apparently because of the restrictions based

on caste, sub-caste, etc. It was difficult to find a suitable bridegroom fulfilling these conditions and at the same time, belonging to their socio-economic status. This lady herself could not be described in any way as a very beautiful or charming lady. After a few years of waiting the parents fixed up very hesitatingly, one of their own relatives who was much poorer than themselves. He was just a clerk in an office, in Madras. Though the two families were related, for some time past they were not on good terms with each other. Particularly at the parental level, there were good many misunderstandings and quarrels. The parents of the girl viewed the parents of the boy almost with contempt. After the marriage, the girl came and settled down in Madras with her husband and his mother. After about a year of life in Madras, the girl paid a visit to her parents. It was during that stay that these obsessional thoughts first appeared. In spite of various kinds of treatment, the trouble was getting worse.

In Madras her life was not at all happy and satisfactory. She was dissatisfied with many things. She was accustomed to live in a big house with all modern conveniences, and in Madras her husband could afford only a small portion of a house in a congested area. But she could not and did not want to complain about these things to anyone. The husband would go to the office in the morning and come home only late in the evening. Hence, practically the whole day, the girl used to stay alone and indulge in all sorts of phantasies relating to her fate in not having satisfactory conditions of life. To add to this, the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law was not very cordial either. Simultaneously, she was trying to whip up all her will-power and determination to get on as naturally as possible and to give no signs of her inner conflicts. True to the concept of Indian womanhood, she was also deeply loyal to her marriage. She had no courage

to complain or ask about anything to her husband or mother-in-law or parents. The only idea that emanated from all these conflicts was that she should be faithful to her husband and make good her married life. We see here, two problems taking shape in her mind: (1) She was somehow convinced that she should not complain against her parents for the marriage they had arranged. (2) She was equally determined that she should not give any indication to anyone that she was unhappy about various factors in her married life.

We can only imagine the conflicts and inner tensions that this patient was having. Ordinarily such things would make one angry. In fact, if she had had occasional outbursts of anger and quarrelled violently with her parents or with her mother-in-law, things would have been very much better for her. And most probably, such obsessional troubles would not have seized her. But she was always trying with a determination to "stomach" all these feelings. Naturally, a terrific amount of emotional energy was getting bottled up within and not getting a chance of expression. This large amount of pent-up energy was playing real havoc within the mind. Occasionally, the thought would come, that she should have married someone else. She would quickly and forcibly set such things aside. In the early days it was quite easy to set this particular thought aside. She often detected herself imagining a very pleasant and comfortable life with someone else as her husband. But later, all such thoughts somehow ceased to occur. In technical language, many of these conflicts and thoughts had been repressed.

In addition to the above, another serious problem faced her. After marriage, she was hoping that she would soon have a child. This hope became all the more intense since

she thought a child would give her some joy and satisfaction, thus enabling her to forget her troubles. Hence, a natural hope and desire became an interest in her mind. Months passed and there was no sign of that hope getting fulfilled. Her disturbances became intensified because of this additional disappointment. It was about that time, she went to her parents for a short stay. There she fell sick to some ordinary physical trouble and was advised to take rest for a couple of weeks. It was during that period of rest that her time was not occupied with any activities, that various phantasies began to develop in her mind. She was seriously frightened—by herself and her thoughts. It occurred to her that it would be better to continue to stay in her parents' house. She became convinced in her mind that she would not get a child. The meaning of all this, was at first clear to her mind. It meant a rejection of her husband and her marriage. But such a thought was so horrible to her moral self, that it could never be dwelt upon. She was too good a woman to think of such things. Perfect repression took place and the obsessional thoughts described above, began to appear. Thus, her obsessional thoughts were nothing but a symbolic representation of an unconscious rejection of her husband. It was significant to note that her symptoms were more severe every month soon after menstruation. Menstruation confirmed that she would have no child by that marriage. She was helped to describe and discuss all her problems and difficulties with all the emotional fervour at her command. She was also helped to understand the unconscious mechanisms that were responsible for giving a symbolic representation to her real conflicts. When she could not consciously understand all this, and see the real meaning of these obsessional thoughts, she was completely relieved.

THE CROW'S TALE

BY

WILBUR WHITE

People call me 'The Common House Crow'. This is a feather in my cap, for even gay birds with fine feathers cannot boast of being found everywhere. There are so many interesting and exciting things about me that I have earned the distinction of being the cleverest and most interesting of birds. To put it in a nutshell, being well known as famous, I am leaving foot-prints on the sands of time. You can, therefore, be sure that my story will leave you with something to caw about.

A bird's-eye view of me off and on will make you see and admire the distinctive even in the 'common' crow. For instance, it is not a common general ability to be able to discriminate my sex. You see, crows are so similar in colour and size that on first sight or last sight you are kept guessing and cannot tell whether I am a male crow or a female one. When you brood over my head, you lose yours in trying to solve the common, prevalent problem 'instinct or intelligence,' which even high-brows find a hard nut to crack. My familiar caw draws attention to the fact that caged feathered favourites consider it an accomplishment when they sing like a crow. As for my bill, it leads you to my bill of fare and breaks the news that it displays uncommon adaptability in fishing in shallow waters, neither by hook nor by crook, when an uncovered aquarium gives me easy access to members of the finny tribe. My plumage shows that I can be proud as a pea-cock when I swagger about, for borrowed feathers could never shine on mine of a hue that is highly glossed with a purple tinge. But it is not common knowledge that the horny substance of my feathers acts as a sound conductor, like the trees and the ground, and puts me on

the alert and enables me to fly away in time. Of a crow's foot, with three toes directed forward and one backward, it may seem I have nothing of import to say. Nothing of mark? My foot! You can see it in the corners of a person's eyes, and there is more in it than meets the eye. And now, the description of the last part of my body. That my notched tail could be salted, unfledged and unhatched teeners soon discover to be a tale with no point in it, and crow-catching the activity engaged in by a common low 'bird' who suffers when caught in the process.

Family

I will not beat about the bush and trace my ancestry on the tree of evolution. My nearest relative is the Raven, of Bible renown because he fed the Prophet Elijah with bread in the wilderness. No difficulty should be experienced in recognizing him even from afar. He soars on horizontal wing, but I with wings bent upward.

Home

I don't feather my nest, but when a purse in the hand seems morsel or viand, a fool and his money are soon parted. On occasion I am obliged to improvise one with anything my beak can get a hold on. It is then that there is a mysterious disappearance of spoons and spectacles. You know what follows. There is flying around with threats of fine and dismissal. The domestic employee, in the interests of justice, swears it is the crow. The lady, thinking that the servant is trying to make me appear blacker than I really am, agrees it must be the two legged one! But the situation leads to a problem I cannot solve: Were any man a crow too, it would be easy

one, and the tree-top to the top of the garbage heap. If my work is better known, it would be better appreciated. I go from house to house on a clean-up campaign. I make the earth cleaner and safer. But for my daily drive discarded perishables littered by careless, negligent man would petrify. The consequences would be tremendous. With the increase of flies, there would be an increase in the incidence of disease with the consequent additions on the sick-list and increase in the number of those who do not see the allotted span of three score years and ten. For me to approach this matter and remove the rot so that it does not become stale, takes time and effort—an uncommon work, if you see what I mean. And strikes may come, and strikes may go, but I go on forever. Yet, what are the wages that I get?

The persecution and punishment meted out to me by man is inhuman. How would you like to live with a tin garland and wire anklets? The inconvenience, the discomfort, the pain make me ask just how low can a man sink, how deep can he descend, what would he do next? All through my life, I have a feeling of insecurity and fear.

The scarecrow tells me of the end of the farmer's friendship.

The modern youngster too is none too kind to me. With the air of a shikari and powers of observation, he aims at the pigeon but hits—(you will spare me the embarrassment), and wonders whether he has killed two birds with one stone! I see something pass swiftly through the upper layers of the atmosphere, and knowing that 'many a shaft at random sent, finds mark the archer little meant,' follow it to find out if it were by any chance directed to the man in the moon or aimed at orbiting a catapulted missile round it. The alarming thing is that this abnormal and unnatural hobby of splitting the stone for stone-throwing has grown with the youth into

a mania of splitting the atom for bomb throwing.

This makes me fly for shelter to my philosophy of life, the last part of my story.

Nosing for news as usual, I heard a person say, "The big bird will lay its eggs and then come to roost." Curiosity made me turn an eye skyward. True enough it was big. The wings and tail were of enormous size. I was badly shaken. I held my breath. It flew over tree-tops. Then it circled round a bit, and flew cross-country as a crow flies. While the shades of night were falling fast, to me it seemed to be a huge firefly emitting light. I thought it was a freak of nature. Was it bird or beast? It had wings, therefore it was not an animal. It had no feathers, therefore it was not a bird. My problem was somewhat solved when I thought of that strange creature, the bat.

I was taken in. There are many reasons. For one thing, I was not acquainted with Airforce jargon. The bird with the egg was a bomber.

A crow does not play with fire. A crow does not carry fire from one place to another. A crow has no ambition to set the world on fire.

My philosophy should be apparent by now. It is a page in the Book of Nature, which satisfies the urge to go back to the origin of things.

No flight on the wings of imagination need you take to see life's natural world, in the depicting of which your serious writers' pens smell of the real open field with no trace of the smell of bombs and fire.

There is so much going on in Nature, where everything is calculated to instruct, that having a sense of perception, you can see that a crow is making no common contribution. I am doing my bit to make this world a safe place to live in. And, believe me, when the common man thinks crow-wise and follows the philosophy of the common crow, he will have something to caw about—something to crow about even when there is no crow about!

THE SCENE

BY

J. R. MATTHEWS

The silver light of dawn has flood the scene,
The turf upon the earth is wet and green,
The purple tinted mist can still be seen,
Away on distant landscape obscure the green.

The thick and dark brown trunks of trees that stand,
Like sentinels upon the spacious land,
Spread out their sable branches in the air,
And grasp the foliage delicate and fair.

Upon the mosaic floor of tender grass,
Where dew makes everything look dipped in glass,
Lying scattered here and there are beauty spots,
Of coloured leaves and flowers that grow in plots.

Such splendid gaily coloured crotons grow,
Mid flowers of brilliant hues that thrive galore,
The sparkling dew lends everything a grace,
So quiet and so peaceful is the place.

to set a crow to catch a crow, and then what would happen to poor me?

The Koel chooses a crow's nest, because she knows that only there will her eggs receive the best care and attention. No small compliment that. Besides, my mother instinct is unique. I haven't the heart to elbow young koels out of my nest.

At the mention of the koel there is a dramatic scene about which I have to tell.

It all happened because I am no bird that shows the white feather. He took advantage of this characteristic. It was curious that he should have come so near to my home at all. Notwithstanding my gestures of disapproval, he persisted in the aggressive attack. No doubt he believed in hitting a cold iron until it became hot. He fanned my passions into a flame and worked me up into a frenzy. My blood boiled. He uttered threats. Not only that—he tried to bite me with his beak. If I did not meet the challenge it would have been a blot on my good name. For me it was "to be or not to be."

I swooped on him. He put up a good fight from one bough to another. Then he took to the air. I followed. Birds of the same feather flock together, so there he was flying wildly with a number of crows in chorus, including my life's companion in hot pursuit! It was a spectacular sight, for he set up a new endurance record. I thought he might, as birds oft do die of heart failure through fear. When he dashed into a big thicket, I remembered that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and turned homeward. "Well, that's that," I said to myself, in full feather. I experienced a feeling of peace and calm.

But what a surprise awaited me! I realized that the chase was better than the kill, not so much for me as for the koel! He had adopted delaying tactics, for the process of laying an egg cannot be hastened. The result of my

allowing my temper to fly away with me produced exactly that which I set out to prevent. I discovered his mate in my house. I threw up my wings in rage. As she shot out she winked at me as if to say, "Now carry the baby!"

I deem it no exaggeration when I say that the koel learnt these tactics from me, and only paid me back in my own coin, and gave me tit for tat. It brings back happy memories, for when I exploit a dog with a bone and really have a bone to pick with a dog, I operate with the aid of an accomplice to distract his attention the other side. When he turns, howls, and charges in the direction of my confederate, I, exclaiming "You dog in the manger" with an expression of contempt on my face, do the snatching trick, which the canine does not detect.

After all I have said about the koel, I have a natural right to maintain my contention that I am a crow, not a mathematician good at numbers. But to say that I cannot distinguish between young crow and koel is flying to conclusions.

Clownish

When I am off the fly, I come within earshot while you are resting in your bedroom in the afternoon, to show you that I have a sense of humour. My clownish acts are astonishing and worth watching. I couldn't have a better audience when I am in mischievous mood.

Ruffling and shuffling my neck feathers like the frilled collar of a clown's costume, I give a performance of mimicry of the strange sounds and mannerism of a person with a foreign body lodged in his throat. My vocal organs are elaborate and well developed. I make a deep depression at the base of the abdomen to control ejection of air. With a turn of my mouth and a twist of my tongue, I give out a calculated and measured slow jingle of alternate low-pitched chocked and high notes. Then

bowing my head, I peep slyly at you to see whether you are showing signs of emotion.

But jokes apart, for me the best part of the show is when you bellow out your comment and vivaciously clap your hands in applause, and I, in strict accordance with the principles of stagecraft, make a hurried exit!

Crows' Conference

I come now to a more serious matter, namely, a crows' conference on a housetop, on an evening. It is interesting, not only in itself, but in the manner of deportment in which crows gather and the attention paid to the one which stands apart as the leader. We don't fly-up at our own sweet will and pleasure and make the conference a chaos. Such procedure of order and arrangement shows that it is neither a chance nor meaningless meeting, but has sponsor, time, and place. It is no wonder to me that you associate it with leaders of wisdom—judge with jury, manager with members, teacher with taught. To you, it is of sufficient interest as to make you indulge in speculative thought regarding its outcome and conclusions. To me, it is an opportunity to declare from the housetop that I am a firm believer in conferences.

Crow on Cow

When crow comes to cow, it is an impressive sight. In front, sitting between the horns and seeing something other than cotton in her ears, I clean them. She never turns away her ears from me! At the rear, clinging to her tail and presenting a picture of a crow's tail on a cow's tail, I appear with a touch of a striking aspect. But when on her back, I am not just taking a joyride. I am there from an economical point of view. As she grazes, moving everything before her like a bulldozer, she disturbs grasshoppers. As they jump up, I alight, catch them, and return to the cow's back. So you see, I save time and effort in employing a labour-saving device.

No less interesting is my flying and keeping up with a moving vehicle carrying sacks of grain. Despite the devices of the attendant on top of the cart or lorry to keep me off, I succeed in helping myself.

A bird of ill or good omen to the superstitious I am. Looking upon me as a fortune-teller, they interpret my caw to be good news that a letter is coming, or a warning that a misfortune is at hand. Some people think that feeding a crow brings good luck and prosperity.

Rules of Life

My rules of life are few and simple. Two proverbs which I treasure, practise, and live are 'early to bed, early to rise' and 'the early bird catches the worm.' Thus, I am not only the poor man's alarm-timepiece, but, by obeying Nature's clock, I do not expose myself to excess radiation. I know the value of work and realize that even a potato-peeling will not jump of its own accord into my mouth. I am eager to share my food with others. My cawing at the sight of food is not only an invitation to join me, but is also my prayer before partaking of a meal. I believe in smart personal appearance. Curiosity is second habit with me, and I am all eyes and ears, nosing for news. I have consideration for others, and see that my neighbours get a good night's sleep and are not kept awake. Even when the moonlight is so inviting, I give but a few caws and return to my roost. I find time for love-making. In a cosy nook, a Garden of Eden just meant for two, I put my beak on the heat-feathers of my beloved. I play 'follow the leader' with my young ones, while the greedy little fellows caw at the top of their voice for food. I knew that eternal vigilance is the price of security.

Work

'From gutter to the leaf and from top to top' sums up pretty well my feelings about my work. Only, that in my case, it is the honour, not of the laurel, but of the plantain

BEAUTY PEACE AND MUSIC

In the dense foliage of verdant perfume,
Where nature displays her sweet spring time bloom,
A music is heard in the stealing breeze
And huge massive trees start rustling their leaves.

The limpid green grass in the sun-lit glade
Are waving to those in the tranquil shade ;
The flower plants and shrubs are lively and gay,
To hear heavenly notes of a peaceful lay.

The yellow primroses dance to the tune,
While the rest of the flowers smile in atune.
The whispering wind and the birds that scream,
Join the swelling surge of celestial theme.

In all majesty the ethereal sky,
Smiles the smile of peace in the blue on high ;
Solitary, graceful and peaceful the scene,
Colourful beauty lies modest serene.

DO THE DEAD COME BACK?

THE WAILING WOMAN
(Contributed)

Do the dead really come back? Of course they do ! I had always been sceptical about it, for my religious and educational background refused to permit it. But after a better experience I have joined the legions of those believers in ghosts and spirits with a vengeance.

There are many theories about the appearance and manifestations of ghosts. The most common and general one being their nocturnal visits. (No one has so far heard or seen one in broad daylight.) Another one is that it is usually the spirits of the people who have died an unnatural death that wander about restlessly striking terror in the highly sensitive and hysterical. I have had reason to believe both these and I will relate how.....

It was way back in 1932 that I was transferred to the town of T. Being a bachelor in those days I took up a room in the Y.M.C.A. I sent out feelers for the congenial company of fellow citizens. Being a small town everybody who was anybody met at the Y.M.C.A. for a game of cards, usually bridge, or a chat. Very soon I found my way into the company of these gay gallants and being a bridge enthusiast myself was welcomed into their midst with alacrity. Among the company was the Police Inspector a swarthy young fellow simply called "Bob" not because he was a "cop", a sales manager of a foreign shoe company, a budding writer and a couple of others.

On certain days we did not play at all being more in the mood for conversation, over fag and cups of tea from the adjacent tea-shop. Bob usually monopolised the conversation bragging about this venture and that one, dark and rainy night conversation veered round to the subject of haunted houses, ghosts and

spirits as it inevitably does on such occasions. Bob in his characteristic bravado manner declared that he lived in a haunted house and was not one bit scared. I was naturally surprised and pooh-poohed the idea with a guffaw. To prove his words Bob invited all of us to his house, where we would have to spend the night because, according to Bob the ghost came at midnight. I responded promptly to the invitation but with my tongue in my cheek.

The following Saturday night (because on Sunday morning, you can sleep late) we all gathered together at Bob's place where he feasted us to a sumptuous dinner. After dinner Bob suggested a game of cards but none of us were for it. We were too keyed up with anticipation and apprehension. Bob appeared perfectly calm and unruffled. We smoked furiously, keeping an eye on the clock all the time, and the conversation dwindled into a lull.

Then, ominously but deliberately the clock started striking twelve. Midnight ! Before I had time to say that word, the oil lamp which stood on the centre table suddenly went out though there wasn't any breeze at all. Simultaneously all the doors were vigorously rattled by unseen hands. We sat rooted to our chairs and all of us felt a movement near our chairs as if somebody was slapping the arm-rests, followed by a blood-curdling yell, which was a cross between the laugh of a hyena and the wail of a woman. Confusion reigned for a moment. I was bathed in a cold sweat and struck dumb. Absolute silence after that. It was Bob who recovered first. He got up struck a match and lit the lamp. We rubbed our eyes and blinked as if waking up in another

one, and the freeter too' with a 'Well-what-did-I-say' expression on his face.

When at last I found my speech I urged Bob for an explanation. He said that when he came to T—. Two years back and found the house to live in, the neighbours tried to dissuade him saying it was haunted but he braved it. It transpired that a 'Quack' doctor used to stay alone in that house. He was very friendly with a woman who often visited him. Soon she found herself in the family way and the man very gallantly agreed to marry her. One night when she visited him he asked her to

draw some water for him. While she was thus engaged, he stealthily came from behind and pushed her in. The next day he ran to the market place, tore his hair and cried out aloud that his lady-friend was missing. A search was at once made which of course proved futile. The next day a passer-by happening to look into the well saw strands of hair floating on the water. He called a couple of fellows and the body was brought out in a highly decomposed condition. Our friend the Quack had by this time disappeared. And ever since every night the incident happened.

Personality Sketch

C. SUBRAMANIAM

BY

KASHYAPA

The exit of Ajit Prasad Jain from the Central Cabinet has offered a fruitful field for political speculation and lobby talk. Many are the names that are mentioned. Some out of flattery to present company; others out of jealousy or pity; but only a few out of genuine assessment of individual worth. In the last category the one Southerner that finds a prominent place is C. Subramaniam. By the time this appears in print the new addition to the Central Cabinet would possibly have been settled and for aught Kashyapa knows, C.S. may yet remain with us in Madras. The object of lugging in this situation in a sketch of Subramaniam's personality is only to show that he has today found for himself a nice niche in All-India Congress politics, and may quite conceivably occupy office in New Delhi ere long. The man in the Madras street heard of Subramaniam only in 1952 and that too as C.R.'s right hand man. But his political baptism was not at C.R.'s hands, for he had been inducted into the Constituent Assembly during a period when C.R. was *persona non grata*. His work in the Consambly was quiet and efficient, but not noteworthy or remarkable. His real record of political work should therefore be deemed to have commenced only in 1952. C.R. is C.S.'s mentor, not his maker; his architect, not his author.

When Rajaji stood at the helm of affairs for a brief but brilliant period, Subramaniam echoed his master's voice loyally. Imitation being the best form of flattery, he began to emulate the Chief in more ways than one. Short of donning black glasses and sporting



one, and the tree for, Subramaniam was Rajaji's very shadow in thought, word and deed. He cultivated the same Tamil accent, employed the same quaint phraseology, attempted the same analogies, even nourished the same prejudices. Certain challenges came with grace from that septuagenarian statesman; they sounded impertinent when lisped by the younger man. "Such and such a thing is my enemy, and I shall crush it" came majestically from the lips of one who had weathered many a political battle and crossed swords with the Mahatma himself. The same threat from Subramaniam was ineffectual and inane. But that would not deter the *alter ego*; he continued to tilt at the windmills.

With Rajaji's exit in 1954, apart from Bhakthavatsalam who like the trumps would go with any suit, Subramaniam also remained in the successor Cabinet. This was somewhat strange, as the new Education formula (the immediate though not the real cause for C.R.'s resignation), was as much Subramaniam's responsibility and creation as the Chief Minister's. But be that as it may, C.S. stuck on and retained his position of importance in Kamaraj's set up. The party leader's election at which he unsuccessfully competed against Kamaraj did not either stand between him and the Ministership. With true democratic spirit he co-operated with Kamaraj's Government and became its leading light. One might even say he has, to all external appearances exercised his old association with C.R. for so influential is he in the Government led by C.R.'s most sincere ill-wisher.

Subramaniam was a lawyer in Coimbatore. He practised in partnership with another. They say the firm still carries on the profession. So much the better for it. C.S.'s legal training stands him in good stead. He can when he wants be incisively logical and clear-cut in his argument. He can, exercising the privilege of the profession, equally be pettifogging when he wants. Much depends on whom he is arguing with, and about what. In the Assembly, with the solid support of 150 votes, he chooses to be non-chalant and careless of

Opposition members. Outside, shrewdly estimating his party's weakening hold on the people, he is more persuasive and palliative. Alone in the Cabinet, he can stand up to an audience and make an intelligent and fairly fluent speech. He is neither tongue tied nor a blitherer. He has learnt to speak a grammatical and chaste Tamil, knowing that the people like it and want it. He has also a real love of the language and has done a little in his time to help its growth.

C.S. is distinguished looking, almost handsome. In a Cabinet that is not famous for its good looks, he is outstandingly a pleasant figure. One can look at him for a while without wilting—which is a great asset, and one that might well make all the difference in his favour at testing time. He has not a grey hair on his head in spite of having crossed forty. He dresses in clean white Khadi—a very difficult matter, for khaddar attracts dirt like a floor mop, and only a meticulously clean person can keep his jibba always spotless. That tidiness of habit speaks much for his orderliness of mind. He is very likeable and clubbable person, though he has chosen to reserve his company.

Subramaniam has acquired by association with Rajaji, a flair for formula making. On ticklish and tricky topics like the language issue, or the role of students in politics, he has managed to suggest courses of action which have seemed so reasonable at first blush, as to receive unanimous approval. He will take much of the credit for Nehrus' latest line on Hindi, for was it not he that spoke so fervently at Gauhati? Subramaniam knows the mind of the people well, and has become an adept at choosing the right tune. He is the firmest pillar of the Congress in Tamil Nad—and Opposition parties will wish him well—far away in New Delhi! And after all if there is to be a Tamilian in Delhi, none can do more justice to the job than this advocate from Coimbatore.

INDIAN TOUR OF ENGLAND

BY

BALU ALAGANAN

Before I attempt to assess the achievements or failures of our cricketers now touring England, it is but proper that I give below the results of the matches played so far.

1. vs. Indian Gymkhana :

Indians—
268 (Umrigar 97)

Indian Gymkhana—

136 (Surendranath 4 for 22)
and 135 for 7 (Borde 4 for 36)

2. vs. Worcestershire :

Indians—
219 (Borde 90)

and 157 for 3 (Contractor, 46, Umrigar 87)

Worcestershire—305 (Desaid 4 for 88,
Gupte 6 for 92)

Match drawn.

3. vs. Club Cricket Conference :

Club Cricket Conference—
98 (Muddiah 6 for 40)
and 95 (Jaisimha 3 for 8)

Indians—
186 (P. Roy 70, A. L. Apte 55)
and 9 for no loss

Indians won by 10 wickets.

4. vs. Cambridge University :

Cambridge University—
223 (Gupta 3 for 49, Nadkarni 4 for 47)
and 160 (Muddiah 5 for 36, Jaisimha 3 for 10)

Indians—
436 for 6 wickets decl. (Umrigar not out 252, J. M. Ghorpade 49).

Indians won by an innings and 53 runs.

5. vs. Leicestershire :

Leicestershire—
301 and 163 for 4 decl.

Indians—

246 (Gaekwad 57, Manjrekar 51)
and 94 for 2
Match drawn.

6. vs. Surrey :

Indians—
249 (Manjrekar 148)
and 205 for 3 decl. (Contractor 65,
Umrigar 85)

Surrey—

253 (Gupte 6 for 77)
and 151 for 2
Match drawn.

7. vs. Glamorgar :

Glamorgar—
182 (Borde 4 for 17)
and 223 (Muddiah 6 for 79)
Indians—
112 and 242 (Gaekwad 63, Borde 64)

India lost by 51 runs.

8. vs. Essex :

Essex—
285 (Surendranath 4 for 80)
and 85 for 4 decl.

Indians—

188 (Kripal Sing 52)
and 98 for 2 (P. Roy 43)
Match drawn.

9. vs. M.C.C. :

M.C.C.—
374 for 4 decl.
and 120 for 1 decl.

- Indians—**
211 (Umrigar 82, Borde 88)
and 136
Indians lost by 147 runs.
10. **vs. Oxford University :**
Oxford—
172 (Gupte 4 for 84, Borde 3 for 5)
and 234 (Gupte 6 for 110)
Indians—
459 for 4 decl. (P. Roy 155, Manjrekar 204 not out, Borde 57 not out)
Indians won by an innings and 53 runs.
11. **vs. England—First Test—**
England—
422 (Gupte 4 for 102)
Indians—
206 (P. Roy 54)
and 157 (P. Roy 49, and Manjrekar 44)
England won by an innings and 59 runs.
12. **vs. Somerset :**
India—
432 (P. R. Umrigar 203, Manjrekar 53, D. K. Gaekwad 69)
and 119 for 8 decl. (Nadkarni 41)
Somerset—
300 (Borde 5 for 42)
and 52 for 4
Match drawn.
13. **vs. England—Second Test at Lords :**
India—
168 (Contractor 81, Ghorpade 41)
and 165 (Manjrekar 61, Kripal Singh 41)
England—
226 (Barrington 80, Desai 5 for 89)
and 103 for 2
England won by 8 wickets.

14. **vs. Derby :**
Derby—
241 and 240 for 5 decl. (Gupte 3 for 60)
India—
323 and 77 for 2—(Apte 165, Ghorpade 70, Apte has 25 fours)
Match drawn.
15. **vs. England—Third test :**
England—
483 for 8 decl. (Parkhouse 78, Pullar 75, Cowdrey 160, Barrington 80)
India—
161 (Umrigar 29)
and 149 (Borde 41, Umrigar 39)
India lost by an innings and 173 runs
16. **vs. Scotland at Glasgow :**
India—
293 (Umrigar 153 not out)
and 210 (Kripal Singh 71, Jaisimha 42)
Scotland—
261 (Jones 88)
and 153 for 8
Match drawn.
17. **vs. Yorkshire at Sheffield :**
India—
381 (Roy 87, Gaekwad 144 for second wicket, Nadkarni 52)
and 117 for 2
Yorkshire—
290 (Illingworth 162)
Match drawn.
18. **vs. Sussex :**
India—
180 (Borde 50, Ghorpade 44)
and 363 for 5 (Borde 58, Umrigar 61, Roy 63 not out, Ghorpade 57 not out)

Sussex—
369 (D. V. Smith 145 not out)
Match drawn.

19. **vs. Middlesex County :**
India—
373 for 7 decl. (Contractor 55, Roy 51, Umrigar 51)
and 67 for 6
Middlesex—
217 and 222
India won by 4 wickets.
20. **vs. Fourth Test at Manchester :**
England—
490 (Pullar 131, Smith 100, Barrington 87, Cowdrey 67, Surendranath 5 for 115)
India—
208 (Borde 75)
and 376 (Umrigar 118, Baig 112)
India lost by 171 runs.
21. **vs. Surrey :**
India—
154 (Roy 95, Nadkarni 45)
and 139
Surrey—
214 (Surendranath 5 for 46)
and 64 for 5 (Surendranath 4 for 28)
Match drawn.
22. **vs. Glamorgan :**
India—
291 (Gaekwad 74, Contractor 50)
and 199 (Apte 103)
Glamorgan—
208 (Pressdee 82, Parkhouse 60)
and 166 (Gupte 4 for 51)
India won by 116 runs.
23. **vs. Warwickshire at Birmingham :**
India—
284 (Nadkarni 80, Ghorpade 53)
and 241 for 3 decl. (Contractor 73, Apte 53, Borde 50 not out)

Warwickshire—
356 for 8 (Borde 4 for 68)
Match drawn.

24. **vs. Nottingham at Trent Bridge :**
India—
172 (Umrigar 80)
and 255 (Jaisimha 55, Contractor 42, Joshi 40)
Nottingham—
284 (Simpson 100)
and 144 for 2
Nottingham won by 8 wickets.
25. **vs. Yorkshire at Bradford :**
Yorkshire—
146 (Nadkarni 3 for 22, Borde 5 for 17)
and 159 for 6
India—
256 (Nadkarni 51, Ghorpade 59, Jaisimha 66)
Match drawn.
26. **vs. Gloucestershire :**
Gloucestershire—
313 for 9 decl. (Gupte 4 for 93)
and 186 for 4 wickets decl.
India—
179 (Roy 26, Umrigar 80, Borde 32)
and 133 (Contractor 48)
Lost by 192 runs.

Previous Indian Tour of England Results :

	Played	Won	Lost	Drawn
1932	26	9	8	9
1936	28	4	12	12
1946	29	11	4	14
1952	29	4	5	20
1959	played so far.	5	8	13

Undoubtedly not a happy record but I must emphasize that our cricketers were sent not

one and the other success, but more with an idea of gaining fresh experience. We had been thoroughly trounced by the West Indians just previously and our morale was naturally low. Added to this, bickerings among our selectors regarding the choice of captain of the Indian Team added to the unhappy state of affairs. There is no doubt in my mind that the man best suited to the position, namely, Umrigar was not selected, with the result that the tour got off to a start on the wrong foot. However it is not my intention to decry the final choice of A. K. Gaekwad as Captain but am treating the subject purely on a comparative basis. Later events as reported by eminent English cricketers have revealed that Gaekwad's captaincy in the Test Matches has been sometimes mystifying particularly with regard to bowling changes. Judging by performances alone our record has been pretty poor and even the secret hope I had nourished that our cricketers would unexpectedly do well has not materialised.

The tour began on a fairly auspicious start when our team held Worcestershire to an honourable draw and when one recalls that previous Indian teams touring England had invariably lost to the above mentioned County, our performance was quite an achievement. But from the moment that they lost the match to Glamorgan, their stocks slumped and defeats by Surrey and England in the First Test followed in quick succession.

In the Second Test the Indian bowlers rose to great heights when they dismissed seven English batsmen for only 80 runs but once again the initiative was wrested from their hands by batsmen who, normally could not muster 10 runs individually. However in the first, third and fourth Test Matches we were well and truly beaten by England and as I write this article, our boys go into the fifth and Final Test with the gloomy prospects of losing all the Five Tests particularly as

Umrigar and Manjrekar will not be playing due to injuries. In the entire history of Test Cricket only once has a five match series been won five nil and it was achieved 27 years ago by Australia over South Africa. By far the outstanding batting success has been Umrigar with a tally of 1,826 runs so far. But most of his runs were scored in County Matches and until the second innings of the Fourth Test, he was a complete failure as far as Test Matches were concerned. Manjrekar the only other outstanding batsmen has been put out of the game for quite sometime now due to injuries and the absence of these two fine batsmen will no doubt dampen the spirits of their colleagues. Apart from these two the batting of the others has been inconsistent, each one having his rare moments of glory in certain matches. Kripal Singh of whom I expected much has failed to live up to expectation. Injuries also played a great part in adding to our failures and it was necessary to recruit the services of Abbas Ali Baig, a student of Oxford. His achievement in the Fourth Test when he scored a century on his first appearance will go down in history, but even he has been displaying poor batting form in subsequent matches.

The bowling has been mainly in the hands of Gupte, but he must be feeling the strain of bowling long spells, in match after match. There has been no spectacular bowling performances so far and it is quite obvious our inherent weakness lies in our not having a really fast pace attack and unless we remedy this shortcoming, I doubt very much whether we can really hold a prominent position in International Cricket.

Our fielding has been inexplicably poor and it is this aspect that surprises me for the team sent out are in the main youngsters who had a previous excellent record in fielding. Lack of inspiring leadership may very well be a contributory factor.

The attitude of the British Press continues to baffle me and their scathing criticisms of our performances, particularly in the light of their own country's performance against Australia just previously is unwarranted. As I mentioned earlier our cricketers had no

but hoped only to gain valuable experience. This they have certainly gained and I am sure that should we produce a pair of really fast bowlers we can no doubt hold our own against any other country in the future.

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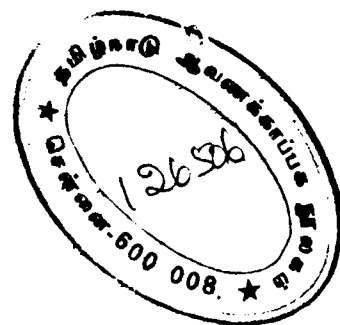
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